

The Books of Adam and Eve

part of the "Forgotten" books of Eden

from EarthHistory Website

The First Book of Adam and Eve details the life and times of Adam and Eve after they were expelled from the garden to the time that Cain kills his brother Abel.

It tells of Adam and Eve's first dwelling - the Cave of Treasures; their trials and temptations; Satan's many apparitions to them; the birth of Cain, Abel, and their twin sisters; and Cain's love for his beautiful twin sister, Luluwa, whom Adam and Eve wished to join to Abel.

This book is considered by many scholars to be part of the "Pseudepigrapha" books.

The "Pseudepigrapha" is a collection of historical biblical works that are considered to be fiction. Because of that stigma, this book was not included in the compilation of the Holy Bible. This book is a written history of what happened in the days of Adam and Eve after they were cast out of the garden. Although considered to be Pseudepigrapha by some, it carries significant meaning and insight into events of that time. It is doubtful that these writings could have survived all the many centuries if there were no substance to them.

This book is simply a version of an account handed down by word of mouth, from generation to generation, linking the time that the first human life was created to the time when somebody finally decided to write it down. This particular version is the work of unknown Egyptians.

The lack of historical allusion makes it difficult to precisely date the writing, however, using other Pseudepigrapha works as a reference, it was probably written a few hundred years before the birth of Christ. Parts of this version are found in the Jewish Talmud, and the Islamic Koran, showing what a vital role it played in the original literature of human wisdom. The Egyptian author wrote in Arabic, but later translations were found written in Ethiopic.

The present English translation was translated in the late 1800's by Dr. S. C. Malan and Dr. E. Trumpp.

They translated into King James English from both the Arabic version and the Ethiopic version which was then published in The Forgotten Books of Eden in 1927 by The World Publishing Company.

In 1995, the text was extracted from a copy of The Forgotten Books of Eden and converted to electronic form by Dennis Hawkins.

It was then translated into more modern English by simply exchanging 'Thou' s for 'You's,

'Art's for 'Are's, and so forth. The text was then carefully re-read to ensure its integrity.

BOOK I Chapter 1

The crystal sea, God commands Adam, expelled from Eden, to live in the Cave of Treasures.

1 On the third day, God planted the garden in the east of the earth, on the border of the world eastward, beyond which, towards the sun-rising, one finds nothing but water, that encompasses the whole world, and reaches to the borders of heaven.

2 And to the north of the garden there is a sea of water, clear and pure to the taste, unlike anything else; so that, through the clearness thereof, one may look into the depths of the earth.

3 And when a man washes himself in it, he becomes clean of the cleanness thereof, and white of its whiteness -- even if he were dark.

4 And God created that sea of his own good pleasure, for He knew what would come of the man He would make; so that after he had left the garden, on account of his transgression, men should be born in the earth. Among them are righteous ones who will die, whose souls God would raise at the last day; when all of them will return to their flesh, bathe in the water of that sea, and repent of their sins.

5 But when God made Adam go out of the garden, He did not place him on the border of it northward. This was so that he and Eve would not be able to go near to the sea of water where they could wash themselves in it, be cleansed from their sins, erase the transgression they had committed, and be no longer reminded of it in the thought of their punishment.

6 As to the southern side of the garden, God did not want Adam to live there either; because, when the wind blew from the north, it would bring him, on that southern side, the delicious smell of the trees of the garden.

7 Wherefore God did not put Adam there. This was so that he would not be able to smell the sweet smell of those trees, forget his transgression, and find consolation for what he had done by taking delight in the smell of the trees and yet not be cleansed from his transgression.

8 Again, also, because God is merciful and of great pity, and governs all things in a way that He alone knows -- He made our father Adam live in the western border of the garden, because on that side the earth is very broad.

9 And God commanded him to live there in a cave in a rock -- the Cave of Treasures below the garden.

Chapter 2

Adam and Eve faint when they leave the Garden. God sends His Word to encourage them.

1 But when our father Adam, and Eve, went out of the garden, they walked the ground on their feet, not knowing they were walking.

2 And when they came to the opening of the gate of the garden, and saw the broad earth spread before them, covered with stones large and small, and with sand, they feared and trembled, and fell on their faces, from the fear that came over them; and they were as dead.

3 Because -- whereas until this time they had been in the garden land, beautifully planted with all manner of trees -- they now saw themselves, in a strange land, which they knew not, and had never seen.

4 And because, when they were in the garden they were filled with the grace of a bright nature, and they had not hearts turned toward earthly things.

5 Therefore God had pity on them; and when He saw them fallen before the gate of the garden, He sent His Word to our father, Adam and Eve, and raised them from their fallen state.

Chapter 3

Concerning the promise of the great five and a half days.

1 God said to Adam, "I have ordained on this earth days and years, and you and your descendants shall live and walk in them, until the days and years are fulfilled; when I shall send the Word that created you, and against which you have transgressed, the Word that made you come out of the garden, and that raised you when you were fallen.

2 Yes, the Word that will again save you when the five and a half days are fulfilled."

3 But when Adam heard these words from God, and of the great five and a half days, he did not understand the meaning of them.

4 For Adam was thinking there would be only five and a half days for him until the end of the world.

5 And Adam cried, and prayed to God to explain it to him.

6 Then God in his mercy for Adam who was made after His own image and likeness,

explained to him, that these were 5,000 and 500 years; and how One would then come and save him and his descendants.

7 But before that, God had made this covenant with our father, Adam, in the same terms, before he came out of the garden, when he was by the tree where Eve took of the fruit and gave it to him to eat.

8 Because, when our father Adam came out of the garden, he passed by that tree, and saw how God had changed the appearance of it into another form, and how it shriveled.

9 And as Adam went to it he feared, trembled and fell down; but God in His mercy lifted him up, and then made this covenant with him.

10 And again, when Adam was by the gate of the garden, and saw the cherub with a sword of flashing fire in his hand, and the cherub grew angry and frowned at him, both Adam and Eve became afraid of him, and thought he meant to put them to death. So they fell on their faces, trembled with fear.

11 But he had pity on them, and showed them mercy; and turning from them went up to heaven, and prayed to the Lord, and said; --

12 "Lord, You sent me to watch at the gate of the garden, with a sword of fire.

13 But when Your servants, Adam and Eve, saw me, they fell on their faces, and were as dead. O my Lord, what shall we do to Your servants?"

14 Then God had pity on them, and showed them mercy, and sent His Angel to keep the garden.

15 And the Word of the Lord came to Adam and Eve, and raised them up.

16 And the Lord said to Adam, "I told you that at the end of the five and a half days, I will send my Word and save you.

17 Strengthen your heart, therefore, and stay in the Cave of Treasures, of which I have before spoken to you."

18 And when Adam heard this Word from God, he was comforted with that which God had told him. For He had told him how He would save him.

Chapter 4

Adam mourns over the changed conditions. Adam and Eve enter the Cave of Treasures.

1 But Adam and Eve cried for having come out of the garden, their first home.

2 And indeed, when Adam looked at his flesh, that was altered, he cried bitterly, he and Eve, over what they had done. And they walked and went gently down into the Cave of Treasures.

3 And as they came to it, Adam cried over himself and said to Eve, "Look at this cave that is to be our prison in this world, and a place of punishment!"

4 What is it compared with the garden? What is its narrowness compared with the space of the other?

5 What is this rock, by the side of those groves? What is the gloom of this cavern, compared with the light of the garden?

6 What is this overhanging ledge of rock to shelter us, compared with the mercy of the Lord that overshadowed us?

7 What is the soil of this cave compared with the garden land? This earth, strewn with stones; and that, planted with delicious fruit trees?"

8 And Adam said to Eve, "Look at your eyes, and at mine, which before beheld angels praising in heaven; and they too, without ceasing.

9 But now we do not see as we did; our eyes have become of flesh; they cannot see like they used to see before."

10 Adam said again to Eve, "What is our body today, compared to what it was in former days, when we lived in the garden?"

11 After this, Adam did not want to enter the cave, under the overhanging rock; nor would he ever want to enter it.

12 But he bowed to God's orders; and said to himself, "Unless I enter the cave, I shall again be a transgressor."

Chapter 5

Eve makes a noble and emotional intercession, taking the blame on herself.

1 Then Adam and Eve entered the cave, and stood praying, in their own tongue, unknown to us, but which they knew well.

2 And as they prayed, Adam raised his eyes and saw the rock and the roof of the cave that covered him overhead. This prevented him from seeing either heaven or God's creatures. So he cried and beat his chest hard, until he dropped, and was as dead.

3 And Eve sat crying; for she believed he was dead.

4 Then she got up, spread her hands toward God, appealing to Him for mercy and pity, and said, "O God, forgive me my sin, the sin which I committed, and don't remember it against me.

5 For I alone caused Your servant to fall from the garden into this condemned land; from light into this darkness; and from the house of joy into this prison.

6 O God, look at this Your servant fallen in this manner, and bring him back to life, that he may cry and repent of his transgression which he committed through me.

7 Don't take away his soul right now; but let him live that he may stand after the measure of his repentance, and do Your will, as before his death.

8 But if You do not bring him back to life, then, O God, take away my own soul, that I be like him, and leave me not in this dungeon, one and alone; for I could not stand alone in this world, but with him only.

9 For You, O God, caused him to fall asleep, and took a bone from his side, and restored the flesh in the place of it, by Your divine power.

10 And You took me, the bone, and make me a woman, bright like him, with heart, reason, and speech; and in flesh, like to his own; and You made me after the likeness of his looks, by Your mercy and power.

11 O Lord, I and he are one, and You, O God, are our Creator, You are He who made us both in one day.

12 Therefore, O God, give him life, that he may be with me in this strange land, while we live in it on account of our transgression.

13 But if You will not give him life, then take me, even me, like him; that we both may die the same day."

14 And Eve cried bitterly, and fell on our father Adam; from her great sorrow.

Chapter 6

God's reprimand to Adam and Eve in which he points out how and why they sinned.

1 But God looked at them; for they had killed themselves through great grief.

2 But He decided to raise them and comfort them.

3 He, therefore, sent His Word to them; that they should stand and be raised

immediately.

4 And the Lord said to Adam and Eve, "You transgressed of your own free will, until you came out of the garden in which I had placed you.

5 Of your own free will have you transgressed through your desire for divinity, greatness, and an exalted state, such as I have; so that I deprived you of the bright nature in which you then were, and I made you come out of the garden to this land, rough and full of trouble.

6 If only you had not transgressed My commandment and had kept My law, and had not eaten of the fruit of the tree which I told you not to come near! And there were fruit trees in the garden better than that one.

7 But the wicked Satan did not keep his faith and had no good intent towards Me, that although I had created him, he considered Me to be useless, and sought the Godhead for himself; for this I hurled him down from heaven so that he could not remain in his first estate -- it was he who made the tree appear pleasant in your eyes, until you ate of it, by believing his words.

8 Thus have you transgressed My commandment, and therefore I have brought on you all these sorrows.

9 For I am God the Creator, who, when I created My creatures, did not intend to destroy them. But after they had sorely roused My anger, I punished them with grievous plagues, until they repent.

10 But, if on the contrary, they still continue hardened in their transgression, they shall be under a curse forever."

Chapter 7

The beasts are appeased.

1 When Adam and Eve heard these words from God, they cried and sobbed yet more; but they strengthened their hearts in God, because they now felt that the Lord was to them like a father and a mother; and for this very reason, they cried before Him, and sought mercy from Him.

2 Then God had pity on them, and said: "O Adam, I have made My covenant with you, and I will not turn from it; neither will I let you return to the garden, until My covenant of the great five and a half days is fulfilled."

3 Then Adam said to God, "O Lord, You created us, and made us fit to be in the garden; and before I transgressed, You made all beasts come to me, that I should name them.

4 Your grace was then on me; and I named every one according to Your mind; and you made them all subject to me.

5 But now, O Lord God, that I have transgressed Your commandment, all beasts will rise against me and will devour me, and Eve Your handmaid; and will cut off our life from the face of the earth.

6 I therefore beg you, O God, that since You have made us come out of the garden, and have made us be in a strange land, You will not let the beasts hurt us."

7 When the Lord heard these words from Adam, He had pity on him, and felt that he had truly said that the beasts of the field would rise and devour him and Eve, because He, the Lord, was angry with the two of them on account of their transgressions.

8 Then God commanded the beasts, and the birds, and all that moves on the earth, to come to Adam and to be familiar with him, and not to trouble him and Eve; nor yet any of the good and righteous among their offspring.

9 Then all the beasts paid homage to Adam, according to the commandment of God; except the serpent, against which God was angry. It did not come to Adam, with the beasts.

Chapter 8

The "Bright Nature" of man is taken away.

1 Then Adam cried and said, "O God, when we lived in the garden, and our hearts were lifted up, we saw the angels that sang praises in heaven, but now we can't see like we used to; no, when we entered the cave, all creation became hidden from us."

2 Then God the Lord said to Adam, "When you were under subjection to Me, you had a bright nature within you, and for that reason could you see things far away. But after your transgression your bright nature was withdrawn from you; and it was not left to you to see things far away, but only near at hand; after the ability of the flesh; for it is brutish."

3 When Adam and Eve had heard these words from God, they went their way; praising and worshipping Him with a sorrowful heart.

4 And God ceased to commune with them.

Chapter 9

Water from the Tree of Life, Adam and Eve near drowning.

1 Then Adam and Eve came out of the Cave of Treasures, and went near to the garden gate, and there they stood to look at it, and cried for having come away from it.

2 And Adam and Eve went from before the gate of the garden to the southern side of it, and found there the water that watered the garden, from the root of the Tree of Life, and that split itself from there into four rivers over the earth.

3 Then they came and went near to that water, and looked at it; and saw that it was the water that came forth from under the root of the Tree of Life in the garden.

4 And Adam cried and wailed, and beat his chest, for being severed from the garden; and said to Eve: --

5 "Why have you brought on me, on yourself, and on our descendants, so many of these plagues and punishments?"

6 And Eve said to him, "What is it you have seen that has caused you to cry and to speak to me in this manner?"

7 And he said to Eve, "Do you not see this water that was with us in the garden, that watered the trees of the garden, and flowed out from there?"

8 And we, when we were in the garden, did not care about it; but since we came to this strange land, we love it, and turn it to use for our body."

9 But when Eve heard these words from him, she cried; and from the soreness of their crying, they fell into that water; and would have put an end to themselves in it, so as never again to return and behold the creation; for when they looked at the work of creation, they felt they must put an end to themselves.

Chapter 10

Their bodies need water after they leave the garden.

1 Then God, merciful and gracious, looked at them thus lying in the water, and close to death, and sent an angel, who brought them out of the water, and laid them on the seashore as dead.

2 Then the angel went up to God, was welcome, and said, "O God, Your creatures have breathed their last."

3 Then God sent His Word to Adam and Eve, who raised them from their death.

4 And Adam said, after he was raised, "O God, while we were in the garden we did not require, or care for this water; but since we came to this land we cannot do without it."

5 Then God said to Adam, "While you were under My command and were a bright angel, you knew not this water.

6 But now that you have transgressed My commandment, you can not do without water, wherein to wash your body and make it grow; for it is now like that of beasts, and is in want of water."

7 When Adam and Eve heard these words from God, they cried a bitter cry; and Adam entreated God to let him return into the garden, and look at it a second time.

8 But God said to Adam, "I have made you a promise; when that promise is fulfilled, I will bring you back into the garden, you and your righteous descendants."

9 And God ceased to commune with Adam.

Chapter 11

A recollection of the glorious days in the Garden.

1 Then Adam and Eve felt themselves burning with thirst, and heat, and sorrow.

2 And Adam said to Eve, "We shall not drink of this water, even if we were to die. O Eve, when this water comes into our inner parts, it will increase our punishments and that of our descendants."

3 Both Adam and Eve then went away from the water, and drank none of it at all; but came and entered the Cave of Treasures.

4 But when in it Adam could not see Eve; he only heard the noise she made. Neither could she see Adam, but heard the noise he made.

5 Then Adam cried, in deep affliction, and beat his chest; and he got up and said to Eve, "Where are you?"

6 And she said to him, "Look, I am standing in this darkness."

7 He then said to her, "Remember the bright nature in which we lived, when we lived in the garden!

8 O Eve! Remember the glory that rested on us in the garden. O Eve! Remember the trees that overshadowed us in the garden while we moved among them.

9 O Eve! Remember that while we were in the garden, we knew neither night nor day. Think of the Tree of Life, from below which flowed the water, and that shed lustre over us! Remember, O Eve, the garden land, and the brightness thereof!

10 Think, oh think of that garden in which was no darkness, while we lived in it.

11 Whereas no sooner did we come into this Cave of Treasures than darkness surrounded us all around; until we can no longer see each other; and all the pleasure of this life has come to an end."

Chapter 12

How darkness came between Adam and Eve.

1 Then Adam beat his chest, he and Eve, and they mourned the whole night until the crack of dawn, and they sighed over the length of the night in Miyazia.

2 And Adam beat himself, and threw himself on the ground in the cave, from bitter grief, and because of the darkness, and lay there as dead.

3 But Eve heard the noise he made in falling on the ground. And she felt about for him with her hands, and found him like a corpse.

4 Then she was afraid, speechless, and remained by him.

5 But the merciful Lord looked on the death of Adam, and on Eve's silence from fear of the darkness.

6 And the Word of God came to Adam and raised him from his death, and opened Eve's mouth that she might speak.

7 Then Adam stood up in the cave and said, "O God, why has light departed from us, and darkness covered us? Why did you leave us in this long darkness? Why do you plague us like this?"

8 And this darkness, O Lord, where was it before it covered us? It is because of this that we cannot see each other.

9 For so long as we were in the garden, we neither saw nor even knew what darkness is. I was not hidden from Eve, neither was she hidden from me, until now that she cannot see me; and no darkness came over us to separate us from each other.

10 But she and I were both in one bright light. I saw her and she saw me. Yet now since we came into this cave, darkness has covered us, and separated us from each other, so that I do not see her, and she does not see me.

11 O Lord, will You then plague us with this darkness?"

Chapter 13

The fall of Adam. Why night and day were created.

1 Then when God, who is merciful and full of pity, heard Adam's voice, He said to him: --

2 "O Adam, so long as the good angel was obedient to Me, a bright light rested on him and on his hosts.

3 But when he transgressed My commandment, I deprived him of that bright nature, and he became dark.

4 And when he was in the heavens, in the realms of light, he knew nothing of darkness.

5 But he transgressed, and I made him fall from the heaven onto the earth; and it was this darkness that came over him.

6 And on you, O Adam, while in My garden and obedient to Me, did that bright light rest also.

7 But when I heard of your transgression, I deprived you of that bright light. Yet, of My mercy, I did not turn you into darkness, but I made you your body of flesh, over which I spread this skin, in order that it may bear cold and heat.

8 If I had let My wrath fall heavily on you, I should have destroyed you; and had I turned you into darkness, it would have been as if I had killed you.

9 But in My mercy, I have made you as you are; when you transgressed My commandment, O Adam, I drove you from the garden, and made you come forth into this land; and commanded you to live in this cave; and darkness covered you, as it did over him who transgressed My commandment.

10 Thus, O Adam, has this night deceived you. It is not to last forever; but is only of twelve hours; when it is over, daylight will return.

11 Sigh not, therefore, neither be moved; and say not in your heart that this darkness is long and drags on wearily; and say not in your heart that I plague you with it.

12 Strengthen your heart, and be not afraid. This darkness is not a punishment. But, O Adam, I have made the day, and have placed the sun in it to give light; in order that you and your children should do your work.

13 For I knew you would sin and transgress, and come out into this land. Yet I wouldn't force you, nor be heard over you, nor shut up; nor doom you through your fall; nor through your coming out from light into darkness; nor yet through your coming from the garden into this land.

14 For I made you of the light; and I willed to bring out children of light from you and like to you.

15 But you did not keep My commandment one day; until I had finished the creation and blessed everything in it.

16 Then, concerning the tree, I commanded you not to eat of it. Yet I knew that Satan, who deceived himself, would also deceive you.

17 So I made known to you by means of the tree, not to come near him. And I told you not to eat of the fruit thereof, nor to taste of it, nor yet to sit under it, nor to yield to it.

18 Had I not been and spoken to you, O Adam, concerning the tree, and had I left you without a commandment, and you had sinned -- it would have been an offence on My part, for not having given you any order; you would turn around and blame Me for it.

19 But I commanded you, and warned you, and you fell. So that My creatures cannot blame Me; but the blame rests on them alone.

20 And, O Adam, I have made the day so that you and your descendants can work and toil in it. And I have made the night for them to rest in it from their work; and for the beasts of the field to go forth by night and look for their food.

21 But little of darkness now remains, O Adam, and daylight will soon appear."

Chapter 14

The earliest prophesy of the coming of Christ ?.

1 Then Adam said to God: "O Lord, take You my soul, and let me not see this gloom any more; or remove me to some place where there is no darkness."

2 But God the Lord said to Adam, "Indeed I say to you, this darkness will pass from you, every day I have determined for you, until the fulfillment of My covenant; when I will save you and bring you back again into the garden, into the house of light you long for, in which there is no darkness*. I will bring you to it -- in the kingdom of heaven."

3 Again said God to Adam, "All this misery that you have been made to take on yourself because of your transgression, will not free you from the hand of Satan, and will not save you.

4 But I will. When I shall come down from heaven, and shall become flesh of your descendants, and take on Myself the infirmity from which you suffer, then the darkness that covered you in this cave shall cover Me in the grave, when I am in the flesh of your descendants.

5 And I, who am without years, shall be subject to the reckoning of years, of times, of months, and of days, and I shall be reckoned as one of the sons of men, in order to save you."

6 And God ceased to commune with Adam.

Chapter 15

Adam and Eve grieve over the suffering of God to save them from their sins.

1 Then Adam and Eve cried and sorrowed by reason of God's word to them, that they should not return to the garden until the fulfillment of the days decreed on them; but mostly because God had told them that He should suffer for their salvation.

Chapter 16

The first sunrise, Adam and Eve think it is a fire coming to burn them.

1 After this, Adam and Eve continued to stand in the cave, praying and crying, until the morning dawned on them.

2 And when they saw the light returned to them, they retrained from fear, and strengthened their hearts.

3 Then Adam began to come out of the cave. And when he came to the mouth of it, and stood and turned his face towards the east, and saw the sunrise in glowing rays, and felt the heat thereof on his body, he was afraid of it, and thought in his heart that this flame came forth to plague him.

4 He then cried and beat his chest, then he fell on the ground on his face and made his request, saying: --

5 "O Lord, plague me not, neither consume me, nor yet take away my life from the earth."

6 For he thought the sun was God.

7 Because while he was in the garden and heard the voice of God and the sound He made in the garden, and feared Him, Adam never saw the brilliant light of the sun, neither did its flaming heat touch his body.

8 Therefore he was afraid of the sun when flaming rays of it reached him. He thought God meant to plague him therewith all the days He had decreed for him.

9 For Adam also said in his thoughts, as God did not plague us with darkness, behold,

He has caused this sun to rise and to plague us with burning heat.

10 But while he was thinking like this in his heart, the Word of God came to him and said: --

11 "O Adam, get up on your feet. This sun is not God; but it has been created to give light by day, of which I spoke to you in the cave saying, 'that the dawn would come, and there would be light by day.'

12 But I am God who comforted you in the night."

13 And God ceased to commune with Adam.

Chapter 17

The Chapter of the Serpent.

1 The Adam and Eve came out at the mouth of the cave, and went towards the garden.

2 But as they went near it, before the western gate, from which Satan came when he deceived Adam and Eve, they found the serpent that became Satan coming at the gate, and sorrowfully licking the dust, and wiggling on its breast on the ground, by reason of the curse that fell on it from God.

3 And whereas before the serpent was the most exalted of all beasts, now it was changed and become slippery, and the meanest of them all, and it crept on its breast and went on its belly.

4 And whereas it was the fairest of all beasts, it had been changed, and was become the ugliest of them all. Instead of feeding on the best food, now it turned to eat the dust. Instead of living, as before, in the best places, now it lived in the dust.

5 And, whereas it had been the most beautiful of all beasts, all of which stood dumb at its beauty, it was now abhorred of them.

6 And, again, whereas it lived in one beautiful home, to which all other animals came from elsewhere; and where it drank, they drank also of the same; now, after it had become venomous, by reason of God's curse, all beasts fled from its home, and would not drink of the water it drank; but fled from it.

Chapter 18

The mortal combat with the serpent.

1 When the accursed serpent saw Adam and Eve, it swelled its head, stood on its tail,

and with eyes blood- red, acted like it would kill them.

2 It made straight for Eve, and ran after her; while Adam standing by, cried because he had no stick in his hand with which to hit the serpent, and did not know how to put it to death.

3 But with a heart burning for Eve, Adam approached the serpent, and held it by the tail; when it turned towards him and said to him: --

4 "O Adam, because of you and of Eve, I am slippery, and go on my belly." Then with its great strength, it threw down Adam and Eve and squeezed them, and tried to kill them.

5 But God sent an angel who threw the serpent away from them, and raised them up.

6 Then the Word of God came to the serpent, and said to it, "The first time I made you slick, and made you to go on your belly; but I did not deprive you of speech.

7 This time, however, you will be mute, and you and your race will speak no more; because, the first time My creatures were ruined because of you, and this time you tried to kill them."

8 Then the serpent was struck mute, and was no longer able to speak.

9 And a wind blew down from heaven by the command of God and carried away the serpent from Adam and Eve, and threw it on the seashore where it landed in India.

Chapter 19

Beasts made subject to Adam.

1 But Adam and Eve cried before God. And Adam said to Him: --

2 "O Lord, when I was in the cave, I said this to you, my Lord, the beasts of the field would rise and devour me, and cut off my life from the earth."

3 Then Adam, because of what had happened to him, beat his chest and fell on the ground like a corpse. Then the Word of God came to him, who raised him, and said to him,

4 "O Adam, not one of these beasts will be able to hurt you; because I have made the beasts and other moving things come to you in the cave. I did not let the serpent come with them because it might have risen against you and made you tremble; and the fear of it should fall into your hearts.

5 For I knew that the accursed one is wicked; therefore I would not let it come near you with the other beasts.

6 But now strengthen your heart and fear not. I am with you to the end of the days I have determined on you."

Chapter 20

Adam wishes to protect Eve.

1 Then Adam cried and said, "O God, take us away to some other place, where the serpent can not come near us again, and rise against us. For fear that it might find Your handmaid Eve alone and kill her; for its eyes are hideous and evil."

2 But God said to Adam and Eve, "From now on, don't be afraid, I will not let it come near you; I have driven it away from you, from this mountain; neither will I leave in it the ability to hurt you."

3 Then Adam and Eve worshipped before God and gave Him thanks, and praised Him for having delivered them from death.

Chapter 21

Adam and Eve attempt suicide.

1 Then Adam and Eve went in search of the garden.

2 And the heat beat like a flame on their faces; and they sweated from the heat, and cried before the Lord.

3 But the place where they cried was close to a high mountain, facing the western gate of the garden.

4 Then Adam threw himself down from the top of that mountain; his face was torn and his flesh was ripped; he lost a lot of blood and was close to death.

5 Meanwhile Eve remained standing on the mountain crying over him, thus lying.

6 And she said, "I don't wish to live after him; for all that he did to himself was through me."

7 Then she threw herself after him; and was torn and ripped by stones; and remained lying as dead.

8 But the merciful God, who looks over His creatures, looked at Adam and Eve as they lay dead, and He sent His Word to them, and raised them.

9 And said to Adam, "O Adam, all this misery which you have brought on yourself, will have no affect against My rule, neither will it alter the covenant of the 5, 500 years."

Chapter 22

Adam in a gracious mood.

1 Then Adam said to God, "I dry up in the heat, I am faint from walking, and I don't want to be in this world. And I don't know when You will take me out of it to rest."

2 Then the Lord God said to him, "O Adam, it cannot be now, not until you have ended your days. Then shall I bring you out of this miserable land."

3 And Adam said to God, "While I was in the garden I knew neither heat, nor languor, neither moving about, nor trembling, nor fear; but now since I came to this land, all this affliction has come over me.

4 Then God said to Adam, "So long as you were keeping My commandment, My light and My grace rested on you. But when you transgressed My commandment, sorrow and misery came to you in this land."

5 And Adam cried and said, "O Lord, do not cut me off for this, neither punish me with heavy plagues, nor yet repay me according to my sin; for we, of our own will, transgressed Your commandment, and ignored Your law, and tried to become gods like you, when Satan the enemy deceived us."

6 Then God said again to Adam, "Because you have endured fear and trembling in this land, languor and suffering, treading and walking about, going on this mountain, and dying from it, I will take all this on Myself in order to save you."

Chapter 23

Adam and Eve strengthen themselves and make the first altar ever built.

1 Then Adam cried more and said, "O God, have mercy on me, so far as to take on yourself, that which I will do."

2 But God withdrew His Word from Adam and Eve.

3 Then Adam and Eve stood on their feet; and Adam said to Eve, "Strengthen yourself, and I also will strengthen myself." And she strengthened herself, as Adam told her.

4 Then Adam and Eve took stones and placed them in the shape of an altar; and they took leaves from the trees outside the garden, with which they wiped, from the face of the rock, the blood they had spilled.

5 But that which had dropped on the sand, they took together with the dust with which it was mingled and offered it on the altar as an offering to God.

6 Then Adam and Eve stood under the Altar and cried, thus praying to God, "Forgive us our trespass* and our sin, and look at us with Thine eye of mercy. For when we were in the garden our praises and our hymns went up before you without ceasing.

7 But when we came into this strange land, pure praise was not longer ours, nor righteous prayer, nor understanding hearts, nor sweet thoughts, nor just counsels, nor long discernment, nor upright feelings, neither is our bright nature left us. But our body is changed from the likeness in which it was at first, when we were created.

8 Yet now look at our blood which is offered on these stones, and accept it at our hands, like the praise we used to sing to you at first, when in the garden."

9 And Adam began to make more requests of God.

Chapter 24

A vivid prophecy of the life and death of Christ.

1 Then the merciful God, good and lover of men, looked at Adam and Eve, and at their blood, which they had held up as an offering to Him; without an order from Him for so doing. But He wondered at them; and accepted their offerings.

2 And God sent from His presence a bright fire, that consumed their offering.

3 He smelled the sweet savor of their offering, and showed them mercy.

4 Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said to him, "O Adam, as you have shed your blood, so will I shed My own blood when I become flesh of your descendants; and as you died, O Adam, so also will I die. And as you built an altar, so also will I make for you an altar of the earth; and as you offered your blood on it, so also will I offer My blood on an altar on the earth.

5 And as you sued for forgiveness through that blood, so also will I make My blood forgiveness of sins, and erase transgressions in it.

6 And now, behold, I have accepted your offering, O Adam, but the days of the covenant in which I have bound you are not fulfilled. When they are fulfilled, then will I bring you back into the garden.

7 Now, therefore, strengthen your heart; and when sorrow comes over you, make Me an offering, and I will be favorable to you."

Chapter 25

God represented as merciful and loving, The establishing of worship.

1 But God knew that Adam believed he should frequently kill himself and make an offering to Him of his blood.

2 Therefore He said to him, "O Adam, don't ever kill yourself like this again, by throwing yourself down from that mountain."

3 But Adam said to God, "I was thinking to put an end to myself at once, for having transgressed Your commandments, and for my having come out of the beautiful garden; and for the bright light of which You have deprived me; and for the praises which poured forth from my mouth without ceasing, and for the light that covered me.

4 Yet of Your goodness, O God, do not get rid of me altogether; but be favorable to me every time I die, and bring me to life.

5 And thereby it will be made known that You are a merciful God, who does not want anyone to perish; who loves not that one should fall; and who does not condemn any one cruelly, badly, and by whole destruction."

6 Then Adam remained silent.

7 And the Word of God came to him, and blessed him, and comforted him, and covenanted with him, that He would save him at the end of the days determined for him.

8 This, then, was the first offering Adam made to God; and so it became his custom to do.

Chapter 26

A beautiful prophecy of eternal life and joy, The fall of night.

1 Then Adam took Eve, and they began to return to the Cave of Treasures where they lived. But when they got closer to it and saw it from a distance, heavy sorrow fell on Adam and Eve when they looked at it.

2 Then Adam said to Eve, "When we were on the mountain we were comforted by the Word of God that conversed with us; and the light that came from the east shown over us.

3 But now the Word of God is hidden from us; and the light that shown over us is so changed as to disappear, and let darkness and sorrow come over us.

4 And we are forced to enter this cave which is like a prison, in which darkness covers

us, so that we are separated from each other; and you can not see me, neither can I see you."

5 When Adam had said these words, they cried and spread their hands before God; for they were full of sorrow.

6 And they prayed to God to bring the sun to them, to shine on them, so that darkness would not return to them, and that they wouldn't have to go under this covering of rock. And they wished to die rather than see the darkness.

7 Then God looked at Adam and Eve and at their great sorrow, and at all they had done with a fervent heart, on account of all the trouble they were in, instead of their former well-being, and on account of all the misery that came over them in a strange land.

8 Therefore God was not angry with them; nor impatient with them; but he was patient and forbearing towards them, as towards the children He had created.

9 Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said to him, "Adam, as for the sun, if I were to take it and bring it to you, days, hours, years and months would all stop, and the covenant I have made with you, would never be fulfilled.

10 But then you would be deserted and stuck in a perpetual plague, and you would never be saved.

11 Yes, rather, bear long and calm your soul while you live night and day; until the fulfillment of the days, and the time of My covenant is come.

12 Then shall I come and save you, O Adam, for I do not wish that you be afflicted.

13 And when I look at all the good things in which you lived, and why you came out of them, then would I willingly show you mercy.

14 But I cannot alter the covenant that has gone out of My mouth; otherwise I would have brought you back into the garden.

15 When, however, the covenant is fulfilled, then shall I show you and your descendants mercy, and bring you into a land of gladness, where there is neither sorrow nor suffering; but abiding joy and gladness, and light that never fails, and praises that never cease; and a beautiful garden that shall never pass away."

16 And God said again to Adam, "Be patient and enter the cave, for the darkness, of which you were afraid, shall only be twelve hours long; and when ended, light shall come up."

17 Then when Adam heard these words from God, he and Eve worshipped before Him, and their hearts were comforted. They returned into the cave after their custom, while tears flowed from their eyes, sorrow and wailing came from their hearts, and they wished

their soul would leave their body.

18 And Adam and Eve stood praying until the darkness of night came over them, and Adam was hid from Eve, and she from him.

19 And they remained standing in prayer.

Chapter 27

The second tempting of Adam and Eve, The devil takes on the form of a beguiling light.

1 When Satan, the hater of all good, saw how they continued in prayer, and how God communed with them, and comforted them, and how He had accepted their offering -- Satan made an apparition.

2 He began with transforming his hosts; in his hands was a flashing fire, and they were in a great light.

3 He then placed his throne near the mouth of the cave because he could not enter into it by reason of their prayers. And he shed light into the cave, until the cave glistened over Adam and Eve; while his hosts began to sing praises.

4 And Satan did this, in order that when Adam saw the light, he should think within himself that it was a heavenly light, and that Satan's hosts were angels; and that God had sent them to watch at the cave, and to give him light in the darkness.

5 So that when Adam came out of the cave and saw them, and Adam and Eve bowed to Satan, then he would overcome Adam thereby, and a second time humble him before God.

6 When, therefore, Adam and Eve saw the light, fancying it was real, they strengthened their hearts; yet, as they were trembling, Adam said to Eve: --

7 "Look at that great light, and at those many songs of praise, and at that host standing outside who won't come into our cave. Why don't they tell us what they want, where they are from, what the meaning of this light is, what those praises are, why they have been sent to this place, and why they won't come in?

8 If they were from God, they would come into the cave with us, and would tell us why they were sent."

9 Then Adam stood up and prayed to God with a burning heart, and said: --

10 "O Lord, is there in the world another god besides You, who created angels and filled them with light, and sent them to keep us, who would come with them?

11 But, look, we see these hosts that stand at the mouth of the cave; they are in a great light; they sing loud praises. If they are of some other god than You, tell me; and if they are sent by you, inform me of the reason for which You have sent them."

12 No sooner had Adam said this, than an angel from God appeared to him in the cave, who said to him, "O Adam, fear not. This is Satan and his hosts; he wishes to deceive you as he deceived you at first. For the first time, he was hidden in the serpent; but this time he is come to you in the likeness of an angel of light; in order that, when you worshipped him, he might enslave you, in the very presence of God."

13 Then the angel went from Adam and seized Satan at the opening of the cave, and stripped him of the pretense he had assumed, and brought him in his own hideous form to Adam and Eve; who were afraid of him when they saw him.

14 And the angel said to Adam, "This hideous form has been his ever since God made him fall from heaven. He could not have come near you in it; he therefore transformed himself into an angel of light."

15 Then the angel drove away Satan and his hosts from Adam and Eve, and said to them, "Fear not; God who created you, will strengthen you."

16 And the angel left them.

17 But Adam and Eve remained standing in the cave; no consolation came to them; they divided in their thoughts.

18 And when it was morning they prayed; and then went out to seek the garden. For their hearts were towards it, and they could get no consolation for having left it.

Chapter 28

The Devil pretends to lead Adam and Eve to the water to bathe.

1 But when the crafty Satan saw them, that they were going to the garden, he gathered together his host, and came in appearance on a cloud, intent on deceiving them.

2 But when Adam and Eve saw him thus in a vision, they thought they were angels of God come to comfort them about having left the garden, or to bring them back again into it.

3 And Adam spread his hands before God, beseeching Him to make him understand what they were.

4 Then Satan, the hater of all good, said to Adam, "O Adam, I am an angel of the great God; and, behold the hosts that surround me.

5 God has sent us to take you and bring you to the border of the garden northwards; to the shore of the clear sea, and bathe you and Eve in it, and raise you to your former gladness, that you return again to the garden."

6 These words sank into the heart of Adam and Eve.

7 Yet God withheld His Word from Adam, and did not make him understand at once, but waited to see his strength; whether he would be overcome as Eve was when in the garden, or whether he would prevail.

8 Then Satan called to Adam and Eve, and said, "Behold, we go to the sea of water," and they began to go.

9 And Adam and Eve followed them at some little distance.

10 But when they came to the mountain to the north of the garden, a very high mountain, without any steps to the top of it, the Devil drew near to Adam and Eve, and made them go up to the top in reality, and not in a vision; wishing, as he did, to throw them down and kill them, and to wipe off their name from the earth; so that this earth should remain to him and his hosts alone.

Chapter 29

God tells Adam of the Devil's purpose.

1 But when the merciful God saw that Satan wished to kill Adam with his many tricks, and saw that Adam was meek and without guile, God spoke to Satan in a loud voice, and cursed him.

2 Then he and his hosts fled, and Adam and Eve remained standing on the top of the mountain, from there they saw below them the wide world, high above which they were. But they saw none of the host which time after time were by them.

3 They cried, both Adam and Eve, before God, and begged for forgiveness of Him.

4 Then came the Word from God to Adam, and said to him, "Know you and understand concerning this Satan, that he seeks to deceive you and your descendants after you."

5 And Adam cried before the Lord God, and begged and prayed to Him to give him something from the garden, as a token to him, wherein to be comforted.

6 And God considered Adam's thought, and sent the angel Michael as far as the sea that reaches India, to take from there golden rods and bring them to Adam.

7 This did God in His wisdom in order that these golden rods, being with Adam in the cave, should shine forth with light in the night around him, and put an end to his fear of the darkness.

8 Then the angel Michael went down by God's order, took golden rods, as God had commanded him, and brought them to God.

Chapter 30

Adam receives the first worldly goods.

1 After these things, God commanded the angel Gabriel to go down to the garden, and say to the cherub who kept it, "Behold, God has commanded me to come into the garden, and to take from it sweet smelling incense, and give it to Adam."

2 Then the angel Gabriel went down by God's order to the garden, and told the cherub as God had commanded him.

3 The cherub then said, "Well." And Gabriel went in and took the incense.

4 Then God commanded his angel Raphael to go down to the garden, and speak to the cherub about some myrrh, to give to Adam.

5 And the angel Raphael went down and told the cherub as God had commanded him, and the cherub said, "Well." Then Raphael went in and took the myrrh.

6 The golden rods were from the Indian sea, where there are precious stones. The incense was from the eastern border of the garden; and the myrrh from the western border, from where bitterness came over Adam.

7 And the angels brought these things to God, by the Tree of Life, in the garden.

8 Then God said to the angels, "Dip them in the spring of water; then take them and sprinkle their water over Adam and Eve, that they be a little comforted in their sorrow, and give them to Adam and Eve.

9 And the angels did as God had commanded them, and they gave all those things to Adam and Eve on the top of the mountain on which Satan had placed them, when he sought to make an end of them.

10 And when Adam saw the golden rods, the incense and the myrrh, he was rejoiced and cried because he thought that the gold was a token of the kingdom from where he had come, that the incense was a token of the bright light which had been taken from him, and that the myrrh was a token of the sorrow in which he was.

Chapter 31

They make themselves more comfortable in the Cave of Treasures on the third day.

1 After these things God said to Adam, "You asked Me for something from the garden, to be comforted therewith, and I have given you these three tokens as a consolation to you; that you trust in Me and in My covenant with you.

2 For I will come and save you; and kings shall bring me when in the flesh, gold, incense and myrrh; gold as a token of My kingdom; incense as a token of My divinity; and myrrh as a token of My suffering and of My death.

3 But, O Adam, put these by you in the cave; the gold that it may shed light over you by night; the incense, that you smell its sweet savor; and the myrrh, to comfort you in your sorrow."

4 When Adam heard these words from God, he worshipped before Him. He and Eve worshipped Him and gave Him thanks, because He had dealt mercifully with them.

5 Then God commanded the three angels, Michael, Gabriel and Raphael, each to bring what he had brought, and give it to Adam. And they did so, one by one.

6 And God commanded Suriyel and Salathiel to bear up Adam and Eve, and bring them down from the top of the high mountain, and to take them to the Cave of Treasures.

7 There they laid the gold on the south side of the cave, the incense on the eastern side, and the myrrh on the western side. For the mouth of the cave was on the north side.

8 The angels then comforted Adam and Eve, and departed.

9 The gold was seventy rods*; the incense, twelve pounds; and the myrrh, three pounds.

10 These remained by Adam in the Cave of Treasures**.

11 God gave these three things to Adam on the third day after he had come out of the garden, in token of the three days the Lord should remain in the heart of the earth.

12 And these three things, as they continued with Adam in the cave, gave him light by night; and by day they gave him a little relief from his sorrow.

Chapter 32

Adam and Eve go into the water to pray.

1 And Adam and Eve remained in the Cave of Treasures until the seventh day; they

neither ate of the fruit the earth, nor drank water.

2 And when it dawned on the eighth day, Adam said to Eve, "O Eve, we prayed God to give us something from the garden, and He sent his angels who brought us what we had desired.

3 But now, get up, let us go to the sea of water we saw at first, and let us stand in it, praying that God will again be favorable to us and take us back to the garden; or give us something; or that He will give us comfort in some other land than this in which we are."

4 Then Adam and Eve came out of the cave, went and stood on the border of the sea in which they had before thrown themselves, and Adam said to Eve:--

5 Come, go down into this place, and come not out of it until the end of thirty days, when I shall come to you. And pray to God with burning heart and a sweet voice, to forgive us.

6 And I will go to another place, and go down into it, and do like you."

7 Then Eve went down into the water, as Adam had commanded her. Adam also went down into the water; and they stood praying; and besought the Lord to forgive them their offense, and to restore them to their former state.

8 And they stood like that praying, until the end of the thirty-five days.

Chapter 33

Satan falsely promises the "bright light."

1 But Satan, the hater of all good, sought them in the cave, but found them not, although he searched diligently for them.

2 But he found them standing in the water praying and thought within himself, "Adam and Eve are standing like that in that water praying to God to forgive them their transgression, and to restore them to their former state, and to take them from under my hand.

3 But I will deceive them so that they shall come out of the water, and not fulfil their vow."

4 Then the hater of all good, went not to Adam, but he went to Eve, and took the form of an angel of God, praising and rejoicing, and said to her:--

5 "Peace be to you! Be glad and rejoice! God is favorable to you, and He sent me to Adam. I have brought him the glad tidings of salvation, and of his being filled with bright light as he was at first.

6 And Adam, in his joy for his restoration, has sent me to you, that you come to me, in order that I crown you with light like him.

7 And he said to me, 'Speak to Eve; if she does not come with you, tell her of the sign when we were on the top of the mountain; how God sent his angels who took us and brought us to the Cave of Treasures; and laid the gold on the southern side; incense, on the eastern side; and myrrh on the western side.' Now come to him."

8 When Eve hear these words from him, she rejoiced greatly. And thinking Satan's appearance was real, she came out of the sea.

9 He went before, and she followed him until they came to Adam. Then Satan hid himself from her, and she saw him no more.

10 She then came and stood before Adam, who was standing by the water and rejoicing in God's forgiveness.

11 And as she called to him, he turned around, found her there and cried when he saw her, and beat his chest; and from the bitterness of his grief, he sank into the water.

12 But God looked at him and at his misery, and at his being about to breathe his last. And the Word of God came from heaven, raised him out of the water, and said to him, "Go up the high bank to Eve." And when he came up to Eve he said to her, "Who told you to come here?"

13 Then she told him the discourse of the angel who had appeared to her and had given her a sign.

14 But Adam grieved, and gave her to know it was Satan. He then took her and they both returned to the cave.

15 These things happened to them the second time they went down to the water, seven days after their coming out of the garden.

16 They fasted in the water thirty-five days; altogether forty-two days since they had left the garden.

Chapter 34

Adam recalls the creation of Eve, He eloquently appeals for food and drink.

1 And on the morning of the forty-third day, they came out of the cave, sorrowful and crying. Their bodies were lean, and they were parched from hunger and thirst, from fasting and praying, and from their heavy sorrow on account of their transgression.

2 And when they had come out of the cave they went up the mountain to the west of the garden.

3 There they stood and prayed and besought God to grant them forgiveness of their sins.

4 And after their prayers Adam began to beg God, saying, "O my Lord, my God, and my Creator, You commanded the four elements* to be gathered together, and they were gathered together by Thine order.

5 Then You spread Your hand and created me out of one element, that of dust of the earth; and You brought me into the garden at the third hour, on a Friday, and informed me of it in the cave.

6 Then, at first, I knew neither night nor day, for I had a bright nature; neither did the light in which I lived ever leave me to know night or day.

7 Then, again, O Lord, in that third hour in which You created me, You brought to me all beasts, and lions, and ostriches, and fowls of the air, and all things that move in the earth, which You had created at the first hour before me of the Friday.

8 And Your will was that I should name them all, one by one, with a suitable name. But You gave me understanding and knowledge, and a pure heart and a right mind from you, that I should name them after Thine own mind regarding the naming of them.

9 O God, You made them obedient to me, and ordered that not one of them break from my sway, according to Your commandment, and to the dominion which You had given me over them. But now they are all estranged from me.

10 Then it was in that third hour of Friday, in which You created me, and commanded me concerning the tree, to which I was neither to go near, nor to eat thereof; for You said to me in the garden, 'When you eat of it, of death you shall die.'

11 And if You had punished me as You said, with death, I should have died that very moment.

12 Moreover, when You commanded me regarding the tree, I was neither to approach nor to eat thereof, Eve was not with me; You had not yet created her, neither had You yet taken her out of my side; nor had she yet heard this order from you.

13 Then, at the end of the third hour of that Friday, O Lord, You caused a slumber and a sleep to come over me, and I slept, and was overwhelmed in sleep.

14 Then You drew a rib out of my side, and created it after my own likeness and image. Then I awoke; and when I saw her and knew who she was, I said, 'This is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; from now on she shall be called woman.'

15 It was of Your good will, O God, that You brought a slumber in a sleep over me, and that You immediately brought Eve out of my side, until she was out, so that I did not see how she was made; neither could I witness, O my Lord, how awful and great are Your goodness and glory.

16 And of Your goodwill, O Lord, You made us both with bodies of a bright nature, and You made us two, one; and You gave us Your grace, and filled us with praises of the Holy Spirit; that we should be neither hungry nor thirsty, nor know what sorrow is, nor yet faintness of heart; neither suffering, fasting nor weariness.

17 But now, O God, since we transgressed Your commandment and broke Your law, You have brought us out into a strange land, and have caused suffering, and faintness, hunger and thirst to come over us.

18 Now, therefore, O God, we pray you, give us something to eat from the garden, to satisfy our hunger with it; and something wherewith to quench our thirst.

19 For, behold, many days, O God, we have tasted nothing and drunk nothing, and our flesh is dried up, and our strength is wasted, and sleep is gone from our eyes from faintness and crying.

20 Then, O God, we dare not gather anything from the fruit of trees, from fear of you. For when we transgress at first You spared us and did not make us die.

21 But now, we thought in our hearts, if we eat of the fruit of the trees, without God's order, He will destroy us this time, and will wipe us off from the face of the earth.

22 And if we drink of this water, without God's order, He will make an end of us and root us up at once.

23 Now, therefore, O God, that I am come to this place with Eve, we beg You to give us some fruit from the garden, that we may be satisfied with it.

24 For we desire the fruit that is on the earth, and all else that we lack in it."

Chapter 35

God's reply.

1 Then God looked again at Adam and his crying and groaning, and the Word of God came to him, and said to him: --

2 "O Adam, when you were in My garden, you knew neither eating nor drinking; neither faintness nor suffering; neither leanness of flesh, nor change; neither did sleep depart from thine eyes. But since you transgressed, and came into this strange land, all these trials are come over you."

Chapter 36

Figs.

1 Then God commanded the cherub, who kept the gate of the garden with a sword of fire in his hand, to take some of the fruit of the fig-tree, and to give it to Adam.

2 The cherub obeyed the command of the Lord God, and went into the garden and brought two figs on two twigs, each fig hanging to its leaf; they were from two of the trees among which Adam and Eve hid themselves when God went to walk in the garden, and the Word of God came to Adam and Eve and said to them, "Adam, Adam, where are you?"

3 And Adam answered, "O God, here I am. When I heard the sound of You and Your voice, I hid myself, because I am naked."

4 Then the cherub took two figs and brought them to Adam and Eve. But he threw them to them from a distance; for they might not come near the cherub by reason of their flesh, that could not come near the fire.

5 At first, angels trembled at the presence of Adam and were afraid of him. But now Adam trembled before the angels and was afraid of them.

6 Then Adam came closer and took one fig, and Eve also came in turn and took the other.

7 And as they took them up in their hands, they looked at them, and knew they were from the trees among which they had hidden themselves.

Chapter 37

Forty-three days of penance do not redeem one hour of sin.

1 Then Adam said to Eve, "Do you not see these figs and their leaves, with which we covered ourselves when we were stripped of our bright nature? But now, we do not know what misery and suffering may come over us from eating them.

2 Now, therefore, O Eve, let us restrain ourselves and not eat of them, you and I; and let us ask God to give us of the fruit of the Tree of Life."

3 Thus did Adam and Eve restrain themselves, and did not eat of these figs.

4 But Adam began to pray to God and to beseech Him to give him of the fruit of the Tree of Life, saying thus: "O God, when we transgressed Your commandment at the sixth

hour of Friday, we were stripped of the bright nature we had, and did not continue in the garden after our transgression, more than three hours.

5 But in the evening You made us come out of it. O God, we transgressed against You one hour, and all these trials and sorrows have come over us until this day.

6 And those days together with this the forty-third day, do not redeem that one hour in which we transgressed!

7 O God, look at us with an eye of pity, and do not avenge us according to our transgression of Your commandment, in Your presence.

8 O God, give us of the fruit of the Tree of Life, that we may eat of it, and live, and turn not to see sufferings and other trouble, in this earth; for You are God.

9 When we transgressed Your commandment, You made us come out of the garden, and sent a cherub to keep the Tree of Life, lest we should eat thereof, and live; and know nothing of faintness after we transgressed.

10 But now, O Lord, behold, we have endured all these days, and have borne sufferings. Make these forty-three days an equivalent for the one hour in which we transgressed."

Chapter 38

"When 5500 years are fulfilled. . . ."

1 After these things the Word of God came to Adam, and said to him: --

2 "O Adam, as to the fruit on the Tree of Life that you have asked for, I will not give it to you now, but only when the 5500 years are fulfilled. At that time I will give you fruit from the Tree of Life, and you will eat, and live forever, you, and Eve, and your righteous descendants.

3 But these forty-three days cannot make amends for the hour in which you transgressed My commandment.

4 O Adam, I gave you the fruit of the fig-tree to eat in which you hid yourself. Go and eat of it, you and Eve.

5 I will not deny your request, neither will I disappoint your hope; therefore, endure until the fulfillment of the covenant I made with you."

6 And God withdrew His Word from Adam.

Chapter 39

Adam is cautious -- but too late.

1 Then Adam returned to Eve, and said to her, "Get up, and take a fig for yourself, and I will take another; and let us go to our cave."

2 Then Adam and Eve took each a fig and went towards the cave; the time was about the setting of the sun; and their thoughts made them long to eat of the fruit.

3 But Adam said to Eve, "I am afraid to eat of this fig. I know not what may come over me from it."

4 So Adam cried, and stood praying before God, saying, "Satisfy my hunger, without my having to eat this fig; for after I have eaten it, what will it profit me? And what shall I desire and ask of you, O God, when it is gone?"

5 And he said again, "I am afraid to eat of it; for I know not what will befall me through it."

Chapter 40

The first Human hunger.

1 Then the Word of God came to Adam, and said to him, "O Adam, why didn't you have this dread, or this fasting, or this care before now? And why didn't you have this fear before you transgressed?"

2 But when you came to live in this strange land, your animal body could not survive on earth without earthly food, to strengthen it and to restore its powers."

3 And God withdrew His Word for Adam.

Chapter 41

The first Human thirst.

1 Then Adam took the fig, and laid it on the golden rods. Eve also took her fig, and put it on the incense.

2 And the weight of each fig was that of a water-melon; for the fruit of the garden was much larger than the fruit of this land*.

3 But Adam and Eve remained standing and fasting the whole of that night, until the morning dawned.

4 When the sun rose they were still praying, but after they had finished praying, Adam said to Eve: --

5 "O Eve, come, let us go to the border of the garden looking south; to the place from where the river flows, and is parted into four heads. There we will pray to God, and ask Him to give us some of the Water of Life to drink .

6 For God has not fed us with the Tree of Life, in order that we may not live. Therefore, we will ask him to give us some of the Water of Life, and to quench our thirst with it, rather than with a drink of water of this land."

7 When Eve heard these words from Adam, she agreed; and they both got up and came to the southern border of the garden, at the edge of the river of water a short distance from the garden.

8 And they stood and prayed before the Lord, and asked Him to look at them this once, to forgive them, and to grant them their request.

9 After this prayer from both of them, Adam began to pray with his voice before God, and said; --

10 "O Lord, when I was in the garden and saw the water that flowed from under the Tree of Life, my heart did not desire, neither did my body require to drink of it; neither did I know thirst, for I was living; and above that which I am now.

11 So that in order to live I did not require any Food of Life, neither did I drink of the Water of Life.

12 But now, O God, I am dead; my flesh is parched with thirst. Give me of the Water of Life that I may drink of it and live.

13 Of Your mercy, O God, save me from these plagues and trials, and bring me into another land different from this, if You will not let me live in Your garden."

* This is substantiated by Genesis 3:7 whereby the leaves of the fig tree were large enough that Adam and Eve could fashion garments from them.

Chapter 42

A promise of the Water of Life, The third prophecy of the coming of Christ.

1 Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said to him:--

2 "O Adam, as to what you said, 'Bring me into a land where there is rest,' it is not another land than this, but it is the kingdom of heaven where alone there is rest.

3 But you can not make your entrance into it at present; but only after your judgment is past and fulfilled.

4 Then will I make you go up into the kingdom of heaven, you and your righteous descendants; and I will give you and them the rest you ask for at present.

5 And if you said, 'Give me of the Water of Life that I may drink and live' -- it cannot be this day, but on the day that I shall descend into hell, and break the gates of brass, and bruise in pieces the kingdoms of iron.

6 Then will I in mercy save your soul and the souls of the righteous, to give them rest in My garden. And that shall be when the end of the world is come.

7 And, again, in regards to the Water of Life you seek, it will not be granted you this day; but on the day that I shall shed My blood on your head* in the land of Golgotha**.

8 For My blood shall be the Water of Life to you at that time, and not to just you alone, but to all your descendants who shall believe in Me***; that it be to them for rest forever."

9 The Lord said again to Adam, "O Adam, when you were in the garden, these trials did not come to you.

10 But since you transgressed My commandment, all these sufferings have come over you.

11 Now, also, does your flesh require food and drink; drink then of that water that flows by you on the face of the earth.

12 Then God withdrew His Word from Adam.

13 And Adam and Eve worshipped the Lord, and returned from the river of water to the cave. It was noon-day; and when they drew near to the cave, they saw a large fire by it.

Chapter 43

The Devil attempts arson.

1 Then Adam and Eve were afraid, and stood still. And Adam said to Eve, "What is that fire by our cave? We have done nothing in it to cause this fire.

2 We neither have bread to bake therein, nor broth to cook there. As to this fire, we have never known anything like it, neither do we know what to call it.

3 But ever since God sent the cherub with a sword of fire that flashed and lightened in his hand, from fear of which we fell down and were like corpses, have we not seen the like.

4 But now, O Eve, behold, this is the same fire that was in the cherub's hand, which God has sent to keep the cave in which we live.

5 O Eve, it is because God is angry with us, and will drive us from it.

6 O Eve, we have again transgressed His commandment in that cave, so that He had sent this fire to burn around it, and to prevent us from going into it.

7 If this be really so, O Eve, where shall we live? And where shall we flee from before the face of the Lord? Since, in regards to the garden, He will not let us live in it, and He has deprived us of the good things thereof; but He has placed us in this cave, in which we have borne darkness, trials and hardships, until at last we have found comfort therein.

8 But now that He has brought us out into another land, who knows what may happen in it? And who knows but that the darkness of that land may be far greater than the darkness of this land?

9 Who knows what may happen in that land by day or by night? And who knows whether it will be far or near, O Eve? Where it will please God to put us, may be far from the garden, O Eve? Or where God will prevent us from beholding Him, because we have transgressed His commandment, and because we have made requests of Him at all times?

10 O Eve, if God will bring us into a strange land other than this, in which we find consolation, it must be to put our souls to death, and blot out our name from the face of the earth.

11 O Eve, if we are further alienated from the garden and from God, where shall we find Him again, and ask Him to give us gold, incense, myrrh, and some fruit of the fig-tree?

12 Where shall we find Him, to comfort us a second time? Where shall we find Him, that He may think of us, as regards the covenant He has made on our behalf?"

13 Then Adam said no more. And they kept looking, He and Eve, towards the cave, and at the fire that flared up around it.

14 But that fire was from Satan. For he had gathered trees and dry grasses, and had carried and brought them to the cave, and had set fire to them, in order to consume the cave and what was in it.

15 So that Adam and Eve should be left in sorrow, and he should cut off their trust in God, and make them deny Him.

16 But by the mercy of God he could not burn the cave, for God sent His angel around the cave to guard it from such a fire, until it went out.

17 And this fire lasted from noon-day until the break of day. That was the forty-fifth day.

Chapter 44

The power of fire over man.

1 Yet Adam and Eve were standing and looking at the fire, and unable to come near the cave from their dread of the fire.

2 And Satan kept on bringing trees and throwing them into the fire, until the flames of the fire rose up on high, and covered the whole cave, thinking, as he did in his own mind, to consume the cave with much fire. But the angel of the Lord was guarding it.

3 And yet he could not curse Satan, nor injure him by word, because he had no authority over him, neither did he take to doing so with words from his mouth.

4 Therefore the angel tolerated him, without saying one bad word, until the Word of God came who said to Satan, "Go away from here; once before you deceived My servants, and this time you seek to destroy them.

5 Were it not for My mercy I would have destroyed you and your hosts from off the earth. But I have had patience with you, until the end of the world."

6 Then Satan fled from before the Lord. But the fire went on burning around the cave like a coal-fire the whole day; which was the forty-sixth day Adam and Eve had spent since they came out of the garden.

7 And when Adam and Eve saw that the heat of the fire had somewhat cooled down, they began to walk towards the cave to get into it as they usually did; but they could not, by reason of the heat of the fire.

8 Then they both began crying because of the fire that separated them from the cave, and that came towards them, burning. And they were afraid.

9 Then Adam said to Eve, "See this fire of which we have a portion in us: which formerly yielded to us, but no longer does so, now that we have transgressed the limit of creation, and changed our condition, and our nature is altered. But the fire is not changed in its nature, nor altered from its creation. Therefore it now has power over us; and when we come near it, it scorches our flesh."

Chapter 45

Why Satan didn't fulfil his promises, Description of hell.

1 Then Adam rose and prayed to God, saying, "See, this fire has separated us from the cave in which You have commanded us to live; but now, behold, we cannot go into it."

2 Then God heard Adam, and sent him His Word, that said: --

3 "O Adam, see this fire! How different the flame and heat thereof are from the garden of delights and the good things in it!

4 When you were under My control, all creatures yielded to you; but after you have transgressed My commandment, they all rise over you."

5 God said again to him, "See, O Adam, how Satan has exalted you! He has deprived you of the Godhead, and of an exalted state like Me, and has not kept his word to you; but has, after all, become your enemy. He is the one who made this fire in which he meant to burn you and Eve.

6 Why, O Adam, has he not kept his agreement with you, not even one day; but has deprived you of the glory that was on you -- when you yielded to his command?

7 Do you think, Adam, that he loved you when he made this agreement with you? Or that he loved you and wished to raise you on high?

8 But no, Adam, he did not do all that out of love to you; but he wished to make you come out of light into darkness; and from an exalted state to degradation; from glory to abasement; from joy to sorrow; and from rest to fasting and fainting."

9 God also said to Adam, "See this fire kindled by Satan around your cave; see this wonder that surrounds you; and know that it will encompass about both you and your descendants, when you obey his command; that he will plague you with fire; and that you will go down into hell after you are dead.

10 Then you will see the burning of his fire, that will be burning around you and likewise your descendants. You will not be delivered from it until My coming; just like you cannot go into your cave right now because of the great fire around it; not until My Word comes and makes a way for you on the day My covenant is fulfilled.

11 There is no way for you at present to come from this life to rest, not until My Word comes, who is My Word. Then He will make a way for you, and you shall have rest." Then God called with His Word to the fire that burned around the cave, that it split itself in half, until Adam had gone through it. Then the fire parted itself by God's order, and a way was made for Adam*.

12 And God withdrew His Word from Adam.

Chapter 46

"How many times have I delivered you out of his hand . . ."

1 Then Adam and Eve began again to come into the cave. And when they came to the way between the fire, Satan blew into the fire like a whirlwind, and caused the burning coal-fire to cover Adam and Eve; so that their bodies were singed; and the coal-fire scorched them*.

2 And from the burning of the fire Adam and Eve screamed, and said, "O Lord, save us! Leave us not to be consumed and plagued by this burning fire; neither require us for having transgressed Your commandment."

3 Then God looked at their bodies, on which Satan had caused fire to burn, and God sent His angel that stayed the burning fire. But the wounds remained on their bodies.

4 And God said to Adam, "See Satan's love for you, who pretended to give you the Godhead and greatness; and, behold, he burns you with fire, and seeks to destroy you from off the earth.

5 Then look at Me, O Adam; I created you, and how many times have I delivered you out of his hand? If not, wouldn't he have destroyed you?"

6 God said again to Eve, "What is that he promised you in the garden, saying, 'As soon as you eat from the tree, your eyes will be opened, and you shall become like gods, knowing good and evil.' But look! He has burnt your bodies with fire, and has made you taste the taste of fire, for the taste of the garden; and has made you see the burning of fire, and the evil of it, and the power it has over you.

7 Your eyes have seen the good he has taken from you, and in truth he has opened your eyes; and you have seen the garden in which you were with Me, and you have also seen the evil that has come over you from Satan. But as to the Godhead he cannot give it to you, neither fulfill his speech to you. No, he was bitter against you and your descendants, that will come after you."

8 And God withdrew His Word from them.

Chapter 47

The Devil's own Scheming.

1 Then Adam and Eve came into the cave, yet trembling at the fire that had scorched their bodies. So Adam said to Eve:--

2 "Look, the fire has burnt our flesh in this world; but how will it be when we are dead,

and Satan shall punish our souls? Is not our deliverance long and far off, unless God come, and in mercy to us fulfil His promise?"

3 Then Adam and Eve passed into the cave, blessing themselves for coming into it once more. For it was in their thoughts, that they never should enter it, when they saw the fire around it.

4 But as the sun was setting the fire was still burning and nearing Adam and Eve in the cave, so that they could not sleep in it. After the sun had set, they went out of it. This was the forty-seventh day after they came out of the garden.

5 Adam and Eve then came under the top of hill by the garden to sleep, as they were accustomed.

6 And they stood and prayed God to forgive them their sins, and then fell asleep under the summit of the mountain.

7 But Satan, the hater of all good, thought within himself: "Whereas God has promised salvation to Adam by covenant, and that He would deliver him out of all the hardships that have befallen him -- but has not promised me by covenant, and will not deliver me out of my hardships; no, since He has promised him that He should make him and his descendants live in the kingdom in which I once was -- I will kill Adam.

8 The earth shall be rid of him; and shall be left to me alone; so that when he is dead he may not have any descendants left to inherit the kingdom that shall remain my own realm; God will then be wanting me, and He will restore it to me and my hosts."

Chapter 48

Fifth apparition of Satan to Adam and Eve.

1 After this Satan called to his hosts, all of which came to him, and said to him: --

2 "O, our lord, what will you do?"

3 He then said to them, "You know that this Adam, whom God created out of the dust, is the one who has taken our kingdom, come, let us gather together and kill him; or hurl a rock at him and at Eve, and crush them under it."

4 When Satan's hosts heard these words, they came to the part of the mountain where Adam and Eve were asleep.

5 Then Satan and his host took a huge rock, broad and even, and without blemish, thinking within himself, "If there should be a hole in the rock, when it fell on them, the hole in the rock might come over them, and so they would escape and not die."

6 He then said to his hosts, "Take up this stone, and throw it flat on them, so that it doesn't roll off them to somewhere else. And when you have hurled it, get away from there quickly."

7 And they did as he told them. But as the rock fell down from the mountain toward Adam and Eve, God commanded the rock to become a dome over them*, that did them no harm. And so it was by God's order.

8 But when the rock fell, the whole earth quaked with it**, and was shaken from the size of the rock.

9 And as it quaked and shook, Adam and Eve awoke from sleep, and found themselves under a dome of rock. But they didn't know what had happened; because when they fell asleep they were under the sky, and not under a dome; and when they saw it, they were afraid.

10 Then Adam said to Eve, "Wherefore has the mountain bent itself, and the earth quaked and shaken on our account? And why has this rock spread itself over us like a tent?"

11 Does God intend to plague us and to shut us up in this prison? Or will He close the earth over us?

12 He is angry with us for our having come out of the cave, without His order; and for our having done so of our own accord, without consulting Him, when we left the cave and came to this place."

13 Then Eve said, "If, indeed, the earth quaked for our sake, and this rock forms a tent over us because of our transgression, then we will be sorry, O Adam, because our punishment will be long.

14 But get up and pray to God to let us know concerning this, and what this rock is that is spread over us like a tent."

15 Then Adam stood up and prayed before the Lord, to let him know what had brought about this difficult time. And Adam stood praying like that until the morning.

Chapter 49

The first prophecy of the Resurrection.

1 Then the Word of God came and said: --

2 "O Adam, who counseled you, when you came out of the cave, to come to this place?"

3 And Adam said to God, "O Lord, we came to this place because of the heat of the fire, that came over us inside the cave."

4 Then the Lord God said to Adam, "O Adam, you dread the heat of fire for one night, but how will it be when you live in hell?"

5 Yet, O Adam, don't be afraid, and don't believe that I have placed this dome of rock over you to plague you with it.

6 It came from Satan, who had promised you the Godhead and majesty. It is he who threw down this rock to kill you under it, and Eve with you, and thus to prevent you from living on the earth.

7 But, in mercy for you, just as that rock was falling down on you, I commanded it to form an dome over you; and the rock under you to lower itself.

8 And this sign, O Adam, will happen to Me at My coming on earth: Satan will raise the people of the Jews to put Me to death; and they will lay Me in a rock, and seal a large stone over Me, and I shall remain within that rock three days and three nights.

9 But on the third day I shall rise again, and it shall be salvation to you, O Adam, and to your descendants, to believe in Me. But, O Adam, I will not bring you from under this rock until three days and three nights have passed."

10 And God withdrew His Word from Adam.

11 But Adam and Eve lived under the rock three days and three nights, as God had told them.

12 And God did so to them because they had left their cave and had come to this same place without God's order.

13 But, after three days and three nights, God created an opening in the dome of rock and allowed them to get out from under it. Their flesh was dried up, and their eyes and hearts were troubled from crying and sorrow.

Chapter 50

Adam and Eve seek to cover their nakedness.

1 Then Adam and Eve went forth and came into the Cave of Treasures, and they stood praying in it the whole of that day, until the evening.

2 And this took place at the end of the fifty days after they had left the garden.

3 But Adam and Eve rose again and prayed to God in the cave the whole of that night,

and begged for mercy from Him.

4 And when the day dawned, Adam said to Eve, "Come! Let us go and do some work for our bodies."

5 So they went out of the cave, and came to the northern border of the garden, and they looked for something to cover their bodies with*. But they found nothing, and knew not how to do the work. Yet their bodies were stained, and they were speechless from cold and heat.

6 Then Adam stood and asked God to show him something with which to cover their bodies.

7 Then came the Word of God and said to him, "O Adam, take Eve and come to the seashore where you fasted before. There you will find skins of sheep that were left after lions ate the carcasses. Take them and make garments for yourselves, and clothe yourselves with them.

Chapter 51

"What is his beauty that you should have followed him?"

1 When Adam heard these words from God, he took Eve and went from the northern end of the garden to the south of it, by the river of water where they once fasted.

2 But as they were going on their way, and before they got there, Satan, the wicked one, had heard the Word of God communing with Adam respecting his covering.

3 It grieved him, and he hastened to the place where the sheep-skins were, with the intention of taking them and throwing them into the sea, or of burning them with fire, so that Adam and Eve would not find them.

4 But as he was about to take them, the Word of God came from heaven, and bound him by the side of those skins until Adam and Eve came near him. But as they got closer to him they were afraid of him, and of his hideous look.

5 Then came the Word of God to Adam and Eve, and said to them, "This is he who was hidden in the serpent, and who deceived you, and stripped you of the garment of light and glory in which you were.

6 This is he who promised you majesty and divinity. Where, then, is the beauty that was on him? Where is his divinity? Where is his light? Where is the glory that rested on him?

7 Now his figure is hideous; he is become abominable among angels; and he has come to be called Satan.

8 O Adam, he wished to take from you this earthly garment of sheep-skins, and to destroy it, and not let you be covered with it.

9 What, then, is his beauty that you should have followed him? And what have you gained by obeying him? See his evil works and then look at Me; at Me, your Creator, and at the good deeds I do you.

10 See, I bound him until you came and saw him and beheld his weakness, that no power is left with him."

11 And God released him from his bonds.

Chapter 52

Adam and Eve sew the first shirt.

1 After this Adam and Eve said no more, but cried before God on account of their creation, and of their bodies that required an earthly covering.

2 Then Adam said to Eve, "O Eve, this is the skin of beasts with which we shall be covered, but when we put it on, behold, we shall be wearing a token of death on our bodies. Just as the owners of these skins have died and have wasted away, so also shall we die and pass away."

3 Then Adam and Eve took the skins, and went back to the Cave of Treasures; and when in it, they stood and prayed as they were accustomed.

4 And they thought how they could make garments of those skins; for they had no skill for it.

5 Then God sent to them His angel to show them how to work it out. And the angel said to Adam, "Go forth, and bring some palm-thorns." Then Adam went out, and brought some, as the angel had commanded him.

6 Then the angel began before them to work out the skins, after the manner of one who prepares a shirt. And he took the thorns and stuck them into the skins, before their eyes.

7 Then the angel again stood up and prayed God that the thorns in those skins should be hidden, so as to be, as it were, sewn with one thread.

8 And so it was, by God's order; they became garments for Adam and Eve, and He clothed them therewith.

9 From that time the nakedness of their bodies was covered from the sight of each other's eyes.

10 And this happened at the end of the fifty-first day.

11 Then when Adam's and Eve's bodies were covered, they stood and prayed, and sought mercy of the Lord, and forgiveness, and gave Him thanks for that He had had mercy on them, and had covered their nakedness. And they ceased not from prayer the whole of that night.

12 Then when the morning dawned at the rising of the sun, they said their prayers after their custom; and then went out of the cave.

13 And Adam said to Eve, "Since we don't know what there is to the west of this cave, let us go out and see it today." Then they came forth and went toward the western border.

Chapter 53

The prophecy of the Western Lands and of the great flood.

1 They were not very far from the cave, when Satan came towards them, and hid himself between them and the cave, under the form of two ravenous lions three days without food, that came towards Adam and Eve, as if to break them in pieces and devour them.

2 Then Adam and Eve cried, and prayed God to deliver them from their paws.

3 Then the Word of God came to them, and drove away the lions from them.

4 And God said to Adam, "O Adam, what do you seek on the western border? And why have you left of thine own accord the eastern border, in which was your living place?

5 Now then, turn back to your cave, and remain in it, so that Satan won't deceive you or work his purpose over you.

6 For in this western border, O Adam, there will go from you a descendant, that shall replenish it; and that will defile themselves with their sins, and with their yielding to the commands of Satan, and by following his works.

7 Therefore will I bring over them the waters of a flood, and overwhelm them all. But I will deliver what is left of the righteous among them; and I will bring them to a distant land, and the land in which you live now shall remain desolate and without one inhabitant in it.

8 After God had thus spoken to them, they went back to the Cave of Treasures. But their flesh was dried up, and they were weak from fasting and praying, and from the sorrow they felt at having trespassed against God.

Chapter 54

Adam and Eve go exploring.

1 Then Adam and Eve stood up in the cave and prayed the whole of that night until the morning dawned. And when the sun was risen they both went out of the cave; their heads were wandering from heaviness of sorrow and they didn't know where they were going.

2 And they walked in that condition to the southern border of the garden. And they began to go up that border until they came to the eastern border beyond which there was no more land.

3 And the cherub who guarded the garden was standing at the western gate, and guarding it against Adam and Eve, lest they should suddenly come into the garden. And the cherub turned around, as if to put them to death; according to the commandment God had given him.

4 When Adam and Eve came to the eastern border of the garden -- thinking in their hearts that the cherub was not watching -- as they were standing by the gate as if wishing to go in, suddenly came the cherub with a flashing sword of fire in his hand; and when he saw them, he went forth to kill them. For he was afraid that God would destroy him if they went into the garden without His order.

5 And the sword of the cherub seemed to shoot flames a distance away from it. But when he raised it over Adam and Eve, the flame of the sword did not flash forth.

6 Therefore the cherub thought that God was favorable to them, and was bringing them back into the garden. And the cherub stood wondering.

7 He could not go up to Heaven to determine God's order regarding their getting into the garden; he therefore continued to stand by them, unable as he was to part from them; for he was afraid that if they should enter the garden without permission, God would destroy him.

8 When Adam and Eve saw the cherub coming towards them with a flaming sword of fire in his hand, they fell on their faces from fear, and were as dead.

9 At that time the heavens and the earth shook; and another cherubim came down from heaven to the cherub who guarded the garden, and saw him amazed and silent.

10 Then, again, other angels came down close to the place where Adam and Eve were. They were divided between joy and sorrow.

11 They were glad, because they thought that God was favorable to Adam, and wished him to return to the garden; and wished to restore him to the gladness he once enjoyed.

12 But they sorrowed over Adam, because he was fallen like a dead man, he and Eve; and they said in their thoughts, "Adam has not died in this place; but God has put him to death, for his having come to this place, and wishing to get into the garden without His permission."

Chapter 55

The Conflict between God and Satan.

1 Then came the Word of God to Adam and Eve, and raised them from their dead state, saying to them, "Why did you come up here? Do you intend to go into the garden, from which I brought you out? It cannot be today; but only when the covenant I have made with you is fulfilled."

2 Then Adam, when he heard the Word of God, and the fluttering of the angels whom he did not see, but only heard the sound of them with his ears, he and Eve cried, and said to the angels: --

3 "O Spirits, who wait on God, look at me, and at my being unable to see you! For when I was in my former bright nature, then I could see you. I sang praises as you do; and my heart was far above you.

4 But now, that I have transgressed, that bright nature is gone from me, and I am come to this miserable state. And now I have come to this, that I cannot see you, and you do not serve me like you used to do. For I have become animal flesh.

5 Yet now, O angels of God, ask God with me, to restore me to that wherein I was formerly; to rescue me from this misery, and to remove from me the sentence of death He passed on me, for having trespassed against Him."

6 Then, when the angels heard these words, they all grieved over him; and cursed Satan who had misled Adam, until he came from the garden to misery; from life to death; from peace to trouble; and from gladness to a strange land.

7 Then the angels said to Adam, "You obeyed Satan, and ignored the Word of God who created you; and you believed that Satan would fulfil all he had promised you.

8 But now, O Adam, we will make known to you, what came over us through him, before his fall from heaven.

9 He gathered together his hosts, and deceived them, promising to give them a great kingdom, a divine nature; and other promises he made them.

10 His hosts believed that his word was true, so they yielded to him, and renounced the glory of God.

11 He then sent for us -- according to the orders in which we were -- to come under his command, and to accept his vain promise. But we would not, and we did not take his advice.

12 Then after he had fought with God, and had dealt forwardly with Him, he gathered together his hosts, and made war with us. And if it had not been for God's strength that was with us, we could not have prevailed against him to hurl him from heaven.

13 But when he fell from among us, there was great joy in heaven, because of his going down from us. For if he had remained in heaven, nothing, not even one angel would have remained in it.

14 But God in His mercy, drove him from among us to this dark earth; for he had become darkness itself and a worker of unrighteousness.

15 And he has continued, O Adam, to make war against you, until he tricked you and made you come out of the garden, to this strange land, where all these trials have come to you. And death, which God brought to him, he has also brought to you, O Adam, because you obeyed him, and trespassed against God."

16 Then all the angels rejoiced and praised God, and asked Him not to destroy Adam this time, for his having sought to enter the garden; but to bear with him until the fulfillment of the promise; and to help him in this world until he was free from Satan's hand.

Chapter 56

A chapter of divine comfort.

1 Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said to him: --

2 "O Adam, look at that garden of joy and at this earth of toil, and behold the garden is full of angels, but look at yourself alone on this earth with Satan whom you obeyed.

3 Yet, if you had submitted, and been obedient to Me, and had kept My Word, you would be with My angels in My garden.

4 But when you transgressed and obeyed Satan, you became his guests among his angels, that are full of wickedness; and you came to this earth, that brings forth to you thorns and thistles.

5 O Adam, ask him who deceived you, to give you the divine nature he promised you, or to make you a garden as I had made for you; or to fill you with that same bright nature with which I had filled you.

6 Ask him to make you a body like the one I made you, or to give you a day of rest as I

gave you; or to create within you a reasonable soul, as I created for you; or to take you from here to some other earth than this one which I gave you. But, O Adam, he will not fulfil even one of the things he told you.

7 Acknowledge, then, My favor towards you, and My mercy on you, My creature; that I have not avenged you for your transgression against Me, but in My pity for you I have promised you that at the end of the great five and a half days I will come and save you."

8 Then God said again to Adam and Eve, "Get up, go down from here, before the cherub with a sword of fire in his hand destroys you."

9 But Adam's heart was comforted by God's words to him, and he worshipped before Him.

10 And God commanded His angels to escort Adam and Eve to the cave with joy, instead of the fear that had come over them.

11 Then the angels took up Adam and Eve, and brought them down from the mountain by the garden, with songs and psalms, until they arrived at the cave. There the angels began to comfort and to strengthen them, and then departed from them towards heaven, to their Creator, who had sent them.

12 But after the angels had departed from Adam and Eve, Satan came with shamefacedness, and stood at the entrance of the cave in which were Adam and Eve. He then called to Adam, and said, "O Adam, come, let me speak to you."

13 Then Adam came out of the cave, thinking he was one of God's angels that was come to give him some good counsel.

Chapter 57

"Therefore I fell. . . ."

1 But when Adam came out and saw his hideous figure, he was afraid of him, and said to him, "Who are you?"

2 Then Satan answered and said to him, "It is I, who hid myself within the serpent, and who spoke to Eve, and who enticed her until she obeyed my command. I am he who sent her, using my deceitful speech, to deceive you, until you both ate of the fruit of the tree and abandoned the command of God."

3 But when Adam heard these words from him, he said to him, "Can you make me a garden as God made for me? Or can you clothe me in the same bright nature in which God had clothed me?"

4 Where is the divine nature you promised to give me? Where is that slick speech of

yours that you had with us at first, when we were in the garden?"

5 Then Satan said to Adam, "Do you think that when I have promised one something that I would actually deliver it to him or fulfill my word? Of course not. For I myself have never even thought of obtaining what I promised.

6 Therefore I fell, and I made you fall by that for which I myself fell; and with you also, whosoever accepts my counsel, falls thereby.

7 But now, O Adam, because you fell you are under my rule, and I am king over you; because you have obeyed me and have transgressed against your God. Neither will there be any deliverance from my hands until the day promised you by your God."

8 Again he said, "Because we do not know the day agreed on with you by your God, nor the hour in which you shall be delivered, for that reason we will multiply war and murder on you and your descendants after you.

9 This is our will and our good pleasure, that we may not leave one of the sons of men to inherit our orders in heaven.

10 For as to our home, O Adam, it is in burning fire; and we will not stop our evil doing, no, not one day nor one hour. And I, O Adam, shall set you on fire when you come into the cave to live there."

11 When Adam heard these words he cried and mourned, and said to Eve, "Hear what he said; that he won't fulfil any of what he told you in the garden. Did he really then become king over us?

12 But we will ask God, who created us, to deliver us out of his hands."

Chapter 58

"About sunset on the 53rd day. . ."

1 Then Adam and Eve spread their hands before God, praying and begging Him to drive Satan away from them so that he can't harm them or force them to deny God.

2 Then God sent to them at once, His angel, who drove away Satan from them. This happened about sunset, on the fifty-third day after they had come out of the garden.

3 Then Adam and Eve went into the cave, and stood up and turned their faces to the ground, to pray to God.

4 But before they prayed Adam said to Eve, "Look, you have seen what temptations have befallen us in this land. Come, let us get up, and ask God to forgive us the sins we have committed; and we will not come out until the end of the day next to the fortieth.

And if we die in here, He will save us."

5 Then Adam and Eve got up, and joined together in entreating God.

6 They continued praying like this in the cave; neither did they come out of it, by night or by day, until their prayers went up out of their mouths, like a flame of fire.

Chapter 59

Eighth apparition of Satan of Satan to Adam and Eve.

1 But Satan, the hater of all good, did not allow them to finish their prayers. For he called to his hosts, and they came, all of them. Then he said to them, "Since Adam and Eve, whom we deceived, have agreed together to pray to God night and day, and to beg Him to deliver them, and since they will not come out of the cave until the end of the fortieth day.

2 And since they will continue their prayers as they have both agreed to do, that He will deliver them out of our hands, and restore them to their former state, see what we shall do to them." And his hosts said to him, "Power is thine, O our lord, to do what you list."

3 Then Satan, great in wickedness, took his hosts and came into the cave, in the thirtieth night of the forty days and one; and he beat Adam and Eve, until he left them dead.

4 Then came the Word of God to Adam and Eve, who raised them from their suffering, and God said to Adam, "Be strong, and be not afraid of him who has just come to you."

5 But Adam cried and said, "Where were you, O my God, that they should punish me with such blows, and that this suffering should come over us; over me and over Eve, Your handmaiden?"

6 Then God said to him, "O Adam, see, he is lord and master of all you have, he who said, he would give you divinity. Where is this love for you? And where is the gift he promised?"

7 Did it please him just once, O Adam, to come to you, comfort you, strengthen you, rejoice with you, or send his hosts to protect you; because you have obeyed him, and have yielded to his counsel; and have followed his commandment and transgressed Mine?"

8 Then Adam cried before the Lord, and said, "O Lord because I transgressed a little, You have severely punished me in return for it, I ask You to deliver me out of his hands; or else have pity on me, and take my soul out of my body now in this strange land."

9 Then God said to Adam, "If only there had been this sighing and praying before,

before you transgressed! Then would you have rest from the trouble in which you are now."

10 But God had patience with Adam, and let him and Eve remain in the cave until they had fulfilled the forty days.

11 But as to Adam and Eve, their strength and flesh withered from fasting and praying, from hunger and thirst; for they had not tasted either food or drink since they left the garden; nor were the functions of their bodies yet settled; and they had no strength left to continue in prayer from hunger, until the end of the next day to the fortieth. They were fallen down in the cave; yet what speech escaped from their mouths, was only in praises.

Chapter 60

The Devil appears like an old man, He offers "a place of rest."

1 Then on the eighty-ninth day, Satan came to the cave, clad in a garment of light, and girt about with a bright girdle.

2 In his hands was a staff of light, and he looked most awful; but his face was pleasant and his speech was sweet.

3 He thus transformed himself in order to deceive Adam and Eve, and to make them come out of the cave, before they had fulfilled the forty days.

4 For he said within himself, "Now that when they had fulfilled the forty days' fasting and praying, God would restore them to their former state; but if He did not do so, He would still be favorable to them; and even if He had not mercy on them, would He yet give them something from the garden to comfort them; as already twice before."

5 Then Satan drew near the cave in this fair appearance, and said: --

6 "O Adam, get up, stand up, you and Eve, and come along with me, to a good land; and don't be afraid. I am flesh and bones like you; and at first I was a creature that God created.

7 And it was so, that when He had created me, He placed me in a garden in the north, on the border of the world.

8 And He said to me, 'Stay here!' And I remained there according to His Word, neither did I transgress His commandment.

9 Then He made a slumber to come over me, and He brought you, O Adam, out of my side, but did not make you stay with me.

10 But God took you in His divine hand, and placed you in a garden to the eastward.

11 Then I worried about you, for that while God had taken you out of my side, He had not let you stay with me.

12 But God said to me: 'Do not worry about Adam, whom I brought out of your side; no harm will come to him.

13 For now I have brought out of his side a help-meet* for him; and I have given him joy by so doing.' "

14 Then Satan said again, "I did not know how it is you are in this cave, nor anything about this trial that has come over you -- until God said to me, 'Behold, Adam has transgressed, he whom I had taken out of your side, and Eve also, whom I took out of his side; and I have driven them out of the garden; I have made them live in a land of sorrow and misery, because they transgressed against Me, and have obeyed Satan. And look, they are in suffering until this day, the eightieth.'

15 Then God said to me, 'Get up, go to them, and make them come to your place, and suffer not that Satan come near them, and afflict them. For they are now in great misery; and lie helpless from hunger.'

16 He further said to me, 'When you have taken them to yourself, give them to eat of the fruit of the Tree of Life, and give them to drink of the water of peace; and clothe them in a garment of light, and restore them to their former state of grace, and leave them not in misery, for they came from you. But grieve not over them, nor repent of that which has come over them.

17 But when I heard this, I was sorry; and my heart could not patiently bear it for your sake, O my child.

18 But, O Adam, when I heard the name of Satan, I was afraid, and I said within myself, I will not come out because he might trap me as he did my children, Adam and Eve.

19 And I said, 'O God, when I go to my children, Satan will meet me in the way, and war against me, as he did against them.'

20 Then God said to me, 'Fear not; when you find him, hit him with the staff that is in thine hand, and don't be afraid of him, for you are of old standing, and he shall not prevail against you.'

21 Then I said, 'O my Lord, I am old, and cannot go. Send Your angels to bring them.'

22 But God said to me, 'Angels, verily, are not like them; and they will not consent to come with them. But I have chosen you, because they are your offspring and are like you, and they will listen to what you say.'

23 God said further to me, 'If you don't have enough strength to walk, I will send a cloud to carry you and set you down at the entrance of their cave; then the cloud will return and leave you there.

24 And if they will come with you, I will send a cloud to carry you and them.'

25 Then He commanded a cloud, and it bear me up and brought me to you; and then went back.

26 And now, O my children, Adam and Eve, look at my old gray hair and at my feeble state, and at my coming from that distant place. Come, come with me, to a place of rest."

27 Then he began to cry and to sob before Adam and Eve, and his tears poured on the ground like water.

28 And when Adam and Eve raised their eyes and saw his beard, and heard his sweet talk, their hearts softened towards him; they obeyed him, for they believed he was true.

29 And it seemed to them that they were really his offspring, when they saw that his face was like their own; and they trusted him.

Chapter 61

They begin to follow Satan.

1 Then he took Adam and Eve by the hand, and began to bring them out of the cave.

2 But when they had come a little ways out of it, God knew that Satan had overcome them, and had brought them out before the forty days were ended, to take them to some distant place, and to destroy them.

3 Then the Word of the Lord God again came and cursed Satan, and drove him away from them.

4 And God began to speak to Adam and Eve, saying to them, "What made you come out of the cave, to this place?"

5 Then Adam said to God, "Did you create a man before us? For when we were in the cave there suddenly came to us a friendly old man who said to us, 'I am a messenger from God to you, to bring you back to some place of rest.'

6 And we believed, O God, that he was a messenger from you; and we came out with him; and knew not where we should go with him."

7 Then God said to Adam, "See, that is the father of evil arts, who brought you and Eve out of the Garden of Delights. And now, indeed, when he saw that you and Eve both

joined together in fasting and praying, and that you came not out of the cave before the end of the forty days, he wished to make your purpose vein, to break your mutual bond; to cut off all hope from you, and to drive you to some place where he might destroy you.

8 Because he couldn't do anything to you unless he showed himself in the likeness of you.

9 Therefore he came to you with a face like your own, and began to give you tokens as if they were all true.

10 But because I am merciful and am favorable to you, I did not allow him to destroy you; instead I drove him away from you.

11 Now, therefore, O Adam, take Eve, and return to your cave, and remain in it until the morning after the fortieth day. And when you come out, go towards the eastern gate of the garden."

12 Then Adam and Eve worshipped God, and praised and blessed Him for the deliverance that had come to them from Him. And they returned towards the cave. This happened in the evening of the thirty-ninth day.

13 Then Adam and Eve stood up and with a fiery passion, prayed to God, to give them strength; for they had become weak because of hunger and thirst and prayer. But they watched the whole of that night praying, until morning.

14 Then Adam said to Eve, "Get up, let us go towards the eastern gate of the garden as God told us."

15 And they said their prayers as they were accustomed to do every day; and they left the cave to go near to the eastern gate of the garden.

16 Then Adam and Eve stood up and prayed, and appealed to God to strengthen them, and to send them something to satisfy their hunger.

17 But after they finished their prayers, they were too weak to move.

18 Then came the Word of God again, and said to them, "O Adam, get up, go and bring the two figs here."

19 Then Adam and Eve got up, and went until they came near to the cave.

Chapter 62

Two fruit trees.

1 But Satan the wicked was envious, because of the consolation God had given them.

2 So he prevented them, and went into the cave and took the two figs, and buried them outside the cave, so that Adam and Eve should not find them. He also had in his thoughts to destroy them.

3 But by God's mercy, as soon as those two figs were in the ground, God defeated Satan's counsel regarding them; and made them into two fruit trees, that overshadowed the cave. For Satan had buried them on the eastern side of it.

4 Then when the two trees were grown, and were covered with fruit, Satan grieved and mourned, and said, "It would have been better to have left those figs where they were; for now, behold, they have become two fruit trees, whereof Adam will eat all the days of his life. Whereas I had in mind, when I buried them, to destroy them entirely, and to hide them forever.

5 But God has overturned my counsel; and would not that this sacred fruit should perish; and He has made plain my intention, and has defeated the counsel I had formed against His servants."

6 Then Satan went away ashamed because he hadn't thought his plans all the way through.

Chapter 63

The first joy of trees.

1 But Adam and Eve, as they got closer to the cave, saw two fig trees, covered with fruit, and overshadowing the cave.

2 Then Adam said to Eve, "It seems to me that we have gone the wrong way. When did these two trees grow here? It seems to me that the enemy wishes to lead us the wrong way. Do you suppose that there is another cave besides this one in the earth?

3 Yet, O Eve, let us go into the cave, and find in it the two figs; for this is our cave, in which we were. But if we should not find the two figs in it, then it cannot be our cave."

4 They went then into the cave, and looked into the four corners of it, but found not the two figs.

5 And Adam cried and said to Eve, "Did we go to the wrong cave, then, O Eve? It seems to me these two fig trees are the two figs that were in the cave." And Eve said, "I, for my part, do not know."

6 Then Adam stood up and prayed and said, "O God, You commanded us to come back to the cave, to take the two figs, and then to return to you.

7 But now, we have not found them. O God, have you taken them, and sown these two trees, or have we gone astray in the earth; or has the enemy deceived us? If it be real, then, O God, reveal to us the secret of these two trees and of the two figs."

8 Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said to him, "O Adam, when I sent you to fetch the figs, Satan went before you to the cave, took the figs, and buried them outside, eastward of the cave, thinking to destroy them; and not sowing them with good intent.

9 Not for his mere sake, then, have these trees grown up at once; but I had mercy on you and I commanded them to grow. And they grew to be two large trees, that you be overshadowed by their branches, and find rest; and that I made you see My power and My marvelous works.

10 And, also, to show you Satan's meanness, and his evil works, for ever since you came out of the garden, he has not ceased, no, not one day, from doing you some harm. But I have not given him power over you."

11 And God said, "From now on, O Adam, rejoice on account of the trees, you and Eve; and rest under them when you feel weary. But do not eat any of their fruit or come near them."

12 Then Adam cried, and said, "O God, will You again kill us, or will You drive us away from before Your face, and cut our life from off the face of the earth?"

13 O God, I beg you, if You know that there be in these trees either death or some other evil, as at the first time, root them up from near our cave, and with them; and leave us to die of the heat, of hunger and of thirst.

14 For we know Your marvelous works, O God, that they are great, and that by Your power You can bring one thing out of another, without one's wish. For Your power can make rocks to become trees, and trees to become rocks."

Chapter 64

Adam and Eve partake of the first earthly food.

1 Then God looked at Adam and at his strength of mind, at his endurance of hunger and thirst, and of the heat. And He changed the two fig trees into two figs, as they were at first, and then said to Adam and to Eve, "Each of you may take one fig." And they took them, as the Lord commanded them.

2 And He said to them, "You must now go into the cave and eat the figs, and satisfy your hunger, or else you will die."

3 So, as God commanded them, they went into the cave about sunset. And Adam and Eve stood up and prayed during the setting sun.

4 Then they sat down to eat the figs; but they knew not how to eat them; for they were not accustomed to eat earthly food. They were afraid that if they ate, their stomach would be burdened and their flesh thickened, and their hearts would take to liking earthly food.

5 But while they were thus seated, God, out of pity for them, sent them His angel, so they wouldn't perish of hunger and thirst.

6 And the angel said to Adam and Eve, "God says to you that you do not have the strength that would be required to fast until death; eat, therefore, and strengthen your bodies; for you are now animal flesh and cannot subsist without food and drink."

7 Then Adam and Eve took the figs and began to eat of them. But God had put into them a mixture as of savory bread and blood.

8 Then the angel went from Adam and Eve, who ate of the figs until they had satisfied their hunger. Then they put aside what was left; but by the power of God, the figs became whole again, because God blessed them.

9 After this Adam and Eve got up, and prayed with a joyful heart and renewed strength, and praised and rejoiced abundantly the whole of that night. And this was the end of the eighty-third day.

Chapter 65

Adam and Eve acquire digestive organism Final hope of returning to the Garden is lost.

1 And when it was day, they got up and prayed, after their custom, and then went out of the cave.

2 But they became sick from the food they had eaten because they were not used to it, so they went about in the cave saying to each other: --

3 "What has our eating caused to happen to us, that we should be in such pain? We are in misery, we shall die! It would have been better for us to have died keeping our bodies pure than to have eaten and defiled them with food."

4 Then Adam said to Eve, "This pain did not come to us in the garden, neither did we eat such bad food there. Do you think, O Eve, that God will plague us through the food that is in us, or that our innards will come out; or that God means to kill us with this pain before He has fulfilled His promise to us?"

5 Then Adam besought the Lord and said, "O Lord, let us not perish through the food we have eaten. O Lord, don't punish us; but deal with us according to Your great mercy, and forsake us not until the day of the promise You have made us."

6 Then God looked at them, and then fitted them for eating food at once; as to this day; so that they should not perish.

7 Then Adam and Eve came back into the cave sorrowful and crying because of the alteration of their bodies. And they both knew from that hour that they were altered beings, that all hope of returning to the garden was now lost; and that they could not enter it.

8 For that now their bodies had strange functions; and all flesh that requires food and drink for its existence, cannot be in the garden.

9 Then Adam said to Eve, "Behold, our hope is now lost; and so is our trust to enter the garden. We no longer belong to the inhabitants of the garden; but from now on we are earthy and of the dust, and of the inhabitants of the earth. We shall not return to the garden, until the day in which God has promised to save us, and to bring us again into the garden, as He promised us."

10 Then they prayed to God that He would have mercy on them; after which, their mind was quieted, their hearts were broken, and their longing was cooled down; and they were like strangers on earth. That night Adam and Eve spent in the cave, where they slept heavily by reason of the food they had eaten.

Chapter 66

Adam does his first day's work.

1 When it was morning, the day after they had eaten food, Adam and Eve prayed in the cave, and Adam said to Eve, "Look, we asked for food of God, and He gave it. But now let us also ask Him to give us a drink of water."

2 Then they got up, and went to the bank of the stream of water, that was on the south border of the garden, in which they had before thrown themselves. And they stood on the bank, and prayed to God that He would command them to drink of the water.

3 Then the Word of God came to Adam, and said to him, "O Adam, your body has become brutish, and requires water to drink. Take some and drink it, you and Eve, then give thanks and praise."

4 Adam and Eve then went down to the stream and drank from it, until their bodies felt refreshed. After having drunk, they praised God, and then returned to their cave, after their former custom. This happened at the end of eighty-three days.

5 Then on the eighty-fourth day, they took the two figs and hung them in the cave, together with the leaves thereof, to be to them a sign and a blessing from God. And they placed them there so that if their descendants came there, they would see the wonderful things God had done for them.

6 Then Adam and Eve again stood outside the cave, and asked God to show them some food with which they could nourish their bodies.

7 Then the Word of God came and said to him, "O Adam, go down to the westward of the cave until you come to a land of dark soil, and there you shall find food."

8 And Adam obeyed the Word of God, took Eve, and went down to a land of dark soil, and found there wheat* growing in the ear and ripe, and figs to eat; and Adam rejoiced over it.

9 Then the Word of God came again to Adam, and said to him, "Take some of this wheat and make yourselves some bread with it, to nourish your body therewith." And God gave Adam's heart wisdom, to work out the corn until it became bread.

10 Adam accomplished all that, until he grew very faint and weary. He then returned to the cave; rejoicing at what he had learned of what is done with wheat, until it is made into bread for one's use.

Chapter 67

"Then Satan began to lead astray Adam and Eve. . . ."

1 When Adam and Eve went down to the land of black mud and came near to the wheat God had showed them and saw that it was ripe and ready for reaping, they did not have a sickle to reap it with. So they readied themselves, and began to pull up the wheat by hand, until it was all done.

2 Then they heaped it into a pile; and, faint from heat and from thirst, they went under a shady tree, where the breeze fanned them to sleep.

3 But Satan saw what Adam and Eve had done. And he called his hosts, and said to them, "Since God has shown to Adam and Eve all about this wheat, wherewith to strengthen their bodies -- and, look, they have come and made a big pile of it, and faint from the toil are now asleep -- come, let us set fire to this heap of corn, and burn it, and let us take that bottle of water that is by them, and empty it out, so that they may find nothing to drink, and we kill them with hunger and thirst.

4 Then, when they wake up from their sleep, and seek to return to the cave, we will come to them in the way, and will lead them astray; so that they die of hunger and thirst; when they may, perhaps, deny God, and He destroy them. So shall we be rid of them."

5 Then Satan and his hosts set the wheat on fire and burned it up.

6 But from the heat of the flame Adam and Eve awoke from their sleep, and saw the wheat burning, and the bucket of water by them, poured out.

7 Then they cried and went back to the cave.

8 But as they were going up from below the mountain where they were, Satan and his hosts met them in the form of angels, praising God.

9 Then Satan said to Adam, "O Adam, why are you so pained with hunger and thirst? It seems to me that Satan has burnt up the wheat." And Adam said to him, "Yes."

10 Again Satan said to Adam, "Come back with us; we are angels of God. God sent us to you, to show you another field of corn, better than that; and beyond it is a fountain of good water, and many trees, where you shall live near it, and work the corn field to better purpose than that which Satan has consumed."

11 Adam thought that he was true, and that they were angels who talked with him; and he went back with them.

12 Then Satan began to lead astray Adam and Eve eight days, until they both fell down as if dead, from hunger, thirst, and faintness. Then he fled with his hosts, and left them.

Chapter 68

How destruction and trouble is of Satan when he is the master, Adam and Eve establish the custom of worship.

1 Then God looked at Adam and Eve, and at what had come over them from Satan, and how he had made them perish.

2 God, therefore, sent His Word, and raised up Adam and Eve from their state of death.

3 Then, Adam, when he was raised, said, "O God, You have burnt and taken from us the corn You have given us, and You have emptied out the bucket of water. And You have sent Your angels, who have caused us to lose our way from the corn field. Will You make us perish? If this be from you, O God, then take away our souls; but punish us not."

4 Then God said to Adam, "I did not burn down the wheat, and I did not pour the water out of the bucket, and I did not send My angels to lead you astray.

5 But it is Satan, your master who did it; he to whom you have subjected yourself; my commandment being meanwhile set aside. He it is, who burnt down the corn, and poured out the water, and who has led you astray; and all the promises he has made you were just a trick, a deception, and a lie.

6 But now, O Adam, you shall acknowledge My good deeds done to you."

7 And God told His angels to take Adam and Eve, and to bear them up to the field of

wheat, which they found as before, with the bucket full of water.

8 There they saw a tree, and found on it solid manna; and wondered at God's power. And the angels commanded them to eat of the manna when they were hungry.

9 And God admonished Satan with a curse, not to come again, and destroy the field of corn.

10 Then Adam and Eve took of the corn, and made of it an offering, and took it and offered it up on the mountain, the place where they had offered up their first offering of blood.

11 And they offered this offering again on the altar they had built at first. And they stood up and prayed, and besought the Lord saying, "Thus, O God, when we were in the garden, our praises went up to you, like this offering; and our innocence went up to you like incense. But now, O God, accept this offering from us, and don't turn us away, deprived of Your mercy."

12 Then God said to Adam and Eve, "Since you have made this offering and have offered it to Me, I shall make it My flesh, when I come down on earth to save you; and I shall cause it to be offered continually on an altar, for forgiveness and for mercy, for those who partake of it duly."

13 And God sent a bright fire over the offering of Adam and Eve, and filled it with brightness, grace, and light; and the Holy Ghost came down on that offering.

14 Then God commanded an angel to take fire tongs, like a spoon, and with it to take an offering and bring it to Adam and Eve. And the angel did so, as God had commanded him, and offered it to them.

15 And the souls of Adam and Eve were brightened, and their hearts were filled with joy and gladness and with the praises of God.

16 And God said to Adam, "This shall be to you a custom, to do so, when affliction and sorrow come over you. But your deliverance and your entrance in to the garden, shall not be until the days are fulfilled as agreed between you and Me; were it not so, I would, of My mercy and pity for you, bring you back to My garden and to My favor for the sake of the offering you have just made to My name."

17 Adam rejoiced at these words which he heard from God; and he and Eve worshipped before the altar, to which they bowed, and then went back to the Cave of Treasures.

18 And this took place at the end of the twelfth day after the eightieth day, from the time Adam and Eve came out of the garden.

19 And they stood up the whole night praying until morning; and then went out of the

cave.

20 Then Adam said to Eve, with joy of heart, because of the offering they had made to God, and that had been accepted of Him, "Let us do this three times every week, on the fourth day Wednesday, on the preparation day Friday, and on the Sabbath Sunday, all the days of our life."

21 And as they agreed to these words between themselves, God was pleased with their thoughts, and with the resolution they had each taken with the other.

22 After this, came the Word of God to Adam, and said, "O Adam, you have determined beforehand the days in which sufferings shall come over Me, when I am made flesh; for they are the fourth Wednesday, and the preparation day Friday.

23 But as to the first day, I created in it all things, and I raised the heavens. And, again, through My rising again on this day, will I create joy, and raise them on high, who believe in Me; O Adam, offer this offering, all the days of your life."

24 Then God withdrew His Word from Adam.

25 But Adam continued to offer this offering thus, every week three times, until the end of seven weeks. And on the first day, which is the fiftieth, Adam made an offering as he was accustomed, and he and Eve took it and came to the altar before God, as He had taught them.

Chapter 69

Twelfth apparition of Satan to Adam and Eve, while Adam was praying over the offering on the altar; when Satan beat him.

1 Then Satan, the hater of all good, envious of Adam and of his offering through which he found favor with God, hastened and took a sharp stone from among the sharp iron stones; appeared in the form of a man, and went and stood by Adam and Eve.

2 Adam was then offering on the altar, and had begun to pray, with his hands spread before God.

3 Then Satan hastened with the sharp iron stone he had with him, and with it pierced Adam on the right side, from which flowed blood and water, then Adam fell on the altar like a corpse. And Satan fled.

4 Then Eve came, and took Adam and placed him below the altar. And there she stayed, crying over him; while a stream of blood flowed from Adam's side over his offering.

5 But God looked at the death of Adam. He then sent His Word, and raised him up and

said to him, "Fulfill your offering, for indeed, Adam, it is worth much, and there is no shortcoming in it."

6 God said further to Adam, "Thus will it also happen to Me, on the earth, when I shall be pierced and blood and water shall flow from My side and run over My body, which is the true offering; and which shall be offered on the altar as a perfect offering."

7 Then God commanded Adam to finish his offering, and when he had ended it he worshipped before God, and praised Him for the signs He had showed him.

8 And God healed Adam in one day, which is the end of the seven weeks; and that is the fiftieth day.

9 Then Adam and Eve returned from the mountain, and went into the Cave of Treasures, as they were used to do. This completed for Adam and Eve, one hundred and forty days since their coming out of the garden.

10 Then they both stood up that night and prayed to God. And when it was morning, they went out, and went down westward of the cave, to the place where their corn was, and there rested under the shadow of a tree, as they were accustomed.

11 But when there a multitude of beasts came all around them. It was Satan's doing, in his wickedness; in order to wage war against Adam through marriage.

Chapter 70

Thirteenth apparition of Satan, to trick Adam into marrying Eve.

1 After this Satan, the hater of all good, took the form of an angel, and with him two others, so that they looked like the three angels who had brought to Adam gold, incense, and myrrh.

2 They passed before Adam and Eve while they were under the tree, and greeted Adam and Eve with fair words that were full of deceit.

3 But when Adam and Eve saw their pleasant expression, and heard their sweet speech, Adam rose, welcomed them, and brought them to Eve, and they remained all together; Adam's heart the while, being glad because he thought concerning them, that they were the same angels, who had brought him gold, incense, and myrrh.

4 Because, when they came to Adam the first time, there came over him from them, peace and joy, through their bringing him good tokens; so Adam thought that they had come a second time to give him other tokens for him to rejoice therewith. For he did not know it was Satan; therefore he received them with joy and consorted with them.

5 Then Satan, the tallest of them, said, "Rejoice, O Adam, and be glad. Look, God has

sent us to you to tell you something."

6 And Adam said, "What is it?" Then Satan answered, "It is a simple thing, yet it is the Word of God, will you accept it from us and do it? But if you will not accept it, we will return to God, and tell Him that you would not receive His Word."

7 And Satan said again to Adam, "Don't be afraid and don't tremble; don't you know us?"

8 But Adam said, "I do not know you."

9 Then Satan said to him, "I am the angel that brought you gold, and took it to the cave; this other angel is the one that brought you incense; and that third angel, is the one who brought you myrrh when you were on top of the mountain, and who carried you to the cave.

10 But as to the other angels our fellows, who bare you to the cave, God has not sent them with us this time; for He said to us, 'You will be enough'. "

11 So when Adam heard these words he believed them, and said to these angels, "Speak the Word of God, that I may receive it."

12 And Satan said to him, "Swear, and promise me that you will receive it."

13 Then Adam said, "I do not know how to swear and promise."

14 And Satan said to him, "Hold out your hand, and put it inside my hand."

15 Then Adam held out his hand, and put it into Satan's hand; when Satan said to him, "Say, now -- So true as God is living, rational, and speaking, who raised the stars in heaven, and established the dry ground on the waters, and has created me out of the four elements*, and out of the dust of the earth -- I will not break my promise, nor renounce my word."

16 And Adam swore thus.

17 Then Satan said to him, "Look, it is now some time since you came out of the garden, and you know neither wickedness nor evil. But now God says to you, to take Eve who came out of your side, and to marry her so that she will bear you children, to comfort you, and to drive from you trouble and sorrow; now this thing is not difficult, neither is there any scandal in it to you.

Chapter 71

Adam is troubled by the thought of marrying Eve.

1 But when Adam heard these words from Satan, he sorrowed much, because of his oath and of his promise, and said, "Shall I commit adultery with my flesh and my bones, and shall I sin against myself, for God to destroy me, and to blot me out from off the face of the earth?"

2 Since, when at first, I ate of the tree, He drove me out of the garden into this strange land, and deprived me of my bright nature, and brought death over me. If, then, I should do this, He will cut off my life from the earth, and He will cast me into hell, and will plague me there a long time.

3 But God never spoke the words that you have said; and you are not God's angels, and you weren't sent from Him. But you are devils that have come to me under the false appearance of angels. Away from me; you cursed of God!"

4 Then those devils fled from before Adam. And he and Eve got up, and returned to the Cave of Treasures, and went into it.

5 Then Adam said to Eve, "If you saw what I did, don't tell anyone; for I sinned against God in swearing by His great name, and I have placed my hand another time into that of Satan." Eve, then, held her peace, as Adam told her.

6 Then Adam got up, and spread his hands before God, beseeching and entreating Him with tears, to forgive him what he had done. And Adam remained thus standing and praying forty days and forty nights. He neither ate nor drank until he dropped down on the ground from hunger and thirst.

7 Then God sent His Word to Adam, who raised him up from where he lay, and said to him, "O Adam, why have you sworn by My name, and why have you made agreement with Satan another time?"

8 But Adam cried, and said, "O God, forgive me, for I did this unwittingly; believing they were God's angels."

9 And God forgave Adam, saying to him, "Beware of Satan."

10 And He withdrew His Word from Adam.

11 Then Adam's heart was comforted; and he took Eve, and they went out of the cave, to prepare some food for their bodies.

12 But from that day Adam struggled in his mind about his marrying Eve; afraid that if he was to do it, God would be angry with him.

13 Then Adam and Eve went to the river of water, and sat on the bank, as people do when they enjoy themselves.

14 But Satan was jealous of them; and planned to destroy them.

Chapter 72

Adam's heart is set on fire, Satan appears as beautiful maidens.

1 Then Satan, and ten from his hosts, transformed themselves into maidens, unlike any others in the whole world for grace.

2 They came up out of the river in presence of Adam and Eve, and they said among themselves, "Come, we will look at the faces of Adam and Eve, who are of the men on earth. How beautiful they are, and how different is their look from our own faces." Then they came to Adam and Eve, and greeted them; and stood wondering at them.

3 Adam and Eve looked at them also, and wondered at their beauty, and said, "Is there, then, under us, another world, with such beautiful creatures as these in it?"

4 And those maidens said to Adam and Eve, "Yes, indeed, we are an abundant creation."

5 Then Adam said to them, "But how do you multiply?"

6 And they answered him, "We have husbands who have married us, and we bear them children, who grow up, and who in their turn marry and are married, and also bear children; and thus we increase. And if so be, O Adam, you will not believe us, we will show you our husbands and our children."

7 Then they shouted over the river as if to call their husbands and their children, who came up from the river, men and children; and every man came to his wife, his children being with him.

8 But when Adam and Eve saw them, they stood dumb, and wondered at them.

9 Then they said to Adam and Eve, "See all our husbands and our children? You should marry Eve, as we have married our husbands, so that you will have children as we have." This was a device of Satan to deceive Adam.

10 Satan also thought within himself, "God at first commanded Adam concerning the fruit of the tree, saying to him, 'Eat not of it; else of death you shall die.' But Adam ate of it, and yet God did not kill him; He only decreed on him death, and plagues and trials, until the day he shall come out of his body.

11 Now, then, if I deceive him to do this thing, and to marry Eve without God's permission, God will kill him then."

12 Therefore Satan worked this apparition before Adam and Eve; because he sought to kill him, and to make him disappear from off the face of the earth.

13 Meanwhile the fire of sin came over Adam, and he thought of committing sin. But he restrained himself, fearing that if he followed this advice of Satan, God would put him to death.

14 Then Adam and Eve got up, and prayed to God, while Satan and his hosts went down into the river, in presence of Adam and Eve; to let them see that they were going back to their own world.

15 Then Adam and Eve went back to the Cave of Treasures, as they usually did; about evening time.

16 And they both got up and prayed to God that night. Adam remained standing in prayer, yet not knowing how to pray, by reason of the thoughts in his heart regarding his marrying Eve; and he continued so until morning.

17 And when light came up, Adam said to Eve, "Get up, let us go below the mountain, where they brought us gold, and let us ask the Lord concerning this matter."

18 Then Eve said, "What is that matter, O Adam?"

19 And he answered her, "That I may request the Lord to inform me about marrying you; for I will not do it without His permission or else He will make us perish, you and me. For those devils have set my heart on fire, with thoughts of what they showed us, in their sinful apparitions.

20 Then Eve said to Adam, "Why need we go below the mountain? Let us rather stand up and pray in our cave to God, to let us know whether this counsel is good or not."

21 Then Adam rose up in prayer and said, "O God, you know that we transgressed against you, and from the moment we transgressed, we were stripped of our bright nature; and our body became brutish, requiring food and drink; and with animal desires.

22 Command us, O God, not to give way to them without Your permission, for fear that You will turn us into nothing. Because if you do not give us permission, we shall be overpowered, and follow that advice of Satan; and You will again make us perish.

23 If not, then take our souls from us; let us be rid of this animal lust. And if You give us no order respecting this thing, then sever Eve from me, and me from her; and place us each far away from the other.

24 Then again, O God, if You separate us from each other, the devils will deceive us with their apparitions that resemble us, and destroy our hearts, and defile our thoughts towards each other. Yet if it is not each of us towards the other, it will, at all events, be through their appearance when the devils come to us in our likeness." Here Adam ended his prayer.

Chapter 73

The marriage of Adam and Eve.

1 Then God considered the words of Adam that they were true, and that he could long await His order, respecting the counsel of Satan.

2 And God approved Adam in what he had thought concerning this, and in the prayer he had offered in His presence; and the Word of God came to Adam and said to him, "O Adam, if only you had had this caution at first, before you came out of the garden into this land!"

3 After that, God sent His angel who had brought gold, and the angel who had brought incense, and the angel who had brought myrrh to Adam, that they should inform him respecting his marriage to Eve.

4 Then those angels said to Adam, "Take the gold and give it to Eve as a wedding gift, and promise to marry her; then give her some incense and myrrh as a present; and be you, you and she, one flesh."

5 Adam obeyed the angels, and took the gold and put it into Eve's bosom in her garment; and promised to marry her with his hand.

6 Then the angels commanded Adam and Eve to get up and pray forty days and forty nights; when that was done, then Adam was to have sexual intercourse with his wife; for then this would be an act pure and undefiled; so that he would have children who would multiply, and replenish the face of the earth.

7 Then both Adam and Eve received the words of the angels; and the angels departed from them.

8 Then Adam and Eve began to fast and pray, until the end of the forty days; and then they had sexual intercourse, as the angels had told them. And from the time Adam left the garden until he wedded Eve, were two hundred and twenty-three days, that is seven months and thirteen days.

9 Thus was Satan's war with Adam defeated.

Chapter 74

The birth of Cain and Luluwa, Why they received those names.

1 And they lived on the earth working in order to keep their bodies in good health; and they continued so until the nine months of Eve's pregnancy were over, and the time drew near when she must give birth.

2 Then she said to Adam, "The signs placed in this cave since we left the garden indicate that this is a pure place and we will be praying in it again some time. It is not appropriate then, that I should give birth in it. Let us instead go to the sheltering rock cave that was formed by the command of God when Satan threw a big rock down on us in an attempt to kill us with it.

3 Adam then took Eve to that cave. When the time came for her to give birth, she strained a lot. Adam felt sorry, and he was very worried about her because she was close to death and the words of God to her were being fulfilled: "In suffering shall you bear a child, and in sorrow shall you bring forth a child."

4 But when Adam saw the distress in which Eve was, he got up and prayed to God, and said, "O Lord, look at me with the eye of Your mercy, and bring her out of her distress."

5 And God looked at His maid-servant Eve, and delivered her, and she gave birth to her first-born son, and with him a daughter.

6 The Adam rejoiced at Eve's deliverance, and also over the children she had borne him. And Adam ministered to Eve in the cave, until the end of eight days; when they named the son Cain, and the daughter Luluwa.

7 The meaning of Cain is "hater," because he hated his sister in their mother's womb; before they came out of it. Therefore Adam named him Cain.

8 But Luluwa means "beautiful," because she was more beautiful than her mother.

9 Then Adam and Eve waited until Cain and his sister were forty days old, when Adam said to Eve, "We will make an offering and offer it up in behalf of the children."

10 And Eve said, "We will make one offering for the first-born son and then later we shall make one for the daughter."

Chapter 75

The family revisits the Cave of Treasures, Birth of Abel and Akliia.

1 Then Adam prepared an offering, and he and Eve offered it up for their children, and brought it to the altar they had built at first.

2 And Adam offered up the offering, and asked God to accept his offering.

3 Then God accepted Adam's offering, and sent a light from heaven that shown on the offering. Adam and his son drew near to the offering, but Eve and the daughter did not approach it.

4 Adam and his son were joyful as they came down from on the altar. Adam and Eve waited until the daughter was eighty days old, then Adam prepared an offering and took it to Eve and to the children. They went to the altar, where Adam offered it up, as he was accustomed, asking the Lord to accept his offering.

5 And the Lord accepted the offering of Adam and Eve. Then Adam, Eve, and the children, drew near together, and came down from the mountain, rejoicing.

6 But they returned not to the cave in which they were born; but came to the Cave of Treasures, in order that the children should go around in it, and be blessed with the tokens brought from the garden.

7 But after they had been blessed with these tokens, they went back to the cave in which they were born.

8 However, before Eve had offered up the offering, Adam had taken her, and had gone with her to the river of water, in which they threw themselves at first; and there they washed themselves. Adam washed his body and Eve hers also clean, after the suffering and distress that had come over them.

9 But Adam and Eve, after washing themselves in the river of water, returned every night to the Cave of Treasures, where they prayed and were blessed; and then went back to their cave, where their children were born.

10 Adam and Eve did this until the children had been weaned. After they were weaned, Adam made an offering for the souls of his children in addition to the three times every week he made an offering for them.

11 When the children were weaned, Eve again conceived, and when her pregnancy came to term, she gave birth to another son and daughter. They named the son Abel and the daughter Aklia.

12 Then at the end of forty days, Adam made an offering for the son, and at the end of eighty days he made another offering for the daughter, and treated them, as he had previously treated Cain and his sister Luluwa.

13 He brought them to the Cave of Treasures, where they received a blessing, and then returned to the cave where they were born. After these children were born, Eve stopped having children.

Chapter 76

Cain becomes jealous of Abel because of his sisters.

1 And the children began to grow stronger and taller; but Cain was hard-hearted, and ruled over his younger brother.

2 Often when his father made an offering, Cain would remain behind and not go with them, to offer up.

3 But, as to Abel, he had a meek heart, and was obedient to his father and mother. He frequently moved them to make an offering, because he loved it. He prayed and fasted a lot.

4 Then came this sign to Abel. As he was coming into the Cave of Treasures, and saw the golden rods, the incense and the myrrh, he asked his parents, Adam and Eve, to tell him about them and asked, "Where did you get these from?"

5 Then Adam told him all that had befallen them. And Abel felt deeply about what his father told him.

6 Furthermore his father, Adam, told him of the works of God, and of the garden. After hearing that, Abel remained behind after his father left and stayed the whole of that night in the Cave of Treasures.

7 And that night, while he was praying, Satan appeared to him under the figure of a man, who said to him, "You have frequently moved your father into making offerings, fasting and praying, therefore I will kill you, and make you perish from this world."

8 But as for Abel, he prayed to God, and drove away Satan from him; and did not believe the words of the devil. Then when it was day, an angel of God appeared to him, who said to him, "Do not cut short either fasting, prayer, or offering up an offering to your God. For, look, the Lord had accepted your prayer. Be not afraid of the figure which appeared to you in the night, and who cursed you to death." And the angel departed from him.

9 Then when it was day, Abel came to Adam and Eve, and told them of the vision he had seen. When they heard it, they grieved much over it, but said nothing to him about it; they only comforted him.

10 But as to the hard-hearted Cain, Satan came to him by night, showed himself and said to him, "Since Adam and Eve love your brother Abel so much more than they love you, they wish to join him in marriage to your beautiful sister because they love him. However, they wish to join you in marriage to his ugly sister, because they hate you.

11 Now before they do that, I am telling you that you should kill your brother. That way your sister will be left for you, and his sister will be cast away."

12 And Satan departed from him. But the devil remained behind in Cain's heart, and frequently aspired to kill his brother.

Chapter 77

Cain, 15 years old, and Abel 12 years old, grow apart.

1 But when Adam saw that the older brother hated the younger, he endeavored to soften their hearts, and said to Cain, "O my son, take of the fruits of your sowing and make an offering to God, so that He might forgive you for your wickedness and sin."

2 He said also to Abel, "Take some of your sowing and make an offering and bring it to God, so that He might forgive you for your wickedness and sin."

3 Then Abel obeyed his father's voice, took some of his sowing, and made a good offering, and said to his father, Adam, "Come with me and show me how to offer it up."

4 And they went, Adam and Eve with him, and they showed him how to offer up his gift on the altar. Then after that, they stood up and prayed that God would accept Abel's offering.

5 Then God looked at Abel and accepted his offering. And God was more pleased with Abel than with his offering, because of his good heart and pure body. There was no trace of guile in him.

6 Then they came down from the altar, and went to the cave in which they lived. But Abel, by reason of his joy at having made his offering, repeated it three times a week, after the example of his father Adam.

7 But as to Cain, he did not want to make an offering, but after his father became very angry, he offered up a gift once. He took the smallest of his sheep for an offering and when he offered it up, his eyes were on the lamb.

8 Therefore God did not accept his offering, because his heart was full of murderous thoughts.

9 And they all thus lived together in the cave in which Eve had brought forth, until Cain was fifteen years old, and Abel twelve years old.

Chapter 78

Jealousy overcomes Cain, He makes trouble in the family, How the first murder was planned.

1 Then Adam said to Eve, "Behold the children are grown up; we must think of finding wives for them."

2 Then Eve answered, "How can we do it?"

3 Then Adam said to her, "We will join Abel's sister in marriage to Cain, and Cain's

sister to Abel.

4 The said Eve to Adam, "I do not like Cain because he is hard-hearted; but let them stay with us until we offer up to the Lord in their behalf."

5 And Adam said no more.

6 Meanwhile Satan came to Cain in the figure of a man of the field, and said to him, "Behold Adam and Eve have taken counsel together about the marriage of you two; and they have agreed to marry Abel's sister to you, and your sister to him.

7 But if it was not that I love you, I would not have told you this thing. Yet if you will take my advice, and obey me, I will bring to you on your wedding day beautiful robes, gold and silver in plenty, and my relations will attend you."

8 Then Cain said with joy, "Where are your relations?"

9 And Satan answered, "My relations are in a garden in the north, where I once meant to bring your father Adam; but he would not accept my offer.

10 But you, if you will receive my words and if you will come to me after your wedding, you shall rest from the misery in which you are; and you shall rest and be better off than your father Adam."

11 At these words of Satan Cain opened his ears, and leaned towards his speech.

12 And he did not remain in the field, but he went to Eve, his mother, and beat her, and cursed her, and said to her, "Why are you planning to take my sister to wed her to my brother? Am I dead?"

13 His mother, however, quieted him, and sent him to the field where he had been.

14 Then when Adam came, she told him of what Cain had done.

15 But Adam grieved and held his peace, and said not a word.

16 Then on the next morning Adam said to Cain his son, "Take of your sheep, young and good, and offer them up to your God; and I will speak to your brother, to make to his God an offering of corn."

17 They both obeyed their father Adam, and they took their offerings, and offered them up on the mountain by the altar.

18 But Cain behaved haughtily towards his brother, and shoved him from the altar, and would not let him offer up his gift on the altar; but he offered his own on it, with a proud heart, full of guile, and fraud.

19 But as for Abel, he set up stones that were near at hand, and on that, he offered up his gift with a heart humble and free from guile.

20 Cain was then standing by the altar on which he had offered up his gift; and he cried to God to accept his offering; but God did not accept it from him; neither did a divine fire come down to consume his offering.

21 But he remained standing over against the altar, out of humor and meanness, looking towards his brother Abel, to see if God would accept his offering or not.

22 And Abel prayed to God to accept his offering. Then a divine fire came down and consumed his offering. And God smelled the sweet savor of his offering; because Abel loved Him and rejoice in Him.

23 And because God was well pleased with him, He sent him an angel of light in the figure of a man who had partaken of his offering, because He had smelled the sweet savor of his offering, and they comforted Abel and strengthened his heart.

24 But Cain was looking on all that took place at his brother's offering, and was angry because of it.

25 Then he opened his mouth and blasphemed God, because He had not accepted his offering.

26 But God said to Cain, "Why do you look sad? Be righteous, that I may accept your offering. Not against Me have you murmured, but against yourself.

27 And God said this to Cain in rebuke, and because He abhorred him and his offering.

28 And Cain came down from the altar, his color changed and with a sad face, and came to his father and mother and told them all that had befallen him. And Adam grieved much because God had not accepted Cain's offering.

29 But Abel came down rejoicing, and with a gladsome heart, and told his father and mother how God had accepted his offering. And they rejoiced at it and kissed his face.

30 And Abel said to his father, "Because Cain shoved me from the altar, and would not allow me to offer my gift on it, I made an altar for myself and offered my gift on it."

31 But when Adam heard this he was very sorry, because it was the altar he had built at first, and on which he had offered his own gifts.

32 As to Cain, he was so resentful and so angry that he went into the field, where Satan came to him and said to him, "Since your brother Abel has taken refuge with your father Adam, because you shoved him from the altar, they have kissed his face, and they rejoice over him, far more than over you."

33 When Cain heard these words of Satan, he was filled with rage; and he let no one know. But he was laying wait to kill his brother, until he brought him into the cave, and then said to him: --

34 "O brother, the country is so beautiful, and there are such beautiful and pleasurable trees in it, and charming to look at! But brother, you have never been one day in the field to take your pleasure in that place.

35 Today, O, my brother, I very much wish you would come with me into the field, to enjoy yourself and to bless our fields and our flocks, for you are righteous, and I love you much, O my brother! But you have alienated yourself from me."

36 Then Abel consented to go with his brother Cain into the field.

37 But before going out, Cain said to Abel, "Wait for me, until I fetch a staff, because of wild beasts."

38 Then Abel stood waiting in his innocence. But Cain, the forward, fetched a staff and went out.

39 And they began, Cain and his brother Abel, to walk in the way; Cain talking to him, and comforting him, to make him forget everything.

Chapter 79

A wicked plan is carried to a tragic conclusion, Cain is frightened. "Am I my brother's keeper?", The seven punishments, Peace is shattered.

1 And so they went on, until they came to a lonely place, where there were no sheep; then Abel said to Cain, "Behold, my brother, we are tired from walking; for we see none of the trees, nor of the fruits, nor of the flourishing green plants, nor of the sheep, nor any one of the things of which you told me. Where are those sheep of thine you told me to bless?"

2 Then Cain said to him, "Come on, and you shall see many beautiful things very soon, but go before me, until I catch up to you."

3 Then went Abel forward, but Cain remained behind him.

4 And Abel was walking in his innocence, without guile; not believing his brother would kill him.

5 Then Cain, when he came up to him, comforted him with his talk, walking a little behind him; then he ran up to him and beat him with the staff, blow after blow, until he was stunned.

6 But when Abel fell down on the ground, seeing that his brother meant to kill him, he said to Cain, "O, my brother, have pity on me. By the breasts we have sucked, don't hit me! By the womb that bore us and that brought us into the world, don't beat me to death with that staff! If you will kill me, take one of these large stones and kill me outright."

7 Then Cain, the hard-hearted, and cruel murderer, took a large stone, and beat his brother's head with it, until his brains oozed out, and he wallowed in his blood, before him.

8 And Cain repented not of what he had done.

9 But the earth, when the blood of righteous Abel fell on it, trembled, as it drank his blood, and would have destroyed Cain because of it.

10 And the blood of Abel cried mysteriously to God, to avenge him of his murderer.

11 Then Cain began at once to dig the ground wherein to lay his brother; for he was trembling from the fear that came over him, when he saw the earth tremble on his account.

12 He then cast his brother into the pit he made, and covered him with dust. But the ground would not receive him; but it threw him up at once.

13 Again Cain dug the ground and hid his brother in it; but again the ground threw him up on itself; until three times the ground thus threw up on itself the body of Abel.

14 The muddy ground threw him up the first time, because he was not the first creation; and it threw him up the second time and would not receive him, because he was righteous and good, and was killed without a cause; and the ground threw him up the third time and would not receive him, that there might remain before his brother a witness against him.

15 And so the earth mocked Cain, until the Word of God, came to him concerning his brother.

16 Then was God angry, and much displeased at Abel's death; and He thundered from heaven, and lightning's went before Him, and the Word of the Lord God came from heaven to Cain, and said to him, "Where is Abel your brother?"

17 Then Cain answered with a proud heart and a gruff voice, "How, O God? Am I my brother's keeper?"

18 Then God said to Cain, "Cursed be the earth that has drunk the blood of Abel your brother; and as for you, you will always be trembling and shaking; and this will be a mark on you so that whoever finds you, will kill you."

19 But Cain cried because God had said those words to him; and Cain said to Him, "O

God, whosoever finds me shall kill me, and I shall be blotted out from the face of the earth."

20 Then God said to Cain, "Whoever finds you will not kill you;" because before this, God had been saying to Cain, "I shall put seven punishments on anyone that kills Cain." For as to the word of God to Cain, "Where is your brother?" God said it in mercy for him, to try and make him repent.

21 For if Cain had repented at that time, and had said, "O God, forgive me my sin, and the murder of my brother," God would then have forgiven him his sin.

22 And as to God saying to Cain, "Cursed be the ground that has drunk the blood of your brother" That also, was God's mercy on Cain. For God did not curse him, but He cursed the ground; although it was not the ground that had killed Abel, and committed a wicked sin.

23 For it was fitting that the curse should fall on the murderer; yet in mercy did God so manage His thoughts as that no one should know it, and turn away from Cain.

24 And He said to him, "Where is your brother?" To which he answered and said, "I know not." Then the Creator said to him, "Be trembling and quaking."

25 Then Cain trembled and became terrified; and through this sign did God make him an example before all the creation, as the murderer of his brother. Also did God bring trembling and terror over him, that he might see the peace in which he was at first, and see also the trembling and terror he endured at the last; so that he might humble himself before God, and repent of his sin, and seek the peace that he enjoyed at first.

26 And in the word of God that said, "I will put seven punishments on anyone who kills Cain," God was not seeking to kill Cain with the sword, but He sought to make him die of fasting, and praying and crying by hard rule, until the time that he was delivered from his sin.

27 And the seven punishments are the seven generations during which God awaited Cain for the murder of his brother.

28 But as to Cain, ever since he had killed his brother, he could find no rest in any place; but went back to Adam and Eve, trembling, terrified, and defiled with blood.

http://www.bibliotecapleyades.net/vida_alien/alien_watchers09b.htm

The Second Book of Adam and Eve part of the "Forgotten" books of Eden

from EarthHistory Website

The Second Book of Adam and Eve details the life and times from Cain and his twin Sister Luluwa when they went away to the time that Enoch was taken by God.

This book is considered by many scholars to be part of the "Pseudepigrapha".

The "Pseudepigrapha" is a collection of historical biblical works that are considered to be fiction. Because of that stigma, this book was not included in the compilation of the Holy Bible. This book is a written history of what happened in the days of Adam and Eve after they were cast out of the garden. Although considered to be Pseudepigrapha by some, it carries significant meaning and insight into events of that time. It is doubtful that these writings could have survived all the many centuries if there were no substance to them.

This book is simply a version of an account handed down by word of mouth, from generation to generation, linking the time that the first human life was created to the time when somebody finally decided to write it down. This particular version is the work of unknown Egyptians.

The lack of historical allusion makes it difficult to precisely date the writing, however, using other Pseudepigrapha works as a reference, it was probably written a few hundred years before the birth of Christ. Parts of this version are found in the Jewish Talmud, and the Islamic Koran, showing what a vital role it played in the original literature of human wisdom. The Egyptian author wrote in Arabic, but later translations were found written in Ethiopic.

The present English translation was translated in the late 1800's by Dr. S. C. Malan and Dr. E. Trumpp. They translated into King James English from both the Arabic version and the Ethiopic version which was then published in The Forgotten Books of Eden in 1927 by The World Publishing Company.

In 1995, the text was extracted from a copy of The Forgotten Books of Eden and converted to electronic form by Dennis Hawkins. It was then translated into more modern English by simply exchanging 'Thou' s for 'You's, 'Art's for 'Are's, and so forth. The text was then carefully re-read to ensure its integrity.

BOOK II Chapter 1

The grief stricken family, Cain marries Luluwa and they move away.

1. When Luluwa heard Cain's words, she wept and went to call her father and mother, and told them how that Cain had killed his brother Abel.

2 Then they all cried aloud and lifted up their voices, and slapped their faces, and threw dust upon their heads, and rent asunder their garments, and went out and came to the place where Abel was killed.

3 And they found him lying on the earth, killed, and beasts around him; while they wept and cried because of this just one. From his body, by reason of its purity, went forth a smell of sweet spices.

4 And Adam carried him, his tears streaming down his face; and went to the Cave of Treasures, where he laid him, and wound him up with sweet spices and myrrh.

5 And Adam and Eve continued by the burial of him in great grief a hundred and forty days. Abel was fifteen and a half years old, and Cain seventeen years and a half.

6 As for Cain, when the mourning for his brother was ended, he took his sister Luluwa and married her, without leave from his father and mother; for they could not keep him from her, by reason of their heavy heart.

7 He then went down to the bottom of the mountain, away from the garden, near to the place where he had killed his brother.

8 And in that place were many fruit trees and forest trees. His sister bare him children, who in their turn began to multiply by degrees until they filled that place.

9 But as for Adam and Eve, they came not together after Abel's funeral, for seven years. After this, however, Eve conceived; and while she was with child, Adam said to her, "Come, let us take an offering and offer it up unto God, and ask Him to give us a fair child, in whom we may find comfort, and whom we may join in marriage to Abel's sister."

10 Then they prepared an offering and brought it up to the altar, and offered it before the Lord, and began to entreat Him to accept their offering, and to give them a good offspring.

11 And God heard Adam and accepted his offering. Then, they worshipped, Adam, Eve, and their daughter, and came down to the Cave of Treasures and placed a lamp in it, to burn by night and by day, before the body of Abel.

12 Then Adam and Eve continued fasting and praying until Eve's time came that she should be delivered, when she said to Adam, "I wish to go to the cave in the rock, to bring forth in it."

13 And he said, "Go, and take with thee thy daughter to wait on thee; but I will remain in this Cave of Treasures before the body of my son Abel."

14 Then Eve hearkened to Adam, and went, she and her daughter. But Adam remained by himself in the Cave of Treasures.

Chapter 2

A third son is born to Adam and Eve.

1. And Eve brought forth a son perfectly beautiful in figure and in countenance. His beauty was like that of his father Adam, yet more beautiful.

2 Then Eve was comforted when she saw him, and remained eight days in the cave; then she sent her daughter unto Adam to tell him to come and see the child and name him. But the daughter stayed in his place by the body of her brother, until Adam returned. So did she.

3 But when Adam came and saw the child's good looks, his beauty, and his perfect figure, he rejoiced over him, and was comforted for Abel. Then he named the child Seth, that means, "that God has heard my prayer, and has delivered me out of my affliction." But it means also "power and strength."

4 Then after Adam had named the child, he returned to the Cave of Treasures; and his daughter went back to her mother.

5 But Eve continued in her cave, until forty days were fulfilled, when she came to Adam, and brought with her the child and her daughter.

6 And they came to a river of water, where Adam and his daughter washed themselves, because of their sorrow for Abel; but Eve and the babe washed for purification.

7 Then they returned, and took an offering, and went to the mountain and offered it up, for the babe; and God accepted their offering, and sent His blessing upon them, and upon their son Seth; and they came back to the Cave of Treasures.

8 As for Adam, he knew not again his wife Eve, all the days of his life; neither was any more offspring born of them; but only those five, Cain, Luluwa, Abel, Akia, and Seth alone.

9 But Seth waxed in stature and in strength; and began to fast and pray, fervently.

Chapter 3

Satan appears as a beautiful woman tempting Adam, telling him he is still a youth, "Spend thy youth in mirth and pleasure," The different forms which Satan takes.

1.As for our father Adam, at the end of seven years from the day he had been severed from his wife Eve, Satan envied him, when he saw him thus separated from her; and strove to make him live with her again.

2 Then Adam arose and went up above the Cave of Treasures; and continued to sleep there night by night. But as soon as it was light every day he came down to the cave, to

pray there and to receive a blessing from it.

3 But when it was evening he went up on the roof of the cave, where he slept by himself, fearing lest Satan should overcome him. And he continued thus apart thirty-nine days.

4 Then Satan, the hater of all good, when he saw Adam thus alone, fasting and praying, appeared unto him in the form of a beautiful woman, who came and stood before him in the night of the fortieth day, and said unto him:-

5 "O Adam, from the time ye have dwelt in this cave, we have experienced great peace from you, and your prayers have reached us, and we have been comforted about you.

6 "But now, O Adam, that thou hast gone up over the roof of the cave to sleep, we have had doubts about thee, and a great sorrow has come upon us because of thy separation from Eve. Then again, when thou art on the roof of this cave, thy prayer is poured out, and thy heart wanders from side to side.

7 "But when thou wast in the cave thy prayer was like fire gathered together; it came down to us, and thou didst find rest.

8 "Then I also grieved over thy children who are severed from thee; and my sorrow is great about the murder of thy son Abel; for he was righteous; and over a righteous man every one will grieve.

9 "But I rejoiced over the birth of thy son Seth; yet after a little while I sorrowed greatly over Eve, because she is my sister. For when God sent a deep sleep over thee, and drew her out of thy side, He brought me out also with her. But HE raised her by placing her with thee, while He lowered me.

10 "I rejoiced over my sister for her being with thee. But God had made me a promise before, and said, 'Grieve not; when Adam has gone up on the roof of the Cave of Treasures, and is separated from Eve his wife, I will send thee to him, thou shalt join thyself to him in marriage, and bear him five children, as Eve did bear him five.'

11 "And now, lo! God's promise to me is fulfilled; for it is He who has sent me to thee for the wedding; because if thou wed me, I shall bear thee finer and better children than those of Eve.

12 "Then again, thou art as yet but a youth; end not thy youth in this world in sorrow; but spend the days of thy youth in mirth and pleasure. For thy days are few and thy trial is great. Be strong; end thy days in this world in rejoicing. I shall take pleasure in thee, and thou shall rejoice with me in this wise, and without fear.

13 "Up, then, and fulfill the command of thy God," she then drew near to Adam, and embraced him.

14 But when Adam saw that he should be overcome by her, he prayed to God with a fervent heart to deliver him from her.

15 Then God sent His Word unto Adam, saying, "O Adam, that figure is the one that promised thee the Godhead, and majesty; he is not favourably disposed towards thee; but shows himself to thee at one time in the form of a woman; another moment, in the likeness of an angel; on another occasions, in the similitude of a serpent; and at another time, in the semblance of a god; but he does all that only to destroy thy soul.

16 "Now, therefore, O Adam, understanding thy heart, I have delivered thee many a time from his hands; in order to show thee that I am a merciful God; and that I wish thy good, and that I do not wish thy ruin."

Chapter 4

Adam sees the Devil in his true colors.

1. Then God ordered Satan to show himself to Adam plainly, in his own hideous form.

2 But when Adam saw him, he feared, and trembled at the sight of him.

3 And God said to Adam, 'Look at this devil, and at his hideous look, and know that he it is who made thee fall from brightness into darkness, from peace and rest to toil and misery.

4 And look, O Adam, at him, who said of himself that he is God! Can God be black? Would God take the form of a woman? Is there any one stronger than God? And can He be overpowered?

5 "See, then, O Adam, and behold him bound in thy presence, in the air, unable to flee away! Therefore, I say unto thee, be not afraid of him; henceforth take care, and beware of him, in whatever he may do to thee."

6 Then God drove Satan away from before Adam, whom He strengthened, and whose heart He comforted, saying to him, "Go down to the Cave of Treasures, and separate not thyself from Eve; I will quell in you all animal lust."

7 From that hour it left Adam and Eve, and they enjoyed rest by the commandment of God. But God did not the like to any one of Adam's seed; but only to Adam and Eve.

8 Then Adam worshipped before the Lord, for having delivered him, and for having layed his passions. And he came down from above the cave, and dwelt with Eve as aforetime.

9 This ended the forty days of his separation from Eve.

Chapter 5

The devil paints a brilliant picture for Seth to feast his thoughts upon.

1. As for Seth, when he was seven years old, he knew good and evil, and was consistent in fasting and praying, and spent all his nights in entreating God for mercy and forgiveness.

2 He also fasted when bringing up his offering every day, more than his father did; for he was of a fair countenance, like unto an angel of God. He also had a good heart, preserved the finest qualities of his soul; and for this reason he brought up his offering every day.

3 And God was pleased with his offering; but He was also pleased with his purity. And he continued thus in doing the will of God, and of his father and mother, until he was seven years old.

4 After that, as he was coming down from the altar, having ended his offering, Satan appeared unto him in the form of a beautiful angel, brilliant with light; with a staff of light in his hand, himself girt about with a girdle of light.

5 He greeted Seth with a beautiful smile, and began to beguile him with fair words, saying to him, "O Seth, why abidest thou in this mountain? For it is rough, full of stones and of sand, and of trees with no good fruit on them; a wilderness without habitations and without towns; no good place to dwell in. But all is heat, weariness, and trouble."

6 He said further, 'But we dwell in beautiful places, in another world than this earth. Our world is one of light and our condition is of the best; our women are handsomer than any others; and I wish thee, O Seth, to wed one of them; because I see that thou art fair to look upon, and in this land there is not one woman good enough for thee. Besides, all those who live in this world, are only five souls.

7 "But in our world there are very many men and many maidens, all more beautiful one than another. I wish, therefore, to remove thee hence, that thou mayest see my relations and be wedded to which ever thou likest.

8 "Thou shalt then abide by me and be at peace; thou shalt be filled with splendour and light, as we are.

9 "Thou shalt remain in our world. and rest from this world and the misery of it; thou shalt never again feel faint and weary; thou shalt never bring up an offering, nor sue for mercy; for thou shalt commit no more sin nor be swayed by passions.

10 "And if thou wilt hearken to what I say, thou shalt wed one of my daughters; for with us it is no sin so to do; neither is it reckoned animal lust.

11 "For in our world we have no God; but we all are gods; we all are of the light, heavenly, powerful, strong and glorious."

Chapter 6

Seth's conscience helps him, He returns to Adam and Eve.

1. When Seth heard these words he was amazed, and inclined his heart to Satan's treacherous speech, and said to him, "Saidst thou there is an-other world created than this; and other creatures more beautiful than the creatures that are in this world?"

2 And Satan said "Yes; behold thou hast heard me; but I will yet praise them and their ways, in thy hearing."

3 But Seth said to him, "Thy speech has amazed me; and thy beautiful description of it all."

4 "Yet I cannot go with thee to-day; not until I have gone to my father Adam and to my mother Eve, and told them all thou hast said to me. Then if they give me leave to go with thee, I will come."

5 Again Seth said, "I am afraid of doing any thing without my father's and mother's leave, lest I perish like my brother Cain, and like my father Adam, who transgressed the commandment of God. But, behold, thou knowest this place; come, and meet me here to-morrow."

6 When Satan heard this, he said to Seth, "If thou tellest thy father Adam what I have told thee, he will not let thee come with me.

7 But hearken to me; do not tell thy father and mother what I have said to thee; but come with me to-day, to our world; where thou shalt see beautiful things and enjoy thyself there, and revel this day among my children, beholding them and taking thy fill of mirth; and rejoice ever more. Then I shall bring thee back to this place to-morrow; but if thou wouldest rather abide with me, so be it."

8 Then Seth answered, "The spirit of my father and of my mother, hangs on me; and if I hide from them one day, they will die, and God will hold me guilty of sinning against them.

9 "And except that they know I am come to this place to bring up to it my offering, they would not be separated from me one hour; neither should I go to any other place, unless they let me. But they treat me most kindly, because I come back to them quickly."

10 Then Satan said to him, "What will happen to thee if thou hide thyself from them one night, and return to them at break of day?"

11 But Seth, when he saw how he kept on talking, and that he would not leave him-ran, and went up to the altar, and spread his hands unto God, and sought deliverance from Him.

12 Then God sent His Word, and cursed Satan, who fled from Him.

13 But as for Seth, he had gone up to the altar, saying thus in his heart. "The altar is the place of offering, and God is there; a divine fire shall consume it; so shall Satan be unable to hurt me, and shall not take me away thence."

14 Then Seth came down from the altar and went to his father and mother, whom he found in the way, longing to hear his voice; for he had tarried a while.

15 He then began to tell them what had befallen him from Satan, under the form of an angel.

16 But when Adam heard his account, he kissed his face, and warned him against that angel, telling him it was Satan who thus appeared to him. Then Adam took Seth, and they went to the Cave of Treasures, and rejoiced therein.

17 But from that day forth Adam and Eve never parted from him, to whatever place he might go, whether for his offering or for any thing else.

18 This sign happened to Seth, when he was nine years old.

Chapter 7

Seth marries Akliā, Adam lives to see grand children and great - grand children.

1. When our father Adam saw that Seth was of a perfect heart, he wished him to marry; lest the enemy should appear to him another time, and overcome him.

2 So Adam said to his son Seth, "I wish, O my son, that thou wed thy sister Akliā, Abel's sister, that she may bear thee children, who shall replenish the earth, according to God's promise to us.

3 "Be not afraid, O my son; there is no disgrace in it. I wish thee to marry, from fear lest the enemy overcome thee.'

4 Seth, however, did not wish to marry; but in obedience to his father and mother, he said not a word.

5 So Adam married him to Akliā. And he was fifteen years old.

6 But when he was twenty years of age, he begat a son, whom he called Enos; and then begat other children than him,

7 Then Enos grew up, married, and begat Cainan.

8 Cainan also grew up, married, and begat Mahalaleel.

9 Those fathers were born during Adam's lifetime, and dwelt by the Cave of Treasures.

10 Then were the days of Adam nine hundred and thirty years, and those of Mahalaleel one hundred. But Mahalaleel, when he was grown up, loved fasting, praying, and with hard labours, until the end of our father Adam's days drew near.

Chapter 8

Adam's remarkable last words, He predicts the Flood, He exhorts his offspring to good, He reveals certain mysteries of life.

1. When our father Adam saw that his end was near, he called his son Seth, who came to him in the Cave of Treasures, and he said unto him: -

2 "O Seth, my son bring me thy children and thy children's children, that I may shed my blessing on them ere I die."

3 When Seth heard these words from his father Adam, he went from him, shed a flood of tears over his face, and gathered together his children and his children's children, and brought them to his father Adam.

4 But when our father Adam saw them around him, he wept at having to be separated from them.

5 And when they saw him weeping, they all wept together, and fell upon his face saying, "How shalt thou be severed from us, O our father? And how shall the earth receive thee and hide thee from our eyes?" Thus did they lament much, and in like words.

6 Then our father Adam blessed them all, and said to Seth, after he had blessed them:-

7 "O Seth, my son, thou knowest this world - that it is full of sorrow, and of weariness; and thou knowest all that has come upon us, from our trials in it I therefore flow command thee in these words: to keep innocency, to be pure and just, and trusting in God; and lean not to the discourses of Satan, nor to the apparitions in which he will show himself to thee.

8 But keep the commandments that I give thee this day; then give the same to thy son Enos; and let Enos give it to his son Cainan; and Cainan to his son Mahalaleel; so that this commandment abide firm among all your children.

9 "O Seth, my son, the moment I am dead take ye my body and wind it up with myrrh,

aloes, and cassia, and leave me here in this Cave of Treasures in which are all these tokens which God gave us from the garden.

10 "O my son, hereafter shall a flood come and overwhelm all creatures, and leave out only eight souls.

11 "But, O my son, let those whom it will leave out from among your children at that time, take my body with them out of this cave; and when they have taken it with them, let the oldest among them command his children to lay my body in a ship until the flood has been assuaged, and they come out of the ship.

12 Then they shall take my body and lay it in the middle of the earth, shortly after they have been saved from the waters of the flood.

13 "For the place where my body shall be laid, is the middle of the earth; God shall come from thence and shall save all our kindred.

14 "But now, O Seth, my son, place thyself at the head of thy people; tend them and watch over them in the fear of God; and lead them in the good way. Command them to fast unto God; and make them understand they ought not to hearken to Satan, lest he destroy them.

15 "Then, again, sever thy children and thy children's children from Cain's children; do not let them ever mix with those, nor come near them either in their words or in their deeds."

16 Then Adam let his blessing descend upon Seth, and upon his children, and upon all his children's children.

17 He then turned to his son Seth, and to Eve his wife, and said to them, "Preserve this gold, this incense, and this myrrh, that God has given us for a sign; for in days that are coming, a flood will overwhelm the whole creation. But those who shall go into the ark shall take with them the gold, the incense, and the myrrh, together with my body; and will lay the gold, the incense, and the myrrh, with my body in the midst of the earth.

18 "Then, after a long time, the city in which the gold, the incense, and the myrrh are found with my body, shall be plundered. But when it is spoiled, the gold the incense, and the myrrh shall be taken care of with the spoil that is kept; and naught of them shall perish, until the Word of God, made man shall come; when kings shall take them, and shall offer to Him, gold in token of His being King; incense, in token of His being God of heaven and earth; and myrrh, in token of His passion.

19 "Gold also, as a token of His overcoming Satan, and all our foes; incense as a token that He will rise from the dead, and be exalted above things in heaven and things in the earth; and myrrh, in token that He will drink bitter gall; and feel the pains of hell from Satan.

20 "And now, O Seth, my son, behold I have revealed unto thee hidden mysteries, which God had revealed unto me. Keep my commandment, for thyself, and for thy people."

Chapter 9

The death of Adam.

1. When Adam had ended his commandment to Seth, his limbs were loosened, his hands and feet lost all power, his mouth became dumb, and his tongue ceased altogether to speak. He closed his eyes and gave up the ghost.

2 But when his children saw that he was dead, they threw themselves over him, men and women, old and young, weeping.

3 The death of Adam took place at the end of nine hundred and thirty years that he lived upon the earth; on the fifteenth day of Barmudeh, after the reckoning of an epoch of the sun, at the ninth hour.

4 It was on a Friday, the very day on which he was created, and on which he rested; and the hour at which he died, was the same as that at which he came out of the garden.

5 Then Seth wound him up well, and embalmed him with plenty of sweet spices, from sacred trees and from the Holy Mountain; and he laid his body on the eastern side of the inside of the cave, the side of the incense; and placed in front of him a lamp - stand kept burning.

6 Then his children stood before him weeping and wailing over him the whole night until break of day.

7 Then Seth and his son Enos, and Cainan, the son of Enos, went out and took good offerings to present unto the Lord, and they came to the altar upon which Adam offered gifts to God, when he did offer.

8 But Eve said to them, "Wait until we have first asked God to accept our offering, and to keep by Him the soul of Adam His servant, and to take it up to rest."

9 And they all stood up and prayed.

Chapter 10

"Adam was the first. . ."

1. And when they had ended their prayer, the Word of God came and comforted them concerning their father Adam.

2 After this, they offered their gifts for themselves and for their father.

3 And when they had ended their offering, the Word of God came to Seth, the eldest among them, saying unto him, "O Seth, Seth, Seth, three times. As I was with thy father, so also shall I be with thee, until the fulfilment of the promise I made him - thy father saying, I will send My Word and save thee and thy seed.

4 "But as to thy father Adam, keep thou the commandment he gave thee; and sever thy seed from that of Cain thy brother."

5 And God withdrew His Word from Seth.

6 Then Seth, Eve, and their children, came down from the mountain to the Cave of Treasures.

7 But Adam was the first whose soul died in the land of Eden, in the Cave of Treasures; for no one died before him, but his son Abel, who died murdered.

8 Then all the children of Adam rose up, and wept over their father Adam, and made offerings to him, one hundred and forty days.

Chapter 11

Seth becomes head of the most happy and just tribe of people who ever lived.

1. After the death of Adam and of Eve, Seth severed his children, and his children's children, from Cain's children. Cain and his seed went down and dwelt westward, below the place where he had killed his brother Abel.

2 But Seth and his children, dwelt northwards upon the mountain of the Cave of Treasures, in order to be near to their father Adam.

3 And Seth the elder, tall and good, with a fine soul, and of a strong mind, stood at the head of his people; and tended them in innocence, penitence, and meekness, and did not allow one of them to go down to Cain's children.

4 But because of their own purity, they were named "Children of God," and they were with God, instead of the hosts of angels who fell; for they continued in praises to God, and in singing psalms unto Him, in their cave - the Cave of Treasures.

5 Then Seth stood before the body of his father Adam, and of his mother Eve, and prayed night and day, and asked for mercy towards himself and his children; and that when he had some difficult dealing with a child, He would give him counsel.

6 But Seth and his children did not like earthly work, but gave themselves to heavenly

things; for they had no other thought than praises, doxologies, and psalms unto God.

7 Therefore did they at all times hear the voices of angels, praising and glorifying God; from within the garden, or when they were sent by God on an errand, or when they were going up to heaven.

8 For Seth and his children, by reason of their own purity, heard and saw those angels. Then, again, the garden was not far above them, but only some fifteen spiritual cubits.

9 Now one spiritual cubit answers to three cubits of man, altogether forty-five cubits.

10 Seth and his children dwelt on the mountain below the garden; they sowed not, neither did they reap; they wrought no food for the body. not even wheat; but only offerings. They ate of the fruit and of trees well flavoured that grew on the mountain where they dwelt.

11 Then Seth often fasted every forty days, as did also his eldest children. For the family of Seth smelled the smell of the trees in the garden, when the wind blew that way.

12 They were happy, innocent, without sudden fear, there was no jealousy, no evil action, no hatred among them. There was no animal passion; from no mouth among them went forth either foul words or curse; neither evil counsel nor fraud. For the men of that time never swore, but under hard circumstances, when men must swear, they swore by the blood of Abel the just.

13 But they constrained their children and their women every day in the cave to fast and pray, and to worship the most High God. They blessed themselves in the body of their father Adam, and anointed themselves with it.

14 And they did so until the end of Seth drew near.

Chapter 12

Seth's family affairs. His death, The headship of Enos, How the outcast branch of Adam's family fared.

1. Then Seth, the just, called his son Enos, and Cainan, son of Enos, and Mahalaleel, son of Cainan, and said unto them:-

2 "As my end is near, I wish to build a roof over the altar on which gifts are offered."

3 They hearkened to his commandment and went out, all of them, both old and young, and worked hard at it, and built a beautiful roof over the altar.

4 And Seth's thought, in so doing, was that a blessing should come upon his children on the mountain; and that he should present an offering for them before his death.

5 Then when the building of the roof was completed, he commanded them to make offerings. They worked diligently at these, and brought them to Seth their father who took them and offered them upon the altar; and prayed God to accept their offerings, to have mercy on the souls of his children, and to keep them from the hand of Satan.

6 And God accepted his offering, and sent His blessing upon him and upon his children. And then God made a promise to Seth, saying, "At the end of the great five days and a half, concerning which I have made a promise to thee and to thy father, I will send My Word and save thee and thy seed."

7 Then Seth and his children, and his children's children, met together, and came down from the altar, and went to the Cave of Treasures - where they prayed, and blessed themselves in the body of our father Adam, and anointed themselves with it.

8 But Seth abode in the Cave of Treasures, a few days, and then suffered - sufferings unto death.

9 Then Enos, his first - born son, came to him, with Cainan, his son, and Mahalaleel, Cainan's son, and Jared, the son of Mahalaleel, and Enoch, Jared's son, with their wives and children to receive a blessing from Seth.

10 Then Seth prayed over them, and blessed them, and adjured them by the blood of Abel the just, saying, "I beg of you my children, not to let one of you go down from this Holy and pure Mountain.

11 Make no fellowship with the children of Cain the murderer and the sinner, who killed his brother; for ye know, O my children, that we flee from him, and from all his sin with all our might because he killed his brother Abel."

12 After having said this, Seth blessed Enos, his first - born son, and commanded him habitually to minister in purity before the body of our father Adam, all the days of his life; then, also, to go at times to the altar which he Seth had built. And he commanded him to feed his people in righteousness, in judgment and purity all the days of his life.

13 Then the limbs of Seth were loosened; his hands and feet lost all power; his mouth became dumb and unable to speak; and he gave up the ghost and died the day after his nine hundred and twelfth year; on the twenty - seventh day of the month Abib; Enoch being then twenty years old.

14 Then they wound up carefull the body of Seth, and embalmed him with sweet spices, and laid him in the Cave Treasures, on the right side of our father Adam's body, and they mourned for him forty days. They offered gifts for him, as they had done for our father Adam.

15 After the death of Seth, Enos rose at the head of his people, whom he fed in righteousness, and judgment, as his father had commanded him.

16 But by the time Enos was eight hundred and twenty years old, Cain had a large progeny; for they married frequently, being given to animal lusts; until the land below the mountain, was filled with them.

Chapter 13

"Among the children of Cain there was much robbery, murder and Sin."

1. In those days lived Lamech the blind, who was of the sons of Cain. He had a son whose name was Atun, and they two had much cattle.

2 But Lamech was in the habit of sending them to feed with a young shepherd, who tended them; and who, when coming home in the evening wept before his grandfather, and before his father Atun and his mother Hazina, and said to them, "As for me, I cannot feed those cattle alone, lest one rob me of some of them, or kill me for the sake of them." For among the children of Cain, there was much robbery, murder and sin.

3 Then Lamech pitied him, and he said, "Truly, he when alone, might be overpowered by the men of this place."

4 So Lamech arose, took a bow he had kept ever since he was a youth, ere he became blind, and he took large arrows, and smooth stones, and a sling which he had, and went to the field with the young shepherd, and placed himself behind the cattle; while the young shepherd watched the cattle. Thus did Lamech many days.

5 Meanwhile Cain, ever since God had cast him off, and had cursed him with trembling and terror, could neither settle nor find rest in any one place; but wandered from place to place.

6 In his wanderings he came to Lamech's wives, and asked them about him. They said to him, "He is in the field with the cattle."

7 Then Cain went to look for him; and as he came into the field, the young shepherd heard the noise he made, and the cattle herding together from before him,

8 Then said he to Lamech, "O my lord, is that a wild beast or a robber?"

9 And Lamech said to him, "Make me understand which way he looks, when he comes up.

10 Then Lamech bent his bow, placed an arrow on it, and fitted a stone in the sling, and when Cain came out from the open country, the shepherd said to Lamech, "Shoot, behold, he is coming."

11 Then Lamech shot at Cain with his arrow and hit him in his side. And Lamech

struck him with a stone from his sling, that fell upon his face, and knocked out both his eyes; then Cain fell at once and died.

12 Then Lamech and the young shepherd came up to him, and found him lying on the ground. And the young shepherd said to him, "It is Cain our grandfather, whom thou hast killed, O my lord!"

18 Then was Lamech sorry for it, and from the bitterness of his regret, he clapped his hands together, and struck with his flat palm the head of the youth, who fell as if dead; but Lamech thought it was a feint; so he took up a stone and smote him, and smashed his head until he died.

Chapter 14

Time, like an ever rolling stream, bears away another generation of men.

1. When Enos was nine hundred years old, all the children of Seth, and of Cainan, and his first-born, with their wives and children, gathered around him, asking for a blessing from him.

2 He then prayed over them and blessed them, and adjured them by the blood of Abel the just saying to them, "Let not one of your children go down from this Holy Mountain, and let them make no fellowship with the children of Cain the murderer."

3 Then Enos called his son Cainan and said to him, "See, O my son, and set thy heart on thy people, and establish them in righteousness, and in innocence; and stand ministering before the body of our father Adam, all the days of thy life."

4 After this Enos entered into rest, aged nine hundred and eighty - five years; and Cainan wound him up, and laid him in the Cave of Treasures on the left of his father Adam; and made offerings for him, after the custom of his fathers.

Chapter 15

The offspring of Adam continue to keep the Cave of Treasures as a family shrine.

1. After the death of Enos, Cainan stood at the head of his people in righteousness and innocence, as his father had commanded him; he also continued to minister before the body of Adam, inside the Cave of Treasures.

2 Then when he had lived nine hundred and ten years, suffering and affliction came upon him. And when he was about to enter into rest, all the fathers with their wives and children came to him, and he blessed them, and adjured them by the blood of Abel, the just, saying to them, "Let not one among you go down from this Holy Mountain; and make no fellowship with the children of Cain the murderer."

3 Mahalaleel, his first - born son, received this commandment from his father, who blessed him and died.

4 Then Mahalaleel embalmed him with sweet spices, and laid him in the Cave of Treasures, with his fathers; and they made offerings for him, after the custom of their fathers.

Chapter 16

The good branch of the family is still afraid of the children of Cain.

1. Then Mahalaleel stood over his people, and fed them in righteousness and innocence, and watched them to see they held no intercourse with the children of Cain.

2 He also continued in the Cave of Treasures praying and ministering before the body of our father Adam, asking God for mercy on himself and on his people; until he was eight hundred and seventy years old, when he fell sick.

3 Then all his children gathered unto him, to see him, and to ask for his blessing on them all, ere he left this world.

4 Then Mahalaleel arose and sat on his bed, his tears streaming down his face, and he called his eldest son Jared, who came to him.

5 He then kissed his face, and said to him, "O Jared, my son, I adjure thee by Him who made heaven and earth, to watch over thy people, and to feed them in righteousness and in innocence; and not to let one of them go down from this Holy Mountain to the children of Cain, lest he perish with them.

6 "Hear, O my son, hereafter there shall come a great destruction upon this earth on account of them; God will be angry with the world, and will destroy them with waters.

7 "But I also know that thy children will not hearken to thee, and that they will go down from this mountain and hold intercourse with the children of Cain, and that they shall perish with them.

8 "O my son! teach them, and watch over them, that no guilt attach to thee on their account."

9 Mahalaleel said, moreover, to his son Jared, "When I die, embalm my body and lay it in the Cave of Treasures, by the bodies of my fathers; then stand thou by my body and pray to God; and take care of them, and fulfil thy ministry before them, until thou enterest into rest thyself."

10 Mahalaleel then blessed all his children; and then lay down on his bed, and entered

into rest like his fathers.

11 But when Jared saw that his father Mahalaleel was dead, he wept, and sorrowed, and embraced and kissed his hands and his feet; and so did all his children.

12 And his children embalmed him carefully, and laid him by the bodies of his fathers. Then they arose, and mourned for him forty days.

Chapter 17

Jared turns martinet. He is lured away to the land of Cain where he sees many voluptuous sights, Jared barely escapes with a clean heart.

1. Then Jared kept his father's commandment, and arose like a lion over his people. He fed them in righteousness and innocence, and commanded them to do nothing without his counsel. For he was afraid concerning them, lest they should go to the children of Cain.

2 Wherefore did he give them orders repeatedly; and continued to do so until the end of the four hundred and eighty-fifth year of his life.

3 At the end of these said years, there came unto him this sign. As Jared was standing like a lion before the bodies of his fathers, praying and warning his people, Satan envied him, and wrought a beautiful apparition, because Jared would not let his children do aught without his counsel.

4 Satan then appeared to him with thirty men of his hosts, in the form of handsome men; Satan himself being the elder and tallest among them, with a fine beard.

5 They stood at the mouth of the cave, and called out Jared, from within it.

6 He came out to them, and found them looking like fine men, full of light, and of great beauty. He wondered at their beauty and at their looks; and thought within himself whether they might not be of the children of Cain.

7 He said also in his heart, "As the children of Cain cannot come up to the height of this mountain, and none of them is so handsome as these appear to be; and among these men there is not one of my kindred - they must be strangers."

8 Then Jared and they exchanged a greeting and he said to the elder among them, "O my father, explain to me the wonder that is in thee, and tell me who these are, with thee; for they look to me like strange men."

9 Then the elder began to weep, and the rest wept with him; and he said to Jared, "I am Adam whom God made first; and this is Abel my son, who was killed by his brother Cain, into whose heart Satan put to murder him.

10 "Then this is my son Seth, whom I asked of the Lord, who gave him to me, to comfort me instead of Abel.

11 "Then this one is my son Enos, son of Seth, and that other one is Cainan, son of Enos, and that other one is Mahalaleel, son of Cainan, thy father."

12 But Jared remained wondering at their appearance, and at the speech of the elder to him.

13 Then the elder said to him, "Marvel not, O my son; we live in the land north of the garden, which God created before the world. He would not let us live there, but placed us inside the garden, below which ye are now dwelling.

14 "But after that I transgressed, He made me come out of it, and I was left to dwell in this cave; great and sore troubles came upon me; and when my death drew near, I commanded my son Seth to tend his people well; and this my commandment is to be handed from one to another, unto the end of the generations to come.

15 "But, O Jared, my son, we live in beautiful regions, while you live here in misery, as this thy father Mahalaleel informed me; telling me that a great flood will come and overwhelm the whole earth.

16 "Therefore, O my son, fearing for your sakes, I rose and took my children with me, and came hither for us to visit thee and thy children; but I found thee standing in this cave weeping, and thy children scattered about this mountain, in the heat and in misery.

17 "But, O my son, as we missed our way, and came as far as this, we found other men below this mountain; who inhabit a beautiful country, full of trees and of fruits, and of all manner of verdure; it is like a garden; so that when we found them we thought they were you; until thy father Mahalaleel told me they were no such thing.

18 "Now, therefore, O my son, hearken to my counsel, and go down to them, thou and thy children. Ye will rest from all this suffering in which ye are. But if thou wilt not go down to them, then, arise, take thy children, and come with us to our garden; ye shall live in our beautiful land, and ye shall rest from all this trouble, which thou and thy children are now bearing."

19 But Jared when he heard this discourse from the elder, wondered; and went hither and thither, but at that moment he found not one of his children.

20 Then he answered and said to the elder, "Why have you hidden yourselves until this day?"

21 And the elder replied, "If thy father had not told us, we should not have known it."

22 Then Jared believed his words were true.

23 So that elder said to Jared, "Wherefore didst thou turn about, so and so?" And he said, "I was seeking one of my children, to tell him about my going with you, and about their coming down to those about whom thou hast spoken to me."

24 When the elder heard Jared's intention, he said to him, "Let alone that purpose at present, and come with us; thou shalt see our country; if the land in which we dwell pleases thee, we and thou shall return hither and take thy family with us. But if our country does not please thee, thou shalt come back to thine own place."

25 And the elder urged Jared, to go before one of his children came to counsel him otherwise.

26 Jared, then, came out of the cave and went with them, and among them. And they comforted him, until they came to the top of the mountain of the sons of Cain.

27 Then said the elder to one of his companions, "We have forgotten something by the mouth of the cave, and that is the chosen garment we had brought to clothe Jared withal."

28 He then said to one of them, "Go back, thou, some one; and we will wait for thee here, until thou come back. Then will we clothe Jared and he shall be like us, good, handsome, and fit to come with us into our country."

29 Then that one went back.

30 But when he was a short distance off, the elder called to him and said to him, "Tarry thou, until I come up and speak to thee."

31 Then he stood still, and the elder went up to him and said to him, "One thing we forgot at the cave, it is this - to put out the lamp that burns inside it, above the bodies that are therein. Then come back to us, quick."

32 That one went, and the elder came back to his fellows and to Jared. And they came down from the mountain, and Jared with them; and they stayed by a fountain of water, near the houses of the children of Cain and waited for their companion until he brought the garment for Jared.

33 He, then, who went back to the cave, put out the lamp, and came to them and brought a phantom with him and showed it them. And when Jared saw it he wondered at the beauty and grace thereof, and rejoiced in his heart believing it was all true.

34 But while they were staying there, three of them went into houses of the sons of Cain and said to them, "Bring us to - day some food by the fountain of water, for us and our companions to eat."

35 But when the sons of Cain saw them, they wondered at them and thought: "These are beautiful to look at, and such as we never saw before." So they rose and came with them to the fountain of water, to see their companions.

36 They found them so very handsome, that they cried aloud about their places for others to gather together and come and look at these beautiful beings. Then they gathered around them both men and women.

37 Then the elder said to them, "We are strangers in your land, bring us some good food and drink, you and your women, to refresh ourselves with you."

38 When those men heard these words of the elder, every one of Cain's sons brought his wife, and another brought his daughter, and so, many women came to them; every one addressing Jared either for himself or for his wife; all alike.

39 But when Jared saw what they did, his very soul wrenched itself from them; neither would he taste of their food or of their drink.

40 The elder saw him as he wrenched himself from them, and said to him, "Be not sad; I am the great elder, as thou shalt see me do, do thyself in like manner."

41 Then he spread his hands and took one of the women, and five of his companions did the same before Jared, that he should do as they did.

42 But when Jared saw them working infamy he wept, and said in his mind, - My fathers never did the like.

43 He then spread his hands and prayed with a fervent heart, and with much weeping, and entreated God to deliver him from their hands.

44 No sooner did Jared begin to pray than the elder fled with his companions; for they could not abide in a place of prayer.

45 Then Jared turned round but could not see them, but found himself standing in the midst of the children of Cain.

46 He then wept and said, "O God, destroy me not with this race, concerning which my fathers have warned me; for now, O my Lord God, I was thinking that those who appeared unto me were my fathers; but I have found them out to be devils, who allured me by this beautiful apparition, until I believed them.

47 "But now I ask Thee, O God, to deliver me from this race, among whom I am now staying, as Thou didst deliver me from those devils. Send Thy angel to draw me out of the midst of them; for I have not myself power to escape from among them."

48 When Jared had ended his prayer, God sent His angel in the midst of them, who took Jared and set him upon the mountain, and showed him the way, gave him counsel, and then departed from him.

Chapter 18

Confusion in the Cave of Treasures, Miraculous speech of the dead Adam.

1. The children of Jared were in the habit of visiting him hour after hour, to receive his blessing and to ask his advice for every thing they did; and when he had a work to do, they did it for him.

2 But this time when they went into the cave they found not Jared, but they found the lamp put out, and the bodies of the fathers thrown about, and voices came from them by the power of God, that said, "Satan in an apparition has deceived our son, wishing to destroy him, as he destroyed our son Cain."

3 They said also, "Lord God of heaven and earth, deliver our son from the hand of Satan, who wrought a great and false apparition before him." They also spake of other matters, by the power of God.

4 But when the children of Jared heard these voices they feared, and stood weeping for their father; for they knew not what had befallen him.

5 And they wept for him that day until the setting of the sun.

6 Then came Jared with a woeful countenance, wretched in mind and body, and sorrowful at having been separated from the bodies of his fathers.

7 But as he was drawing near to the cave, his children saw him, and hastened to the cave, and hung upon his neck, crying, and saying to him, "O father, where hast thou been, and why hast thou left us, as thou wast not wont to do?" And again, "O father, when thou didst disappear, the lamp over the bodies of our fathers went out, the bodies were thrown about, and voices came from them"

8 When Jared heard this he was sorry, and went into the cave; and there found the bodies thrown about, the lamp put out, and the fathers themselves praying for his deliverance from the hand of Satan.

9 Then Jared fell upon the bodies and embraced them, and said, "O my fathers, through your intercession, let God deliver me from the hand of Satan! And I beg you will ask God to keep me and to hide me from him unto the day of my death."

10 Then all the voices ceased save the voice of our father Adam, who spake to Jared by the power of God, just as one would speak to his fellow, saying, "O Jared, my son, offer gifts to God for having delivered thee from the hand of Satan; and when thou bringest those offerings, so be it that thou offerest them on the altar on which I did offer. Then also, beware of Satan; for he deluded me many a time with his apparitions, wishing to destroy me, but God delivered me out of his hand.

11 "Command thy people that they be on their guard against him; and never cease to

offer up gifts to God."

12 Then the voice of Adam also became silent; and Jared and his children wondered at this. Then they laid the bodies as they were at first; and Jared and his children stood praying the whole of that night, until break of day.

13 Then Jared made an offering and offered it up on the altar, as Adam had commanded him. And as he went up to the altar, he prayed to God for mercy and for forgiveness of his sin, concerning the lamp going out.

14 Then God appeared unto Jared on the altar and blessed him and his children, and accepted their offerings; and commanded Jared to take of the sacred fire from the altar, and with it to light the lamp that shed light on the body of Adam.

Chapter 19

The children of Jared are led astray.

1. Then God revealed to him again the promise He had made to Adam; He explained to him the 5500 years, and revealed unto him the mystery of His coming upon the earth.

2 And God said to Jared, "As to that fire which thou hast taken from the altar to light the lamp withal, let it abide with you to give light to the bodies; and let it not come out of the cave, until the body of Adam comes out of it.

3 But, O Jared, take care of the fire, that it burn bright in the lamp; neither go thou again out of the cave until thou receivest an order through a vision, and not in an apparition, when seen by thee.

4 "Then command again thy people not to hold intercourse with the children of Cain, and not to learn their ways; for I am God who loves not hatred and works of iniquity."

5 God gave also many other commandments to Jared, and blessed him. And then withdrew His Word from him.

6 Then Jared drew near with his children, took some fire, and came down to the cave, and lighted the lamp before the body of Adam; and he gave his people commandments as God had told him to do.

7 This sign happened to Jared at the end of his four hundred and fiftieth year; as did also many other wonders, we do not record. But we record only this one for shortness sake, and in order not to lengthen our narrative.

8 And Jared continued to teach his children eighty years; but after that they began to transgress the commandments he had given them, and to do many things without his counsel. They began to go down from the Holy Mountain one after another, and to mix

with the children of Cain, in foul fellowships.

9 Now the reason for which the children of Jared went down the Holy Mountain, is this, that we will now reveal unto you.

Chapter 20

Ravishing music; strong drink loosed among the sons of Cain, They don colorful clothing, The children of Seth look on with longing eyes, They revolt from wise counsel; they descend the mountain into the valley of iniquity. They can not ascend the mountain again.

1. Aafter Cain had gone down to the land of dark soil, and his children had multiplied therein, there was one of them, whose name was Genun, son of Lamech the blind who slew Cain.

2 But as to this Genun, Satan came into him in his childhood; and he made sundry trumpets and horns, and string instruments, cymbals and psalteries, and lyres and harps, and flutes; and he played on them at all times and at every hour.

3 And when he played on them, Satan came into them, so that from among them were heard beautiful and sweet sounds, that ravished the heart.

4 Then he gathered companies upon companies to play on them; and when they played, it pleased well the children of Cain, who inflamed themselves with sin among themselves, and burnt as with fire; while Satan inflamed their hearts, one with another, and increased lust among them.

5 Satan also taught Genun to bring strong drink out of corn; and this Genun used to bring together companies upon companies in drink-houses; and brought into their hands all manner of fruits and flowers; and they drank together.

6 Thus did this Genun multiply sin exceedingly; he also acted with pride, and taught the children of Cain to commit all manner of the grossest wickedness, which they knew not; and put them up to manifold doings which they knew not before.

7 Then Satan, when he saw that they yielded to Genun and hearkened to him in every thing he told them, rejoiced greatly, increased Genun's understanding until he took iron and with it made weapons of war.

8 Then when they were drunk, hatred and murder increased among them; one man used violence against another to teach him evil taking his children and defiling them before him.

9 And when men saw they were overcome, and saw others that were not overpowered, those who were beaten came to Genun, took refuge with him, and he made them his

confederates.

10 Then sin increased among them greatly; until a man married his own sister, or daughter, or mother, and others; or the daughter of his father's sister, so that there was no more distinction of relationship, and they no longer knew what is iniquity; but did wickedly, and the earth was defiled with sin; and they angered God the Judge, who had created them.

11 But Genun gathered together companies upon companies, that played on horns and on all the other instruments we have already mentioned, at the foot of the Holy Mountain; and they did so in order that the children of Seth who were on the Holy Mountain should hear it.

12 But when the children of Seth heard the noise, they wondered, and came by companies, and stood on the top of the mountain to look at those below; and they did thus a whole year.

13 When, at the end of that year, Genun saw that they were being won over to him little by little, Satan entered into him, and taught him to make dyeing - stuffs for garments of divers patterns, and made him understand how to dye crimson and purple and what not.

14 And the sons of Cain who wrought all this, and shone in beauty and gorgeous apparel, gathered together at the foot of the mountain in splendour, with horns and gorgeous dresses, and horse races, committing all manner of abominations.

15 Meanwhile the children of Seth, who were on the Holy Mountain, prayed and praised God, in the place of the hosts of angels who had fallen; wherefore God had called them 'angels,' because He rejoiced over them greatly.

16 But after this, they no longer kept His commandment, nor held by the promise He had made to their fathers; but they relaxed from their fasting and praying, and from the counsel of Jared their father. And they kept on gathering together on the top of the mountain, to look upon the children of Cain, from morning until evening, and upon what they did, upon their beautiful dresses and ornaments.

17 Then the children of Cain looked up from below, and saw the children of Seth, standing in troops on the top of the mountain; and they called to them to come down to them.

18 But the children of Seth said to them from above, "We don't know the way." Then Genun, the son of Lamech, heard them say they did not know the way, and he bethought himself how he might bring them down.

19 Then Satan appeared to him by night, saying, "There is no way for them to come down from the mountain on which they dwell; but when they come to-morrow, say to them, 'Come ye to the western side of the mountain; there you will find the way of a stream of water, that comes down to the foot of the mountain, between two hills; come

down that way to us."

20 Then when it was day, Genun blew the horns and beat the drums below the mountain, as he was wont. The children of Seth heard it, and came as they used to do.

21 Then Genun said to them from down below, "Go to the western side of the mountain, there you will find the way to come down."

22 But when the children of Seth heard these words from him, they went back into the cave to Jared, to tell him all they had heard.

23 Then when Jared heard it, he was grieved; for he knew that they would transgress his counsel.

24 After this a hundred men of the children of Seth gathered together, and said among themselves, "Come, let us go down to the children of Cain, and see what they do, and enjoy ourselves with them."

25 But when Jared heard this of the hundred men, his very soul was moved, and his heart was grieved. He then arose with great fervour, and stood in the midst of them, and adjured them by the blood of Abel the just, "Let not one of you go down from this holy and pure mountain, in which our fathers have ordered us to dwell."

26 But when Jared saw that they did not receive his words, he said unto them, "O my good and innocent and holy children, know that when once you go down from this holy mountain, God will not allow you to return again to it."

27 He again adjured them, saying, "I adjure by the death of our father Adam, and by the blood of Abel, of Seth, of Enos, of Cainan, and of Mahalaleel, to hearken to me, and not to go down from this holy mountain; for the moment you leave it, you will be reft of life and of mercy; and you shall no longer be called 'children of God,' but 'children of the devil.'"

28 But they would not hearken to his words.

29 Enoch at that time was already grown up, and in his zeal for God, he arose and said, "Hear me, O ye sons of Seth, small and great-when ye transgress the commandment of our fathers, and go down from this holy mountain-ye shall not come up hither again for ever."

30 But they rose up against Enoch, and would not hearken to his words, but went down from the Holy Mountain.

31 And when they looked at the daughters of Cain, at their beautiful figures, and at their hands and feet dyed with colour, and tattooed in ornaments on their faces, the fire of sin was kindled in them.

32 Then Satan made them look most beautiful before the sons of Seth, as he also made the sons of Seth appear of the fairest in the eyes of the daughters of Cain, so that the daughters of Cain lusted after the sons of Seth like ravenous beasts, and the sons of Seth after the daughters of Cain, until they committed abomination with them.

33 But after they had thus fallen into this defilement, they returned by the way they had come, and tried to ascend the Holy Mountain. But they could not, because the stones of that holy mountain were of fire flashing before them, by reason of which they could not go up again.

34 And God was angry with them, and repented of them because they had come down from glory, and had thereby lost or forsaken their own purity or innocence, and were fallen into the defilement of sin.

35 Then God sent His Word to Jared, saying, "These thy children, whom thou didst call 'My children,' - behold they have transgressed My commandment, and have gone down to the abode of perdition, and of sin. Send a messenger to those that are left, that they may not go down, and be lost."

36 Then Jared wept before the Lord, and asked of Him mercy and forgiveness. But he wished that his soul might depart from his body, rather than hear these words from God about the going down of his children from the Holy Mountain.

37 But he followed God's order, and preached unto them not to go down from that holy mountain, and not to hold intercourse with the children of Cain.

38 But they heeded not his message, and would not obey his counsel.

Chapter 21

Jared dies in sorrow for his sons who had gone astray, A prediction of the Flood.

1. After this another company gathered together, and they went to look after their brethren; but they perished as well as they. And so it was, company after company, until only a few of them were left.

2 Then Jared sickened from grief, and his sickness was such that the day of his death drew near.

3 Then he called Enoch his eldest son, and Methuselah Enoch's son, and Lamech the son of Methuselah, and Noah the son of Lamech.

4 And when they were come to him he prayed over them and blessed them, and said to them, "Ye are righteous, innocent sons; go ye not down from this holy mountain; for behold, your children and your children's children have gone down from this holy

mountain, and have estranged themselves from this holy mountain, through their abominable lust and transgression of God's commandment.

5 "But I know, through the power of God, that He will not leave you on this holy mountain, because your children have transgressed His commandment and that of our fathers, which we had received from them.

6 "But, O my sons, God will take you to a strange land, and ye never shall again return to behold with your eyes this garden and this holy mountain.

7 "Therefore, O my sons, set your hearts on your own selves, and keep the commandment of God which is with you. And when you go from this holy mountain, into a strange land which ye know not, take with you the body of our father Adam, and with it these three precious gifts and offerings, namely, the gold, the incense, and the myrrh; and let them be in the place where the body of our father Adam shall lay.

8 "And unto him of you who shall be left, O my sons, shall the Word of God come, and when he goes out of this land he shall take with him the body of our father Adam, and shall lay it in the middle of the earth, the place in which salvation shall be wrought."

9 Then Noah said unto him, "Who is he of us that shall be left?"

10 And Jared answered, "Thou art he that shall be left. And thou shalt take the body of our father Adam from the cave, and place it with thee in the ark when the flood comes.

11 "And thy son Shem, who shall come out of thy loins, he it is who shall lay the body of our father Adam in the middle of the earth, in the place whence salvation shall come."

12 Then Jared turned to his son Enoch, and said unto him "Thou, my son, abide in this cave, and minister diligently before the body of our father Adam all the days of thy life; and feed thy people in righteousness and innocence."

13 And Jared said no more. His hands were loosened, his eyes closed, and he entered into rest like his fathers. His death took place in the three hundred and sixtieth year of Noah, and in the nine hundred and eighty-ninth year of his own life; on the twelfth of Takhsas on a Friday.

14 But as Jared died, tears streamed down his face by reason of his great sorrow, for the children of Seth, who had fallen in his days.

15 Then Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech and Noah, these four, wept over him; embalmed him carefully, and then laid him in the Cave of Treasures. Then they rose and mourned for him forty days.

16 And when these days of mourning were ended, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech and Noah remained in sorrow of heart, because their father had departed from them, and they saw him no more.

Chapter 22

Only three righteous men left in the world, The evil conditions of men prior to the Flood.

1. But Enoch kept the commandment of Jared his father, and continued to minister in the cave.

2 It is this Enoch to whom many wonders happened, and who also wrote a celebrated book; but those wonders may not be told in this place.

3 Then after this, the children of Seth went astray and fell, they, their children and their wives. And when Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech and Noah saw them, their hearts suffered by reason of their fall into doubt full of unbelief; and they wept and sought of God mercy, to preserve them, and to bring them out of that wicked generation.

4 Enoch continued in his ministry before the Lord three hundred and eighty-five years, and at the end of that time he became aware through the grace of God, that God intended to remove him from the earth.

5 He then said to his son, "O my son, I know that God intends to bring the waters of the Flood upon the earth, and to destroy our creation.

6 "And ye are the last rulers over this people on this mountain; for I know that not one will be left you to beget children on this holy mountain; neither shall any one of you rule over the children of his people; neither shall any great company be left of you, on this mountain."

7 Enoch said also to them, "Watch over your souls, and hold fast by your fear of God and by your service of Him, and worship Him in upright faith, and serve Him in righteousness, innocence and judgment, in repentance and also in purity."

8 When Enoch had ended his commandments to them, God transported him from that mountain to the land of life, to the mansions of the righteous and of the chosen, the abode of Paradise of joy, in light that reaches up to heaven; light that is outside the light of this world; for it is the light of God, that fills the whole world, but which no place can contain.

9 Thus, because Enoch was in the light of God, he found himself out of the reach of death; until God would have him die.

10 Altogether, not one of our fathers or of their children, remained on that holy mountain, except those three, Methuselah, Lamech, and Noah. For all the rest went down from the mountain and fell into sin with the children of Cain. Therefore were they forbidden that mountain, and none remained on it but those three men.

http://www.bibliotecapleyades.net/vida_alien/alien_watchers09a.htm

THE FIRST BOOK OF ADAM & EVE

PROLOGUE

*The First Book of Adam and Eve details the life and times of Adam and Eve after they were expelled from the garden to the time that Cain kills his brother Abel. It tells of Adam and Eve's first dwelling - the Cave of Treasures; their trials and temptations; Satan's many apparitions to them; the birth of Cain, Abel, and their twin sisters; and Cain's love for his beautiful twin sister, Luluwa, whom Adam and Eve wished to join to Abel. This book is considered by many scholars to be part of the "Pseudepigrapha" (soo-duh-pig-ruh-fuh). The "Pseudepigrapha" is a collection of historical biblical works that are considered to be fiction. Because of that stigma, this book was not included in the compilation of the Holy Bible. This book is a written history of what happened in the days of Adam and Eve after they were cast out of the garden. Although considered to be pseudepigraphic by some, it carries significant meaning and insight into events of that time. It is doubtful that these writings could have survived all the many centuries if there were no substance to them. This book is simply a version of an account handed down by word of mouth, from generation to generation, linking the time that the first human life was created to the time when somebody finally decided to write it down. This particular version is the work of unknown Egyptians. The lack of historical allusion makes it difficult to precisely date the writing, however, using other pseudepigraphical works as a reference, it was probably written a few hundred years before the birth of Christ. Parts of this version are found in the Jewish Talmud, and the Islamic Koran, showing what a vital role it played in the original literature of human wisdom. The Egyptian author wrote in Arabic, but later translations were found written in Ethiopic. The present English translation was translated in the late 1800's by Dr. S. C. Malan and Dr. E. Trumpp. They translated into King James English from both the Arabic version and the Ethiopic version which was then published in *The Forgotten Books of Eden* in 1927 by The World Publishing Company. In 1995, the text was extracted from a copy of *The Forgotten Books of Eden* and converted to electronic form by Dennis Hawkins. It was then translated into more modern English by simply exchanging 'Thou' s for 'You's, 'Art's for 'Are's, and so forth. The text was then carefully re-read to ensure its integrity.*

CHAPTER I

The crystal sea, God commands Adam, expelled from Eden, to live in the Cave of Treasures.

1 On the third day, God planted the garden in the east of the earth, on the border of the world eastward, beyond which, towards the

sun-rising, one finds nothing but water, that encompasses the whole world, and reaches to the borders of heaven.

2 And to the north of the garden there is a sea of water, clear and pure to the taste, unlike anything else; so that, through the clear-

ness thereof, one may look into the depths of the earth.

3 And when a man washes himself in it, he becomes clean of the cleanness thereof, and white of its whiteness — even if he were dark.

4 And God created that sea of his own good pleasure, for He knew what would come of the man He would make; so that after he had left the garden, on account of his transgression, men should be born in the earth. Among them are righteous ones who will die, whose souls God would raise at the last day; when all of them will return to their flesh, bathe in the water of that sea, and repent of their sins.

5 But when God made Adam go out of the garden, He did not place him on the border of it northward. This was so that he and Eve would not be able to go near to the sea of water where they could wash themselves in it, be cleansed from their sins, erase the transgression they had committed, and be no longer reminded of it in the thought of their punishment.

6 As to the southern side of the garden, God did not want Adam to live there either; because, when the wind blew from the north, it would bring him, on that southern side, the delicious smell of the trees of the garden.

7 Wherefore God did not put Adam there. This was so that he would not be able to smell the sweet smell of those trees, forget his transgression, and find consolation for what he had done by taking delight in the smell of the trees and yet not be cleansed from his transgression.

8 Again, also, because God is merciful and of great pity, and governs all things in a way that He alone knows — He made our father Adam live in the western border of the garden, because on that side the earth is very broad.

9 And God commanded him to live there in a cave in a rock — the Cave of Treasures below the garden.

CHAPTER II

Adam and Eve faint when they leave the Garden. God sends His Word to encourage them.

1 But when our father Adam, and Eve, went out of the garden, they walked the ground on their feet, not knowing they were walking.

2 And when they came to the opening of the gate of the garden, and saw the broad earth spread before them, covered with stones large and small, and with sand, they feared and trembled, and fell on their faces, from the fear that came over them; and they were as dead.

3 Because — whereas until this time they had been in the garden land, beautifully planted with all manner of trees — they now saw themselves, in a strange land, which they knew not, and had never seen.

4 And because, when they were in the garden they were filled with the grace of a bright nature, and they had not hearts turned toward earthly things.

5 Therefore God had pity on them; and when He saw them fallen before the gate of the garden, He sent His Word to our father, Adam and Eve, and raised them

from their fallen state.

CHAPTER III

Concerning the promise of the great five and a half days.

1 God said to Adam, "I have ordained on this earth days and years, and you and your descendants shall live and walk in them, until the days and years are fulfilled; when I shall send the Word that created you, and against which you have transgressed, the Word that made you come out of the garden, and that raised you when you were fallen.

2 Yes, the Word that will again save you when the five and a half days are fulfilled."

3 But when Adam heard these words from God, and of the great five and a half days, he did not understand the meaning of them.

4 For Adam was thinking there would be only five and a half days for him until the end of the world.

5 And Adam cried, and prayed to God to explain it to him.

6 Then God in his mercy for Adam who was made after His own image and likeness, explained to him, that these were 5,000 and 500 years; and how One would then come and save him and his descendants.

7 But before that, God had made this covenant with our father, Adam, in the same terms, before he came out of the garden, when he was by the tree where Eve took of the fruit and gave it to him to eat.

8 Because, when our father Adam came out of the garden, he passed by that tree, and saw how God had changed the appearance of it into another form, and how it shriv-

eled.

9 And as Adam went to it he feared, trembled and fell down; but God in His mercy lifted him up, and then made this covenant with him.

10 And again, when Adam was by the gate of the garden, and saw the cherub with a sword of flashing fire in his hand, and the cherub grew angry and frowned at him, both Adam and Eve became afraid of him, and thought he meant to put them to death. So they fell on their faces, trembled with fear.

11 But he had pity on them, and showed them mercy; and turning from them went up to heaven, and prayed to the Lord, and said; —

12 "Lord, You sent me to watch at the gate of the garden, with a sword of fire.

13 But when Your servants, Adam and Eve, saw me, they fell on their faces, and were as dead. O my Lord, what shall we do to Your servants?"

14 Then God had pity on them, and showed them mercy, and sent His Angel to keep the garden.

15 And the Word of the Lord came to Adam and Eve, and raised them up.

16 And the Lord said to Adam, "I told you that at the end of the five and a half days, I will send my Word and save you.

17 Strengthen your heart, therefore, and stay in the Cave of Treasures, of which I have before spoken to you."

18 And when Adam heard this Word from God, he was comforted with that which God had told him. For He had told him how He would save him.

CHAPTER IV

Adam mourns over the changed conditions. Adam and Eve enter the Cave of Treasures.

1 But Adam and Eve cried for having come out of the garden, their first home.

2 And indeed, when Adam looked at his flesh, that was altered, he cried bitterly, he and Eve, over what they had done. And they walked and went gently down into the Cave of Treasures.

3 And as they came to it, Adam cried over himself and said to Eve, "Look at this cave that is to be our prison in this world, and a place of punishment!

4 What is it compared with the garden? What is its narrowness compared with the space of the other?

5 What is this rock, by the side of those groves? What is the gloom of this cavern, compared with the light of the garden?

6 What is this overhanging ledge of rock to shelter us, compared with the mercy of the Lord that overshadowed us?

7 What is the soil of this cave compared with the garden land? This earth, strewn with stones; and that, planted with delicious fruit trees?"

8 And Adam said to Eve, "Look at your eyes, and at mine, which before beheld angels praising in heaven; and they too, without ceasing.

9 But now we do not see as we did; our eyes have become of flesh; they cannot see like they used to see before."

10 Adam said again to Eve, "What

is our body today, compared to what it was in former days, when we lived in the garden?"

11 After this, Adam did not want to enter the cave, under the overhanging rock; nor would he ever want to enter it.

12 But he bowed to God's orders; and said to himself, "Unless I enter the cave, I shall again be a transgressor."

CHAPTER V

Eve makes a noble and emotional intercession, taking the blame on herself.

1 Then Adam and Eve entered the cave, and stood praying, in their own tongue, unknown to us, but which they knew well.

2 And as they prayed, Adam raised his eyes and saw the rock and the roof of the cave that covered him overhead. This prevented him from seeing either heaven or God's creatures. So he cried and beat his chest hard, until he dropped, and was as dead.

3 And Eve sat crying; for she believed he was dead.

4 Then she got up, spread her hands toward God, appealing to Him for mercy and pity, and said, "O God, forgive me my sin, the sin which I committed, and don't remember it against me.

5 For I alone caused Your servant to fall from the garden into this condemned land; from light into this darkness; and from the house of joy into this prison.

6 O God, look at this Your servant fallen in this manner, and bring him back to life, that he may cry and repent of his transgression which he committed through me.

7 Don't take away his soul right now; but let him live that he may stand after the measure of his repentance, and do Your will, as before his death.

8 But if You do not bring him back to life, then, O God, take away my own soul, that I be like him, and leave me not in this dungeon, one and alone; for I could not stand alone in this world, but with him only.

9 For You, O God, caused him to fall asleep, and took a bone from his side, and restored the flesh in the place of it, by Your divine power.

10 And You took me, the bone, and make me a woman, bright like him, with heart, reason, and speech; and in flesh, like to his own; and You made me after the likeness of his looks, by Your mercy and power.

11 O Lord, I and he are one, and You, O God, are our Creator, You are He who made us both in one day.

12 Therefore, O God, give him life, that he may be with me in this strange land, while we live in it on account of our transgression.

13 But if You will not give him life, then take me, even me, like him; that we both may die the same day."

14 And Eve cried bitterly, and fell on our father Adam; from her great sorrow.

CHAPTER VI

God's reprimand to Adam and Eve in which he points out how and why they sinned.

1 But God looked at them; for they had killed themselves

through great grief.

2 But He decided to raise them and comfort them.

3 He, therefore, sent His Word to them; that they should stand and be raised immediately.

4 And the Lord said to Adam and Eve, "You transgressed of your own free will, until you came out of the garden in which I had placed you.

5 Of your own free will have you transgressed through your desire for divinity, greatness, and an exalted state, such as I have; so that I deprived you of the bright nature in which you then were, and I made you come out of the garden to this land, rough and full of trouble.

6 If only you had not transgressed My commandment and had kept My law, and had not eaten of the fruit of the tree which I told you not to come near! And there were fruit trees in the garden better than that one.

7 But the wicked Satan did not keep his faith and had no good intent towards Me, that although I had created him, he considered Me to be useless, and sought the Godhead for himself; for this I hurled him down from heaven so that he could not remain in his first estate — it was he who made the tree appear pleasant in your eyes, until you ate of it, by believing his words.

8 Thus have you transgressed My commandment, and therefore I have brought on you all these sorrows.

9 For I am God the Creator, who, when I created My creatures, did not intend to destroy them. But

after they had sorely roused My anger, I punished them with grievous plagues, until they repent.

10 But, if on the contrary, they still continue hardened in their transgression, they shall be under a curse forever."

CHAPTER VII

The beasts are appeased.

1 When Adam and Eve heard these words from God, they cried and sobbed yet more; but they strengthened their hearts in God, because they now felt that the Lord was to them like a father and a mother; and for this very reason, they cried before Him, and sought mercy from Him.

2 Then God had pity on them, and said: "O Adam, I have made My covenant with you, and I will not turn from it; neither will I let you return to the garden, until My covenant of the great five and a half days is fulfilled."

3 Then Adam said to God, "O Lord, You created us, and made us fit to be in the garden; and before I transgressed, You made all beasts come to me, that I should name them.

4 Your grace was then on me; and I named every one according to Your mind; and you made them all subject to me.

5 But now, O Lord God, that I have transgressed Your commandment, all beasts will rise against me and will devour me, and Eve Your handmaid; and will cut off our life from the face of the earth.

6 I therefore beg you, O God, that since You have made us come out of the garden, and have made us be in a strange land, You will not

let the beasts hurt us."

7 When the Lord heard these words from Adam, He had pity on him, and felt that he had truly said that the beasts of the field would rise and devour him and Eve, because He, the Lord, was angry with the two of them on account of their transgressions.

8 Then God commanded the beasts, and the birds, and all that moves on the earth, to come to Adam and to be familiar with him, and not to trouble him and Eve; nor yet any of the good and righteous among their offspring.

9 Then all the beasts paid homage to Adam, according to the commandment of God; except the serpent, against which God was angry. It did not come to Adam, with the beasts.

CHAPTER VIII

The "Bright Nature" of man is taken away.

1 Then Adam cried and said, "O God, when we lived in the garden, and our hearts were lifted up, we saw the angels that sang praises in heaven, but now we can't see like we used to; no, when we entered the cave, all creation became hidden from us."

2 Then God the Lord said to Adam, "When you were under subjection to Me, you had a bright nature within you, and for that reason could you see things far away. But after your transgression your bright nature was withdrawn from you; and it was not left to you to see things far away, but only near at hand; after the ability of the flesh; for it is brutish."

3 When Adam and Eve had heard

these words from God, they went their way; praising and worshipping Him with a sorrowful heart.

4 And God ceased to commune with them.

CHAPTER IX

Water from the Tree of Life. Adam and Eve near drowning.

1 Then Adam and Eve came out of the Cave of Treasures, and went near to the garden gate, and there they stood to look at it, and cried for having come away from it.

2 And Adam and Eve went from before the gate of the garden to the southern side of it, and found there the water that watered the garden, from the root of the Tree of Life, and that split itself from there into four rivers over the earth.

3 Then they came and went near to that water, and looked at it; and saw that it was the water that came forth from under the root of the Tree of Life in the garden.

4 And Adam cried and wailed, and beat his chest, for being severed from the garden; and said to Eve: —

5 "Why have you brought on me, on yourself, and on our descendants, so many of these plagues and punishments?"

6 And Eve said to him, "What is it you have seen that has caused you to cry and to speak to me in this manner?"

7 And he said to Eve, "Do you not see this water that was with us in the garden, that watered the trees of the garden, and flowed out from there?"

8 And we, when we were in the garden, did not care about it; but

since we came to this strange land, we love it, and turn it to use for our body."

9 But when Eve heard these words from him, she cried; and from the soreness of their crying, they fell into that water; and would have put an end to themselves in it, so as never again to return and behold the creation; for when they looked at the work of creation, they felt they must put an end to themselves.

CHAPTER X

Their bodies need water after they leave the garden.

1 Then God, merciful and gracious, looked at them thus lying in the water, and close to death, and sent an angel, who brought them out of the water, and laid them on the seashore as dead.

2 Then the angel went up to God, was welcome, and said, "O God, Your creatures have breathed their last."

3 Then God sent His Word to Adam and Eve, who raised them from their death.

4 And Adam said, after he was raised, "O God, while we were in the garden we did not require, or care for this water; but since we came to this land we cannot do without it."

5 Then God said to Adam, "While you were under My command and were a bright angel, you knew not this water."

6 But now that you have transgressed My commandment, you can not do without water, wherein to wash your body and make it grow; for it is now like that of beasts, and is in want of water."

7 When Adam and Eve heard these words from God, they cried a bitter cry; and Adam entreated God to let him return into the garden, and look at it a second time.

8 But God said to Adam, "I have made you a promise; when that promise is fulfilled, I will bring you back into the garden, you and your righteous descendants."

9 And God ceased to commune with Adam.

CHAPTER XI

A recollection of the glorious days in the Garden.

1 Then Adam and Eve felt themselves burning with thirst, and heat, and sorrow.

2 And Adam said to Eve, "We shall not drink of this water, even if we were to die. O Eve, when this water comes into our inner parts, it will increase our punishments and that of our descendants."

3 Both Adam and Eve then went away from the water, and drank none of it at all; but came and entered the Cave of Treasures.

4 But when in it Adam could not see Eve; he only heard the noise she made. Neither could she see Adam, but heard the noise he made.

5 Then Adam cried, in deep affliction, and beat his chest; and he got up and said to Eve, "Where are you?"

6 And she said to him, "Look, I am standing in this darkness."

7 He then said to her, "Remember the bright nature in which we lived, when we lived in the garden!

8 O Eve! Remember the glory that rested on us in the garden. O Eve! Remember the trees that over-

shadowed us in the garden while we moved among them.

9 O Eve! Remember that while we were in the garden, we knew neither night nor day. Think of the Tree of Life, from below which flowed the water, and that shed lustre over us! Remember, O Eve, the garden land, and the brightness thereof!

10 Think, oh think of that garden in which was no darkness, while we lived in it.

11 Whereas no sooner did we come into this Cave of Treasures than darkness surrounded us all around; until we can no longer see each other; and all the pleasure of this life has come to an end."

CHAPTER XII

How darkness came between Adam and Eve.

1 Then Adam beat his chest, he and Eve, and they mourned the whole night until the crack of dawn, and they sighed over the length of the night in Miyazia.

2 And Adam beat himself, and threw himself on the ground in the cave, from bitter grief, and because of the darkness, and lay there as dead.

3 But Eve heard the noise he made in falling on the ground. And she felt about for him with her hands, and found him like a corpse.

4 Then she was afraid, speechless, and remained by him.

5 But the merciful Lord looked on the death of Adam, and on Eve's silence from fear of the darkness.

6 And the Word of God came to Adam and raised him from his death, and opened Eve's mouth

that she might speak.

7 Then Adam stood up in the cave and said, "O God, why has light departed from us, and darkness covered us? Why did you leave us in this long darkness? Why do you plague us like this?"

8 And this darkness, O Lord, where was it before it covered us? It is because of this that we cannot see each other.

9 For so long as we were in the garden, we neither saw nor even knew what darkness is. I was not hidden from Eve, neither was she hidden from me, until now that she cannot see me; and no darkness came over us to separate us from each other.

10 But she and I were both in one bright light. I saw her and she saw me. Yet now since we came into this cave, darkness has covered us, and separated us from each other, so that I do not see her, and she does not see me.

11 O Lord, will You then plague us with this darkness?"

CHAPTER XIII

The fall of Adam. Why night and day were created.

1 Then when God, who is merciful and full of pity, heard Adam's voice, He said to him: —

2 "O Adam, so long as the good angel was obedient to Me, a bright light rested on him and on his hosts.

3 But when he transgressed My commandment, I deprived him of that bright nature, and he became dark.

4 And when he was in the heavens, in the realms of light, he knew nothing of darkness.

5 But he transgressed, and I made him fall from the heaven onto the earth; and it was this darkness that came over him.

6 And on you, O Adam, while in My garden and obedient to Me, did that bright light rest also.

7 But when I heard of your transgression, I deprived you of that bright light. Yet, of My mercy, I did not turn you into darkness, but I made you your body of flesh, over which I spread this skin, in order that it may bear cold and heat.

8 If I had let My wrath fall heavily on you, I should have destroyed you; and had I turned you into darkness, it would have been as if I had killed you.

9 But in My mercy, I have made you as you are; when you transgressed My commandment, O Adam, I drove you from the garden, and made you come forth into this land; and commanded you to live in this cave; and darkness covered you, as it did over him who transgressed My commandment.

10 Thus, O Adam, has this night deceived you. It is not to last forever; but is only of twelve hours; when it is over, daylight will return.

11 Sigh not, therefore, neither be moved; and say not in your heart that this darkness is long and drags on wearily; and say not in your heart that I plague you with it.

12 Strengthen your heart, and be not afraid. This darkness is not a punishment. But, O Adam, I have made the day, and have placed the

sun in it to give light; in order that you and your children should do your work.

13 For I knew you would sin and transgress, and come out into this land. Yet I wouldn't force you, nor be heard over you, nor shut up; nor doom you through your fall; nor through your coming out from light into darkness; nor yet through your coming from the garden into this land.

14 For I made you of the light; and I willed to bring out children of light from you and like to you.

15 But you did not keep My commandment one day; until I had finished the creation and blessed everything in it.

16 Then, concerning the tree, I commanded you not to eat of it. Yet I knew that Satan, who deceived himself, would also deceive you.

17 So I made known to you by means of the tree, not to come near him. And I told you not to eat of the fruit thereof, nor to taste of it, nor yet to sit under it, nor to yield to it.

18 Had I not been and spoken to you, O Adam, concerning the tree, and had I left you without a commandment, and you had sinned — it would have been an offence on My part, for not having given you any order; you would turn around and blame Me for it.

19 But I commanded you, and warned you, and you fell. So that My creatures cannot blame Me; but the blame rests on them alone.

20 And, O Adam, I have made the day so that you and your descendants can work and toil in it. And I have made the night for them to

rest in it from their work; and for the beasts of the field to go forth by night and look for their food.

21 But little of darkness now remains, O Adam, and daylight will soon appear."

CHAPTER XIV

The earliest prophesy of the coming of Christ.

1 Then Adam said to God: "O Lord, take You my soul, and let me not see this gloom any more; or remove me to some place where there is no darkness."

2 But God the Lord said to Adam, "Indeed I say to you, this darkness will pass from you, every day I have determined for you, until the fulfillment of My covenant; when I will save you and bring you back again into the garden, into the house of light you long for, in which there is no darkness*. I will bring you to it — in the kingdom of heaven."

3 Again said God to Adam, "All this misery that you have been made to take on yourself because of your transgression, will not free you from the hand of Satan, and will not save you.

4 But I will. When I shall come down from heaven, and shall become flesh of your descendants, and take on Myself the infirmity from which you suffer, then the darkness that covered you in this cave shall cover Me in the grave, when I am in the flesh of your descendants.

5 And I, who am without years, shall be subject to the reckoning of years, of times, of months, and of days, and I shall be reckoned as one of the sons of men, in order to

save you."

6 And God ceased to commune with Adam. * Reference: John 12:46

CHAPTER XV

Adam and Eve grieve over the suffering of God to save them from their sins.

1 Then Adam and Eve cried and sorrowed by reason of God's word to them, that they should not return to the garden until the fulfillment of the days decreed on them; but mostly because God had told them that He should suffer for their salvation.

CHAPTER XVI

The first sunrise. Adam and Eve think it is a fire coming to burn them.

1 After this, Adam and Eve continued to stand in the cave, praying and crying, until the morning dawned on them.

2 And when they saw the light returned to them, they retrained from fear, and strengthened their hearts.

3 Then Adam began to come out of the cave. And when he came to the mouth of it, and stood and turned his face towards the east, and saw the sunrise in glowing rays, and felt the heat thereof on his body, he was afraid of it, and thought in his heart that this flame came forth to plague him.

4 He then cried and beat his chest, then he fell on the ground on his face and made his request, saying: —

5 "O Lord, plague me not, neither consume me, nor yet take away my life from the earth."

6 For he thought the sun was God.

7 Because while he was in the garden and heard the voice of God and the sound He made in the garden, and feared Him, Adam never saw the brilliant light of the sun, neither did its flaming heat touch his body.

8 Therefore he was afraid of the sun when flaming rays of it reached him. He thought God meant to plague him therewith all the days He had decreed for him.

9 For Adam also said in his thoughts, as God did not plague us with darkness, behold, He has caused this sun to rise and to plague us with burning heat.

10 But while he was thinking like this in his heart, the Word of God came to him and said: —

11 "O Adam, get up on your feet. This sun is not God; but it has been created to give light by day, of which I spoke to you in the cave saying, 'that the dawn would come, and there would be light by day.'

12 But I am God who comforted you in the night."

13 And God ceased to commune with Adam.

CHAPTER XVII

The CHAPTER Of the Serpent.

1 The Adam and Eve came out at the mouth of the cave, and went towards the garden.

2 But as they went near it, before the western gate, from which Satan came when he deceived Adam and Eve, they found the serpent that became Satan coming at the gate, and sorrowfully licking the dust, and wiggling on its breast on the ground, by reason of the curse

that fell on it from God.

3 And whereas before the serpent was the most exalted of all beasts, now it was changed and become slippery, and the meanest of them all, and it crept on its breast and went on its belly.

4 And whereas it was the fairest of all beasts, it had been changed, and was become the ugliest of them all. Instead of feeding on the best food, now it turned to eat the dust. Instead of living, as before, in the best places, now it lived in the dust.

5 And, whereas it had been the most beautiful of all beasts, all of which stood dumb at its beauty, it was now abhorred of them.

6 And, again, whereas it lived in one beautiful home, to which all other animals came from elsewhere; and where it drank, they drank also of the same; now, after it had become venomous, by reason of God's curse, all beasts fled from its home, and would not drink of the water it drank; but fled from it.

CHAPTER XVIII

The mortal combat with the serpent.

1 When the accursed serpent saw Adam and Eve, it swelled its head, stood on its tail, and with eyes blood-red, acted like it would kill them.

2 It made straight for Eve, and ran after her; while Adam standing by, cried because he had no stick in his hand with which to hit the serpent, and did not know how to put it to death.

3 But with a heart burning for Eve, Adam approached the ser-

pent, and held it by the tail; when it turned towards him and said to him: —

4 "O Adam, because of you and of Eve, I am slippery, and go on my belly." Then with its great strength, it threw down Adam and Eve and squeezed them, and tried to kill them.

5 But God sent an angel who threw the serpent away from them, and raised them up.

6 Then the Word of God came to the serpent, and said to it, "The first time I made you slick, and made you to go on your belly; but I did not deprive you of speech.

7 This time, however, you will be mute, and you and your race will speak no more; because, the first time My creatures were ruined because of you, and this time you tried to kill them."

8 Then the serpent was struck mute, and was no longer able to speak.

9 And a wind blew down from heaven by the command of God and carried away the serpent from Adam and Eve, and threw it on the seashore where it landed in India.

CHAPTER XIX

Beasts made subject to Adam.

1 But Adam and Eve cried before God. And Adam said to Him: —

2 "O Lord, when I was in the cave, I said this to you, my Lord, the beasts of the field would rise and devour me, and cut off my life from the earth."

3 Then Adam, because of what had happened to him, beat his chest and fell on the ground like a corpse. Then the Word of God came to him, who raised him, and

said to him,

4 "O Adam, not one of these beasts will be able to hurt you; because I have made the beasts and other moving things come to you in the cave. I did not let the serpent come with them because it might have risen against you and made you tremble; and the fear of it should fall into your hearts.

5 For I knew that the accursed one is wicked; therefore I would not let it come near you with the other beasts.

6 But now strengthen your heart and fear not. I am with you to the end of the days I have determined on you."

CHAPTER XX

Adam wishes to protect Eve.

1 Then Adam cried and said, "O God, take us away to some other place, where the serpent can not come near us again, and rise against us. For fear that it might find Your handmaid Eve alone and kill her; for its eyes are hideous and evil."

2 But God said to Adam and Eve, "From now on, don't be afraid, I will not let it come near you; I have driven it away from you, from this mountain; neither will I leave in it the ability to hurt you."

3 Then Adam and Eve worshipped before God and gave Him thanks, and praised Him for having delivered them from death.

CHAPTER XXI

Adam and Eve attempt suicide.

1 Then Adam and Eve went in search of the garden.

2 And the heat beat like a flame on their faces; and they sweated

from the heat, and cried before the Lord.

3 But the place where they cried was close to a high mountain, facing the western gate of the garden.

4 Then Adam threw himself down from the top of that mountain; his face was torn and his flesh was ripped; he lost a lot of blood and was close to death.

5 Meanwhile Eve remained standing on the mountain crying over him, thus lying.

6 And she said, "I don't wish to live after him; for all that he did to himself was through me."

7 Then she threw herself after him; and was torn and ripped by stones; and remained lying as dead.

8 But the merciful God, who looks over His creatures, looked at Adam and Eve as they lay dead, and He sent His Word to them, and raised them.

9 And said to Adam, "O Adam, all this misery which you have brought on yourself, will have no affect against My rule, neither will it alter the covenant of the 5,500 years."

CHAPTER XXII

Adam in a gracious mood.

1 Then Adam said to God, "I dry up in the heat, I am faint from walking, and I don't want to be in this world. And I don't know when You will take me out of it to rest."

2 Then the Lord God said to him, "O Adam, it cannot be now, not until you have ended your days. Then shall I bring you out of this miserable land."

3 And Adam said to God, "While I was in the garden I knew neither

heat, nor languor, neither moving about, nor trembling, nor fear; but now since I came to this land, all this affliction has come over me.

4 Then God said to Adam, "So long as you were keeping My commandment, My light and My grace rested on you. But when you transgressed My commandment, sorrow and misery came to you in this land."

5 And Adam cried and said, "O Lord, do not cut me off for this, neither punish me with heavy plagues, nor yet repay me according to my sin; for we, of our own will, transgressed Your commandment, and ignored Your law, and tried to become gods like you, when Satan the enemy deceived us."

6 Then God said again to Adam, "Because you have endured fear and trembling in this land, languor and suffering, treading and walking about, going on this mountain, and dying from it, I will take all this on Myself in order to save you."

CHAPTER XXIII

Adam and Eve strengthen themselves and make the first altar ever built.

1 Then Adam cried more and said, "O God, have mercy on me, so far as to take on yourself, that which I will do."

2 But God withdrew His Word from Adam and Eve.

3 Then Adam and Eve stood on their feet; and Adam said to Eve, "Strengthen yourself, and I also will strengthen myself." And she strengthened herself, as Adam told her.

4 Then Adam and Eve took stones and placed them in the shape of an altar; and they took leaves from the trees outside the garden, with which they wiped, from the face of the rock, the blood they had spilled.

5 But that which had dropped on the sand, they took together with the dust with which it was mingled and offered it on the altar as an offering to God.

6 Then Adam and Eve stood under the Altar and cried, thus praying to God, "Forgive us our trespass* and our sin, and look at us with Thine eye of mercy. For when we were in the garden our praises and our hymns went up before you without ceasing.

7 But when we came into this strange land, pure praise was not longer ours, nor righteous prayer, nor understanding hearts, nor sweet thoughts, nor just counsels, nor long discernment, nor upright feelings, neither is our bright nature left us. But our body is changed from the likeness in which it was at first, when we were created.

8 Yet now look at our blood which is offered on these stones, and accept it at our hands, like the praise we used to sing to you at first, when in the garden."

9 And Adam began to make more requests of God. * ORIGINAL OF THE LORD'S PRAYER SAID TO BE USED ABOUT 150 YEARS BEFORE OUR LORD: Our Father, Who art in Heaven, be gracious unto us, O Lord our God, hallowed be Your Name, and let the remembrance of Thee be glorified Heaven above and upon earth here below. Let

Your kingdom reign over us now and forever. The Holy Men of old said remit and forgive unto all men whatsoever they have done unto me. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil thing; for Thine is the kingdom and Thou shalt reign in glory forever and forevermore, AMEN.

CHAPTER XXIV

A vivid prophecy of the life and death of Christ.

1 Then the merciful God, good and lover of men, looked at Adam and Eve, and at their blood, which they had held up as an offering to Him; without an order from Him for so doing. But He wondered at them; and accepted their offerings.

2 And God sent from His presence a bright fire, that consumed their offering.

3 He smelled the sweet savor of their offering, and showed them mercy.

4 Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said to him, "O Adam, as you have shed your blood, so will I shed My own blood when I become flesh of your descendants; and as you died, O Adam, so also will I die. And as you built an altar, so also will I make for you an altar of the earth; and as you offered your blood on it, so also will I offer My blood on an altar on the earth.

5 And as you sued for forgiveness through that blood, so also will I make My blood forgiveness of sins, and erase transgressions in it.

6 And now, behold, I have accepted your offering, O Adam, but the

days of the covenant in which I have bound you are not fulfilled. When they are fulfilled, then will I bring you back into the garden.

7 Now, therefore, strengthen your heart; and when sorrow comes over you, make Me an offering, and I will be favorable to you."

CHAPTER XXV

God represented as merciful and loving. The establishing of worship.

1 But God knew that Adam believed he should frequently kill himself and make an offering to Him of his blood.

2 Therefore He said to him, "O Adam, don't ever kill yourself like this again, by throwing yourself down from that mountain."

3 But Adam said to God, "I was thinking to put an end to myself at once, for having transgressed Your commandments, and for my having come out of the beautiful garden; and for the bright light of which You have deprived me; and for the praises which poured forth from my mouth without ceasing, and for the light that covered me.

4 Yet of Your goodness, O God, do not get rid of me altogether; but be favorable to me every time I die, and bring me to life.

5 And thereby it will be made known that You are a merciful God, who does not want anyone to perish; who loves not that one should fall; and who does not condemn any one cruelly, badly, and by whole destruction."

6 Then Adam remained silent.

7 And the Word of God came to him, and blessed him, and comforted him, and covenanted with him, that He would save him at the

end of the days determined for him.

8 This, then, was the first offering Adam made to God; and so it became his custom to do.

CHAPTER XXVI

A beautiful prophecy of eternal life and joy (v.15). The fall of night.

1 Then Adam took Eve, and they began to return to the Cave of Treasures where they lived. But when they got closer to it and saw it from a distance, heavy sorrow fell on Adam and Eve when they looked at it.

2 Then Adam said to Eve, "When we were on the mountain we were comforted by the Word of God that conversed with us; and the light that came from the east shown over us.

3 But now the Word of God is hidden from us; and the light that shown over us is so changed as to disappear, and let darkness and sorrow come over us.

4 And we are forced to enter this cave which is like a prison, in which darkness covers us, so that we are separated from each other; and you can not see me, neither can I see you."

5 When Adam had said these words, they cried and spread their hands before God; for they were full of sorrow.

6 And they prayed to God to bring the sun to them, to shine on them, so that darkness would not return to them, and that they wouldn't have to go under this covering of rock. And they wished to die rather than see the darkness.

7 Then God looked at Adam and Eve and at their great sorrow, and

at all they had done with a fervent heart, on account of all the trouble they were in, instead of their former well-being, and on account of all the misery that came over them in a strange land.

8 Therefore God was not angry with them; nor impatient with them; but he was patient and forbearing towards them, as towards the children He had created.

9 Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said to him, "Adam, as for the sun, if I were to take it and bring it to you, days, hours, years and months would all stop, and the covenant I have made with you, would never be fulfilled.

10 But then you would be deserted and stuck in a perpetual plague, and you would never be saved.

11 Yes, rather, bear long and calm your soul while you live night and day; until the fulfillment of the days, and the time of My covenant is come.

12 Then shall I come and save you, O Adam, for I do not wish that you be afflicted.

13 And when I look at all the good things in which you lived, and why you came out of them, then would I willingly show you mercy.

14 But I cannot alter the covenant that has gone out of My mouth; otherwise I would have brought you back into the garden.

15 When, however, the covenant is fulfilled, then shall I show you and your descendants mercy, and bring you into a land of gladness, where there is neither sorrow nor suffering; but abiding joy and gladness, and light that never

fails, and praises that never cease; and a beautiful garden that shall never pass away."

16 And God said again to Adam, "Be patient and enter the cave, for the darkness, of which you were afraid, shall only be twelve hours long; and when ended, light shall come up."

17 Then when Adam heard these words from God, he and Eve worshipped before Him, and their hearts were comforted. They returned into the cave after their custom, while tears flowed from their eyes, sorrow and wailing came from their hearts, and they wished their soul would leave their body.

18 And Adam and Eve stood praying until the darkness of night came over them, and Adam was hid from Eve, and she from him.

19 And they remained standing in prayer.

CHAPTER XXVII

The second tempting of Adam and Eve. The devil takes on the form of a beguiling light.

1 When Satan, the hater of all good, saw how they continued in prayer, and how God communed with them, and comforted them, and how He had accepted their offering — Satan made an apparition.

2 He began with transforming his hosts; in his hands was a flashing fire, and they were in a great light.

3 He then placed his throne near the mouth of the cave because he could not enter into it by reason of their prayers. And he shed light into the cave, until the cave glistened over Adam and Eve; while

his hosts began to sing praises.

4 And Satan did this, in order that when Adam saw the light, he should think within himself that it was a heavenly light, and that Satan's hosts were angels; and that God had sent them to watch at the cave, and to give him light in the darkness.

5 So that when Adam came out of the cave and saw them, and Adam and Eve bowed to Satan, then he would overcome Adam thereby, and a second time humble him before God.

6 When, therefore, Adam and Eve saw the light, fancying it was real, they strengthened their hearts; yet, as they were trembling, Adam said to Eve: —

7 "Look at that great light, and at those many songs of praise, and at that host standing outside who won't come into our cave. Why don't they tell us what they want, where they are from, what the meaning of this light is, what those praises are, why they have been sent to this place, and why they won't come in?"

8 If they were from God, they would come into the cave with us, and would tell us why they were sent."

9 Then Adam stood up and prayed to God with a burning heart, and said: —

10 "O Lord, is there in the world another god besides You, who created angels and filled them with light, and sent them to keep us, who would come with them?"

11 But, look, we see these hosts that stand at the mouth of the cave; they are in a great light; they sing loud praises. If they are of

some other god than You, tell me; and if they are sent by you, inform me of the reason for which You have sent them."

12 No sooner had Adam said this, than an angel from God appeared to him in the cave, who said to him, "O Adam, fear not. This is Satan and his hosts; he wishes to deceive you as he deceived you at first. For the first time, he was hidden in the serpent; but this time he is come to you in the likeness of an angel of light; in order that, when you worshipped him, he might enslave you, in the very presence of God."

13 Then the angel went from Adam and seized Satan at the opening of the cave, and stripped him of the pretense he had assumed, and brought him in his own hideous form to Adam and Eve; who were afraid of him when they saw him.

14 And the angel said to Adam, "This hideous form has been his ever since God made him fall from heaven. He could not have come near you in it; he therefore transformed himself into an angel of light."

15 Then the angel drove away Satan and his hosts from Adam and Eve, and said to them, "Fear not; God who created you, will strengthen you."

16 And the angel left them.

17 But Adam and Eve remained standing in the cave; no consolation came to them; they divided in their thoughts.

18 And when it was morning they prayed; and then went out to seek the garden. For their hearts were towards it, and they could get no

consolation for having left it.

CHAPTER XXVIII

The Devil pretends to lead Adam and Eve to the water to bathe.

1 But when the crafty Satan saw them, that they were going to the garden, he gathered together his host, and came in appearance on a cloud, intent on deceiving them.

2 But when Adam and Eve saw him thus in a vision, they thought they were angels of God come to comfort them about having left the garden, or to bring them back again into it.

3 And Adam spread his hands before God, beseeching Him to make him understand what they were.

4 Then Satan, the hater of all good, said to Adam, "O Adam, I am an angel of the great God; and, behold the hosts that surround me.

5 God has sent us to take you and bring you to the border of the garden northwards; to the shore of the clear sea, and bathe you and Eve in it, and raise you to your former gladness, that you return again to the garden."

6 These words sank into the heart of Adam and Eve.

7 Yet God withheld His Word from Adam, and did not make him understand at once, but waited to see his strength; whether he would be overcome as Eve was when in the garden, or whether he would prevail.

8 Then Satan called to Adam and Eve, and said, "Behold, we go to the sea of water," and they began to go.

9 And Adam and Eve followed them at some little distance.

10 But when they came to the

mountain to the north of the garden, a very high mountain, without any steps to the top of it, the Devil drew near to Adam and Eve, and made them go up to the top in reality, and not in a vision; wishing, as he did, to throw them down and kill them, and to wipe off their name from the earth; so that this earth should remain to him and his hosts alone.

CHAPTER XXIX

God tells Adam of the Devil's purpose. (v.4).

1 But when the merciful God saw that Satan wished to kill Adam with his many tricks, and saw that Adam was meek and without guile, God spoke to Satan in a loud voice, and cursed him.

2 Then he and his hosts fled, and Adam and Eve remained standing on the top of the mountain, from there they saw below them the wide world, high above which they were. But they saw none of the host which time after time were by them.

3 They cried, both Adam and Eve, before God, and begged for forgiveness of Him.

4 Then came the Word from God to Adam, and said to him, "Know you and understand concerning this Satan, that he seeks to deceive you and your descendants after you."

5 And Adam cried before the Lord God, and begged and prayed to Him to give him something from the garden, as a token to him, wherein to be comforted.

6 And God considered Adam's thought, and sent the angel Michael as far as the sea that reaches

India, to take from there golden rods and bring them to Adam.

7 This did God in His wisdom in order that these golden rods, being with Adam in the cave, should shine forth with light in the night around him, and put an end to his fear of the darkness.

8 Then the angel Michael went down by God's order, took golden rods, as God had commanded him, and brought them to God.

CHAPTER XXX

Adam receives the first worldly goods.

1 After these things, God commanded the angel Gabriel to go down to the garden, and say to the cherub who kept it, "Behold, God has commanded me to come into the garden, and to take from it sweet smelling incense, and give it to Adam."

2 Then the angel Gabriel went down by God's order to the garden, and told the cherub as God had commanded him.

3 The cherub then said, "Well." And Gabriel went in and took the incense.

4 Then God commanded his angel Raphael to go down to the garden, and speak to the cherub about some myrrh, to give to Adam.

5 And the angel Raphael went down and told the cherub as God had commanded him, and the cherub said, "Well." Then Raphael went in and took the myrrh.

6 The golden rods were from the Indian sea, where there are precious stones. The incense was from the eastern border of the garden; and the myrrh from the western border, from where bit-

terness came over Adam.

7 And the angels brought these things to God, by the Tree of Life, in the garden.

8 Then God said to the angels, "Dip them in the spring of water; then take them and sprinkle their water over Adam and Eve, that they be a little comforted in their sorrow, and give them to Adam and Eve.

9 And the angels did as God had commanded them, and they gave all those things to Adam and Eve on the top of the mountain on which Satan had placed them, when he sought to make an end of them.

10 And when Adam saw the golden rods, the incense and the myrrh, he was rejoiced and cried because he thought that the gold was a token of the kingdom from where he had come, that the incense was a token of the bright light which had been taken from him, and that the myrrh was a token of the sorrow in which he was.

CHAPTER XXXI

They make themselves more comfortable in the Cave of Treasures on the third day.

1 After these things God said to Adam, "You asked Me for something from the garden, to be comforted therewith, and I have given you these three tokens as a consolation to you; that you trust in Me and in My covenant with you.

2 For I will come and save you; and kings shall bring me when in the flesh, gold, incense and myrrh; gold as a token of My kingdom; incense as a token of My divinity; and myrrh as a token of My suffer-

ing and of My death.

3 But, O Adam, put these by you in the cave; the gold that it may shed light over you by night; the incense, that you smell its sweet savor; and the myrrh, to comfort you in your sorrow."

4 When Adam heard these words from God, he worshipped before Him. He and Eve worshipped Him and gave Him thanks, because He had dealt mercifully with them.

5 Then God commanded the three angels, Michael, Gabriel and Raphael, each to bring what he had brought, and give it to Adam. And they did so, one by one.

6 And God commanded Suriyel and Salathiel to bear up Adam and Eve, and bring them down from the top of the high mountain, and to take them to the Cave of Treasures.

7 There they laid the gold on the south side of the cave, the incense on the eastern side, and the myrrh on the western side. For the mouth of the cave was on the north side.

8 The angels then comforted Adam and Eve, and departed.

9 The gold was seventy rods*; the incense, twelve pounds; and the myrrh, three pounds.

10 These remained by Adam in the Cave of Treasures**.

11 God gave these three things to Adam on the third day after he had come out of the garden, in token of the three days the Lord should remain in the heart of the earth.

12 And these three things, as they continued with Adam in the cave, gave him light by night; and by day they gave him a little relief from his sorrow. * A rod is a unit of linear measure equivalent to 5.5

yards and also a unit of area measure equivalent to 30.25 square yards. In this case, the word rod simply means a kind of long, thin piece of gold of unspecified size and weight. ** This is the original text which appears to contain embedded editorial content: "These remained by Adam in the House of Treasures; therefore was it called 'of concealment.' But other interpreters say it was called the 'Cave of Treasures,' by reason of the bodies of righteous men that were in it.

CHAPTER XXXII

Adam and Eve go into the water to pray.

1 And Adam and Eve remained in the Cave of Treasures until the seventh day; they neither ate of the fruit the earth, nor drank water.

2 And when it dawned on the eighth day, Adam said to Eve, "O Eve, we prayed God to give us something from the garden, and He sent his angels who brought us what we had desired.

3 But now, get up, let us go to the sea of water we saw at first, and let us stand in it, praying that God will again be favorable to us and take us back to the garden; or give us something; or that He will give us comfort in some other land than this in which we are."

4 Then Adam and Eve came out of the cave, went and stood on the border of the sea in which they had before thrown themselves, and Adam said to Eve:—

5 Come, go down into this place, and come not out of it until the end of thirty days, when I shall

come to you. And pray to God with burning heart and a sweet voice, to forgive us.

6 And I will go to another place, and go down into it, and do like you."

7 Then Eve went down into the water, as Adam had commanded her. Adam also went down into the water; and they stood praying; and besought the Lord to forgive them their offense, and to restore them to their former state.

8 And they stood like that praying, until the end of the thirty-five days.

CHAPTER XXXIII

Satan falsely promises the "bright light."

1 But Satan, the hater of all good, sought them in the cave, but found them not, although he searched diligently for them.

2 But he found them standing in the water praying and thought within himself, "Adam and Eve are standing like that in that water praying to God to forgive them their transgression, and to restore them to their former state, and to take them from under my hand.

3 But I will deceive them so that they shall come out of the water, and not fulfil their vow."

4 Then the hater of all good, went not to Adam, but he went to Eve, and took the form of an angel of God, praising and rejoicing, and said to her:—

5 "Peace be to you! Be glad and rejoice! God is favorable to you, and He sent me to Adam. I have brought him the glad tidings of salvation, and of his being filled with bright light as he was at first.

6 And Adam, in his joy for his restoration, has sent me to you, that you come to me, in order that I crown you with light like him.

7 And he said to me, 'Speak to Eve; if she does not come with you, tell her of the sign when we were on the top of the mountain; how God sent his angels who took us and brought us to the Cave of Treasures; and laid the gold on the southern side; incense, on the eastern side; and myrrh on the western side.' Now come to him."

8 When Eve hear these words from him, she rejoiced greatly. And thinking Satan's appearance was real, she came out of the sea.

9 He went before, and she followed him until they came to Adam. Then Satan hid himself from her, and she saw him no more.

10 She then came and stood before Adam, who was standing by the water and rejoicing in God's forgiveness.

11 And as she called to him, he turned around, found her there and cried when he saw her, and beat his chest; and from the bitterness of his grief, he sank into the water.

12 But God looked at him and at his misery, and at his being about to breathe his last. And the Word of God came from heaven, raised him out of the water, and said to him, "Go up the high bank to Eve." And when he came up to Eve he said to her, "Who told you to come here?"

13 Then she told him the discourse of the angel who had appeared to her and had given her a sign.

14 But Adam grieved, and gave

her to know it was Satan. He then took her and they both returned to the cave.

15 These things happened to them the second time they went down to the water, seven days after their coming out of the garden.

16 They fasted in the water thirty-five days; altogether forty-two days since they had left the garden.

CHAPTER XXXIV

Adam recalls the creation of Eve. He eloquently appeals for food and drink.

1 And on the morning of the forty-third day, they came out of the cave, sorrowful and crying. Their bodies were lean, and they were parched from hunger and thirst, from fasting and praying, and from their heavy sorrow on account of their transgression.

2 And when they had come out of the cave they went up the mountain to the west of the garden.

3 There they stood and prayed and besought God to grant them forgiveness of their sins.

4 And after their prayers Adam began to beg God, saying, "O my Lord, my God, and my Creator, You commanded the four elements* to be gathered together, and they were gathered together by Thine order.

5 Then You spread Your hand and created me out of one element, that of dust of the earth; and You brought me into the garden at the third hour, on a Friday, and informed me of it in the cave.

6 Then, at first, I knew neither night nor day, for I had a bright nature; neither did the light in

which I lived ever leave me to know night or day.

7 Then, again, O Lord, in that third hour in which You created me, You brought to me all beasts, and lions, and ostriches, and fowls of the air, and all things that move in the earth, which You had created at the first hour before me of the Friday.

8 And Your will was that I should name them all, one by one, with a suitable name. But You gave me understanding and knowledge, and a pure heart and a right mind from you, that I should name them after Thine own mind regarding the naming of them.

9 O God, You made them obedient to me, and ordered that not one of them break from my sway, according to Your commandment, and to the dominion which You had given me over them. But now they are all estranged from me.

10 Then it was in that third hour of Friday, in which You created me, and commanded me concerning the tree, to which I was neither to go near, nor to eat thereof; for You said to me in the garden, 'When you eat of it, of death you shall die.'

11 And if You had punished me as You said, with death, I should have died that very moment.

12 Moreover, when You commanded me regarding the tree, I was neither to approach nor to eat thereof, Eve was not with me; You had not yet created her, neither had You yet taken her out of my side; nor had she yet heard this order from you.

13 Then, at the end of the third hour of that Friday, O Lord, You

caused a slumber and a sleep to come over me, and I slept, and was overwhelmed in sleep.

14 Then You drew a rib out of my side, and created it after my own likeness and image. Then I awoke; and when I saw her and knew who she was, I said, 'This is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; from now on she shall be called woman.'

15 It was of Your good will, O God, that You brought a slumber in a sleep over me, and that You immediately brought Eve out of my side, until she was out, so that I did not see how she was made; neither could I witness, O my Lord, how awful and great are Your goodness and glory.

16 And of Your goodwill, O Lord, You made us both with bodies of a bright nature, and You made us two, one; and You gave us Your grace, and filled us with praises of the Holy Spirit; that we should be neither hungry nor thirsty, nor know what sorrow is, nor yet faintness of heart; neither suffering, fasting nor weariness.

17 But now, O God, since we transgressed Your commandment and broke Your law, You have brought us out into a strange land, and have caused suffering, and faintness, hunger and thirst to come over us.

18 Now, therefore, O God, we pray you, give us something to eat from the garden, to satisfy our hunger with it; and something wherewith to quench our thirst.

19 For, behold, many days, O God, we have tasted nothing and drunk nothing, and our flesh is dried up, and our strength is wasted, and sleep is gone from our eyes from

faintness and crying.

20 Then, O God, we dare not gather anything from the fruit of trees, from fear of you. For when we transgress at first You spared us and did not make us die.

21 But now, we thought in our hearts, if we eat of the fruit of the trees, without God's order, He will destroy us this time, and will wipe us off from the face of the earth.

22 And if we drink of this water, without God's order, He will make an end of us and root us up at once.

23 Now, therefore, O God, that I am come to this place with Eve, we beg You to give us some fruit from the garden, that we may be satisfied with it.

24 For we desire the fruit that is on the earth, and all else that we lack in it." * The medieval belief that there were only four elements - fire, earth, air, and water - was widely accepted until about 1500 AD when the current atomic theory was in its infancy.

CHAPTER XXXV

God's reply.

1 Then God looked again at Adam and his crying and groaning, and the Word of God came to him, and said to him: —

2 "O Adam, when you were in My garden, you knew neither eating nor drinking; neither faintness nor suffering; neither leanness of flesh, nor change; neither did sleep depart from thine eyes. But since you transgressed, and came into this strange land, all these trials are come over you."

CHAPTER XXXVI

Figs.

1 Then God commanded the cherub, who kept the gate of the garden with a sword of fire in his hand, to take some of the fruit of the fig-tree, and to give it to Adam.

2 The cherub obeyed the command of the Lord God, and went into the garden and brought two figs on two twigs, each fig hanging to its leaf; they were from two of the trees among which Adam and Eve hid themselves when God went to walk in the garden, and the Word of God came to Adam and Eve and said to them, "Adam, Adam, where are you?"

3 And Adam answered, "O God, here I am. When I heard the sound of You and Your voice, I hid myself, because I am naked."

4 Then the cherub took two figs and brought them to Adam and Eve. But he threw them to them from a distance; for they might not come near the cherub by reason of their flesh, that could not come near the fire.

5 At first, angels trembled at the presence of Adam and were afraid of him. But now Adam trembled before the angels and was afraid of them.

6 Then Adam came closer and took one fig, and Eve also came in turn and took the other.

7 And as they took them up in their hands, they looked at them, and knew they were from the trees among which they had hidden themselves.

CHAPTER XXXVII

Forty-three days of penance do not redeem one hour of sin (v.6).

1 Then Adam said to Eve, "Do you

not see these figs and their leaves, with which we covered ourselves when we were stripped of our bright nature? But now, we do not know what misery and suffering may come over us from eating them.

2 Now, therefore, O Eve, let us restrain ourselves and not eat of them, you and I; and let us ask God to give us of the fruit of the Tree of Life."

3 Thus did Adam and Eve restrain themselves, and did not eat of these figs.

4 But Adam began to pray to God and to beseech Him to give him of the fruit of the Tree of Life, saying thus: "O God, when we transgressed Your commandment at the sixth hour of Friday, we were stripped of the bright nature we had, and did not continue in the garden after our transgression, more than three hours.

5 But in the evening You made us come out of it. O God, we transgressed against You one hour, and all these trials and sorrows have come over us until this day.

6 And those days together with this the forty-third day, do not redeem that one hour in which we transgressed!

7 O God, look at us with an eye of pity, and do not avenge us according to our transgression of Your commandment, in Your presence.

8 O God, give us of the fruit of the Tree of Life, that we may eat of it, and live, and turn not to see sufferings and other trouble, in this earth; for You are God.

9 When we transgressed Your commandment, You made us come out of the garden, and sent a cher-

ub to keep the Tree of Life, lest we should eat thereof, and live; and know nothing of faintness after we transgressed.

10 But now, O Lord, behold, we have endured all these days, and have borne sufferings. Make these forty-three days an equivalent for the one hour in which we transgressed."

CHAPTER XXXVIII

"When 5500 years are fulfilled. . . ."

1 After these things the Word of God came to Adam, and said to him:

2 "O Adam, as to the fruit on the Tree of Life that you have asked for, I will not give it to you now, but only when the 5500 years are fulfilled. At that time I will give you fruit from the Tree of Life, and you will eat, and live forever, you, and Eve, and your righteous descendants.

3 But these forty-three days cannot make amends for the hour in which you transgressed My commandment.

4 O Adam, I gave you the fruit of the fig-tree to eat in which you hid yourself. Go and eat of it, you and Eve.

5 I will not deny your request, neither will I disappoint your hope; therefore, endure until the fulfillment of the covenant I made with you."

6 And God withdrew His Word from Adam.

CHAPTER XXXIX

Adam is cautious — but too late.

1 Then Adam returned to Eve, and said to her, "Get up, and take a fig for yourself, and I will take anoth-

er; and let us go to our cave."

2 Then Adam and Eve took each a fig and went towards the cave; the time was about the setting of the sun; and their thoughts made them long to eat of the fruit.

3 But Adam said to Eve, "I am afraid to eat of this fig. I know not what may come over me from it."

4 So Adam cried, and stood praying before God, saying, "Satisfy my hunger, without my having to eat this fig; for after I have eaten it, what will it profit me? And what shall I desire and ask of you, O God, when it is gone?"

5 And he said again, "I am afraid to eat of it; for I know not what will befall me through it."

CHAPTER XL

The first Human hunger.

1 Then the Word of God came to Adam, and said to him, "O Adam, why didn't you have this dread, or this fasting, or this care before now? And why didn't you have this fear before you transgressed?"

2 But when you came to live in this strange land, your animal body could not survive on earth without earthly food, to strengthen it and to restore its powers."

3 And God withdrew His Word for Adam.

CHAPTER XLI

The first Human thirst.

1 Then Adam took the fig, and laid it on the golden rods. Eve also took her fig, and put it on the incense.

2 And the weight of each fig was that of a water-melon; for the fruit of the garden was much larger than the fruit of this land*.

3 But Adam and Eve remained standing and fasting the whole of that night, until the morning dawned.

4 When the sun rose they were still praying, but after they had finished praying, Adam said to Eve: —

5 "O Eve, come, let us go to the border of the garden looking south; to the place from where the river flows, and is parted into four heads. There we will pray to God, and ask Him to give us some of the Water of Life to drink .

6 For God has not fed us with the Tree of Life, in order that we may not live. Therefore, we will ask him to give us some of the Water of Life, and to quench our thirst with it, rather than with a drink of water of this land."

7 When Eve heard these words from Adam, she agreed; and they both got up and came to the southern border of the garden, at the edge of the river of water a short distance from the garden.

8 And they stood and prayed before the Lord, and asked Him to look at them this once, to forgive them, and to grant them their request.

9 After this prayer from both of them, Adam began to pray with his voice before God, and said; —

10 "O Lord, when I was in the garden and saw the water that flowed from under the Tree of Life, my heart did not desire, neither did my body require to drink of it; neither did I know thirst, for I was living; and above that which I am now.

11 So that in order to live I did not require any Food of Life, nei-

ther did I drink of the Water of Life.

12 But now, O God, I am dead; my flesh is parched with thirst. Give me of the Water of Life that I may drink of it and live.

13 Of Your mercy, O God, save me from these plagues and trials, and bring me into another land different from this, if You will not let me live in Your garden." * This is substantiated by Genesis 3:7 whereby the leaves of the fig tree were large enough that Adam and Eve could fashion garments from them.

CHAPTER XLII

A promise of the Water of Life. The third prophecy of the coming of Christ.

1 Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said to him:—

2 "O Adam, as to what you said, 'Bring me into a land where there is rest,' it is not another land than this, but it is the kingdom of heaven where alone there is rest.

3 But you can not make your entrance into it at present; but only after your judgment is past and fulfilled.

4 Then will I make you go up into the kingdom of heaven, you and your righteous descendants; and I will give you and them the rest you ask for at present.

5 And if you said, 'Give me of the Water of Life that I may drink and live' — it cannot be this day, but on the day that I shall descend into hell, and break the gates of brass, and bruise in pieces the kingdoms of iron.

6 Then will I in mercy save your soul and the souls of the righteous, to give them rest in My gar-

den. And that shall be when the end of the world is come.

7 And, again, in regards to the Water of Life you seek, it will not be granted you this day; but on the day that I shall shed My blood on your head* in the land of Golgotha**.

8 For My blood shall be the Water of Life to you at that time, and not to just you alone, but to all your descendants who shall believe in Me***; that it be to them for rest forever."

9 The Lord said again to Adam, "O Adam, when you were in the garden, these trials did not come to you.

10 But since you transgressed My commandment, all these sufferings have come over you.

11 Now, also, does your flesh require food and drink; drink then of that water that flows by you on the face of the earth.

12 Then God withdrew His Word from Adam.

13 And Adam and Eve worshipped the Lord, and returned from the river of water to the cave. It was noon-day; and when they drew near to the cave, they saw a large fire by it. * This phrase indicates that the bleeding will take place in an elevated position above the populace. This is believed to be a reference to the cross whereby Christ bled profusely above the people below. ** Golgotha (goal-goth-uh) was the hill outside the walls of Jerusalem where Jesus was crucified. Its exact location is not precisely known, but the Church of the Holy Sepulcher is believed to have been constructed on this hill. *** Reference: John

6:25 and 7:38

CHAPTER XLIII

The Devil attempts arson.

1 Then Adam and Eve were afraid, and stood still. And Adam said to Eve, "What is that fire by our cave? We have done nothing in it to cause this fire.

2 We neither have bread to bake therein, nor broth to cook there. As to this fire, we have never known anything like it, neither do we know what to call it.

3 But ever since God sent the cherub with a sword of fire that flashed and lightened in his hand, from fear of which we fell down and were like corpses, have we not seen the like.

4 But now, O Eve, behold, this is the same fire that was in the cherub's hand, which God has sent to keep the cave in which we live.

5 O Eve, it is because God is angry with us, and will drive us from it.

6 O Eve, we have again transgressed His commandment in that cave, so that He had sent this fire to burn around it, and to prevent us from going into it.

7 If this be really so, O Eve, where shall we live? And where shall we flee from before the face of the Lord? Since, in regards to the garden, He will not let us live in it, and He has deprived us of the good things thereof; but He has placed us in this cave, in which we have borne darkness, trials and hardships, until at last we have found comfort therein.

8 But now that He has brought us out into another land, who knows what may happen in it? And who knows but that the darkness of

that land may be far greater than the darkness of this land?

9 Who knows what may happen in that land by day or by night? And who knows whether it will be far or near, O Eve? Where it will please God to put us, may be far from the garden, O Eve? Or where God will prevent us from beholding Him, because we have transgressed His commandment, and because we have made requests of Him at all times?

10 O Eve, if God will bring us into a strange land other than this, in which we find consolation, it must be to put our souls to death, and blot out our name from the face of the earth.

11 O Eve, if we are further alienated from the garden and from God, where shall we find Him again, and ask Him to give us gold, incense, myrrh, and some fruit of the fig-tree?

12 Where shall we find Him, to comfort us a second time? Where shall we find Him, that He may think of us, as regards the covenant He has made on our behalf?"

13 Then Adam said no more. And they kept looking, He and Eve, towards the cave, and at the fire that flared up around it.

14 But that fire was from Satan. For he had gathered trees and dry grasses, and had carried and brought them to the cave, and had set fire to them, in order to consume the cave and what was in it.

15 So that Adam and Eve should be left in sorrow, and he should cut off their trust in God, and make them deny Him.

16 But by the mercy of God he could not burn the cave, for God

sent His angel around the cave to guard it from such a fire, until it went out.

17 And this fire lasted from noon-day until the break of day. That was the forty-fifth day.

CHAPTER XLIV

The power of fire over man.

1 Yet Adam and Eve were standing and looking at the fire, and unable to come near the cave from their dread of the fire.

2 And Satan kept on bringing trees and throwing them into the fire, until the flames of the fire rose up on high, and covered the whole cave, thinking, as he did in his own mind, to consume the cave with much fire. But the angel of the Lord was guarding it.

3 And yet he could not curse Satan, nor injure him by word, because he had no authority over him, neither did he take to doing so with words from his mouth.

4 Therefore the angel tolerated him, without saying one bad word, until the Word of God came who said to Satan, "Go away from here; once before you deceived My servants, and this time you seek to destroy them.

5 Were it not for My mercy I would have destroyed you and your hosts from off the earth. But I have had patience with you, until the end of the world."

6 Then Satan fled from before the Lord. But the fire went on burning around the cave like a coal-fire the whole day; which was the forty-sixth day Adam and Eve had spent since they came out of the garden.

7 And when Adam and Eve saw that the heat of the fire had

somewhat cooled down, they began to walk towards the cave to get into it as they usually did; but they could not, by reason of the heat of the fire.

8 Then they both began crying because of the fire that separated them from the cave, and that came towards them, burning. And they were afraid.

9 Then Adam said to Eve, "See this fire of which we have a portion in us: which formerly yielded to us, but no longer does so, now that we have transgressed the limit of creation, and changed our condition, and our nature is altered. But the fire is not changed in its nature, nor altered from its creation. Therefore it now has power over us; and when we come near it, it scorches our flesh."

CHAPTER XLV

Why Satan didn't fulfil his promises. Description of hell.

1 Then Adam rose and prayed to God, saying, "See, this fire has separated us from the cave in which You have commanded us to live; but now, behold, we cannot go into it."

2 Then God heard Adam, and sent him His Word, that said: —

3 "O Adam, see this fire! How different the flame and heat thereof are from the garden of delights and the good things in it!

4 When you were under My control, all creatures yielded to you; but after you have transgressed My commandment, they all rise over you."

5 God said again to him, "See, O Adam, how Satan has exalted you! He has deprived you of the God-

head, and of an exalted state like Me, and has not kept his word to you; but has, after all, become your enemy. He is the one who made this fire in which he meant to burn you and Eve.

6 Why, O Adam, has he not kept his agreement with you, not even one day; but has deprived you of the glory that was on you — when you yielded to his command?

7 Do you think, Adam, that he loved you when he made this agreement with you? Or that he loved you and wished to raise you on high?

8 But no, Adam, he did not do all that out of love to you; but he wished to make you come out of light into darkness; and from an exalted state to degradation; from glory to abasement; from joy to sorrow; and from rest to fasting and fainting."

9 God also said to Adam, "See this fire kindled by Satan around your cave; see this wonder that surrounds you; and know that it will encompass about both you and your descendants, when you obey his command; that he will plague you with fire; and that you will go down into hell after you are dead.

10 Then you will see the burning of his fire, that will be burning around you and likewise your descendants. You will not be delivered from it until My coming; just like you cannot go into your cave right now because of the great fire around it; not until My Word comes and makes a way for you on the day My covenant is fulfilled.

11 There is no way for you at present to come from this life to rest, not until My Word comes, who is

My Word. Then He will make a way for you, and you shall have rest." Then God called with His Word to the fire that burned around the cave, that it split itself in half, until Adam had gone through it. Then the fire parted itself by God's order, and a way was made for Adam*.

12 And God withdrew His Word from Adam. * Reference: Exodus 14:21,22 and Joshua 3:15-17

CHAPTER XLVI

"How many times have I delivered you out of his hand . . ."

1 Then Adam and Eve began again to come into the cave. And when they came to the way between the fire, Satan blew into the fire like a whirlwind, and caused the burning coal-fire to cover Adam and Eve; so that their bodies were singed; and the coal-fire scorched them*.

2 And from the burning of the fire Adam and Eve screamed, and said, "O Lord, save us! Leave us not to be consumed and plagued by this burning fire; neither require us for having transgressed Your commandment."

3 Then God looked at their bodies, on which Satan had caused fire to burn, and God sent His angel that stayed the burning fire. But the wounds remained on their bodies.

4 And God said to Adam, "See Satan's love for you, who pretended to give you the Godhead and greatness; and, behold, he burns you with fire, and seeks to destroy you from off the earth.

5 Then look at Me, O Adam; I created you, and how many times have I delivered you out of his

hand? If not, wouldn't he have destroyed you?"

6 God said again to Eve, "What is that he promised you in the garden, saying, 'As soon as you eat from the tree, your eyes will be opened, and you shall become like gods, knowing good and evil.' But look! He has burnt your bodies with fire, and has made you taste the taste of fire, for the taste of the garden; and has made you see the burning of fire, and the evil of it, and the power it has over you.

7 Your eyes have seen the good he has taken from you, and in truth he has opened your eyes; and you have seen the garden in which you were with Me, and you have also seen the evil that has come over you from Satan. But as to the God-head he cannot give it to you, neither fulfil his speech to you. No, he was bitter against you and your descendants, that will come after you."

8 And God withdrew His Word from them. * At this time, the garments that the Lord had given them in Genesis 3:21 were burned off so that Adam and Eve were again naked. Reference chapter L whereby Adam and Eve seek garments with which to cover their nakedness..

CHAPTER XLVII

The Devil's own Scheming.

1 Then Adam and Eve came into the cave, yet trembling at the fire that had scorched their bodies. So Adam said to Eve:—

2 "Look, the fire has burnt our flesh in this world; but how will it be when we are dead, and Satan shall punish our souls? Is not our

deliverance long and far off, unless God come, and in mercy to us fulfil His promise?"

3 Then Adam and Eve passed into the cave, blessing themselves for coming into it once more. For it was in their thoughts, that they never should enter it, when they saw the fire around it.

4 But as the sun was setting the fire was still burning and nearing Adam and Eve in the cave, so that they could not sleep in it. After the sun had set, they went out of it. This was the forty-seventh day after they came out of the garden.

5 Adam and Eve then came under the top of hill by the garden to sleep, as they were accustomed.

6 And they stood and prayed God to forgive them their sins, and then fell asleep under the summit of the mountain.

7 But Satan, the hater of all good, thought within himself: "Whereas God has promised salvation to Adam by covenant, and that He would deliver him out of all the hardships that have befallen him — but has not promised me by covenant, and will not deliver me out of my hardships; no, since He has promised him that He should make him and his descendants live in the kingdom in which I once was — I will kill Adam.

8 The earth shall be rid of him; and shall be left to me alone; so that when he is dead he may not have any descendants left to inherit the kingdom that shall remain my own realm; God will then be wanting me, and He will restore it to me and my hosts."

CHAPTER XLVIII

Fifth apparition of Satan to Adam and Eve.

1 After this Satan called to his hosts, all of which came to him, and said to him: —

2 "O, our lord, what will you do?"

3 He then said to them, "You know that this Adam, whom God created out of the dust, is the one who has taken our kingdom, come, let us gather together and kill him; or hurl a rock at him and at Eve, and crush them under it."

4 When Satan's hosts heard these words, they came to the part of the mountain where Adam and Eve were asleep.

5 Then Satan and his host took a huge rock, broad and even, and without blemish, thinking within himself, "If there should be a hole in the rock, when it fell on them, the hole in the rock might come over them, and so they would escape and not die."

6 He then said to his hosts, "Take up this stone, and throw it flat on them, so that it doesn't roll off them to somewhere else. And when you have hurled it, get away from there quickly."

7 And they did as he told them. But as the rock fell down from the mountain toward Adam and Eve, God commanded the rock to become a dome over them*, that did them no harm. And so it was by God's order.

8 But when the rock fell, the whole earth quaked with it**, and was shaken from the size of the rock.

9 And as it quaked and shook, Adam and Eve awoke from sleep, and found themselves under a dome of rock. But they didn't know what

had happened; because when the fell asleep they were under the sky, and not under a dome; and when they saw it, they were afraid.

10 Then Adam said to Eve, "Wherefore has the mountain bent itself, and the earth quaked and shaken on our account? And why has this rock spread itself over us like a tent?"

11 Does God intend to plague us and to shut us up in this prison? Or will He close the earth over us?

12 He is angry with us for our having come out of the cave, without His order; and for our having done so of our own accord, without consulting Him, when we left the cave and came to this place."

13 Then Eve said, "If, indeed, the earth quaked for our sake, and this rock forms a tent over us because of our transgression, then we will be sorry, O Adam, because our punishment will be long.

14 But get up and pray to God to let us know concerning this, and what this rock is that is spread over us like a tent."

15 Then Adam stood up and prayed before the Lord, to let him know what had brought about this difficult time. And Adam stood praying like that until the morning. * The word "dome" is used here but the text does not specifically suggest that the covering was round - only that it covered them on all sides, however a dome is the most likely shape that would have been able to withstand the impact with the ground. From verse

9 that says "when they saw it" and verse

11 that says "shut us up in this

prison", we can conclude that the dome had holes in its sides that were big enough to let in light and air but were too small to allow Adam and Eve to escape. Another conclusion would be that the holes were large but too high up for Adam and Eve to reach, however the former is more likely. ** In verse 7 of the next Chapter (XLIX), God tells Adam and Eve that the ground was also lowered under them - "I commanded ... the rock under you to lower itself".

CHAPTER XLIX

The first prophecy of the Resurrection.

1 Then the Word of God came and said: —

2 "O Adam, who counselled you, when you came out of the cave, to come to this place?"

3 And Adam said to God, "O Lord, we came to this place because of the heat of the fire, that came over us inside the cave."

4 Then the Lord God said to Adam, "O Adam, you dread the heat of fire for one night, but how will it be when you live in hell?"

5 Yet, O Adam, don't be afraid, and don't believe that I have placed this dome of rock over you to plague you with it.

6 It came from Satan, who had promised you the Godhead and majesty. It is he who threw down this rock to kill you under it, and Eve with you, and thus to prevent you from living on the earth.

7 But, in mercy for you, just as that rock was falling down on you, I commanded it to form an dome over you; and the rock under you to lower itself.

8 And this sign, O Adam, will happen to Me at My coming on earth: Satan will raise the people of the Jews to put Me to death; and they will lay Me in a rock, and seal a large stone over Me, and I shall remain within that rock three days and three nights.

9 But on the third day I shall rise again, and it shall be salvation to you, O Adam, and to your descendants, to believe in Me. But, O Adam, I will not bring you from under this rock until three days and three nights have passed."

10 And God withdrew His Word from Adam.

11 But Adam and Eve lived under the rock three days and three nights, as God had told them.

12 And God did so to them because they had left their cave and had come to this same place without God's order.

13 But, after three days and three nights, God created an opening in the dome of rock and allowed them to get out from under it. Their flesh was dried up, and their eyes and hearts were troubled from crying and sorrow.

CHAPTER L

Adam and Eve seek to cover their nakedness.

1 Then Adam and Eve went forth and came into the Cave of Treasures, and they stood praying in it the whole of that day, until the evening.

2 And this took place at the end of the fifty days after they had left the garden.

3 But Adam and Eve rose again and prayed to God in the cave the whole of that night, and begged

for mercy from Him.

4 And when the day dawned, Adam said to Eve, "Come! Let us go and do some work for our bodies."

5 So they went out of the cave, and came to the northern border of the garden, and they looked for something to cover their bodies with*. But they found nothing, and knew not how to do the work. Yet their bodies were stained, and they were speechless from cold and heat.

6 Then Adam stood and asked God to show him something with which to cover their bodies.

7 Then came the Word of God and said to him, "O Adam, take Eve and come to the seashore where you fasted before. There you will find skins of sheep that were left after lions ate the carcasses. Take them and make garments for yourselves, and clothe yourselves with them. *

CHAPTER XLVI, verse 1, says "Satan blew into the fire ... so that their bodies were singed". At this time, the garments that the Lord had given them in Genesis 3:21 were burned off so that Adam and Eve were again naked.

CHAPTER LI

"What is his beauty that you should have followed him?"

1 When Adam heard these words from God, he took Eve and went from the northern end of the garden to the south of it, by the river of water where they once fasted.

2 But as they were going on their way, and before they got there, Satan, the wicked one, had heard the Word of God communing with Adam respecting his covering.

3 It grieved him, and he hastened

to the place where the sheep-skins were, with the intention of taking them and throwing them into the sea, or of burning them with fire, so that Adam and Eve would not find them.

4 But as he was about to take them, the Word of God came from heaven, and bound him by the side of those skins until Adam and Eve came near him. But as they got closer to him they were afraid of him, and of his hideous look.

5 Then came the Word of God to Adam and Eve, and said to them, "This is he who was hidden in the serpent, and who deceived you, and stripped you of the garment of light and glory in which you were.

6 This is he who promised you majesty and divinity. Where, then, is the beauty that was on him? Where is his divinity? Where is his light? Where is the glory that rested on him?

7 Now his figure is hideous; he is become abominable among angels; and he has come to be called Satan.

8 O Adam, he wished to take from you this earthly garment of sheep-skins, and to destroy it, and not let you be covered with it.

9 What, then, is his beauty that you should have followed him? And what have you gained by obeying him? See his evil works and then look at Me; at Me, your Creator, and at the good deeds I do you.

10 See, I bound him until you came and saw him and beheld his weakness, that no power is left with him."

11 And God released him from his bonds.

CHAPTER LII

Adam and Eve sew the first shirt.

1 After this Adam and Eve said no more, but cried before God on account of their creation, and of their bodies that required an earthly covering.

2 Then Adam said to Eve, "O Eve, this is the skin of beasts with which we shall be covered, but when we put it on, behold, we shall be wearing a token of death on our bodies. Just as the owners of these skins have died and have wasted away, so also shall we die and pass away."

3 Then Adam and Eve took the skins, and went back to the Cave of Treasures; and when in it, they stood and prayed as they were accustomed.

4 And they thought how they could make garments of those skins; for they had no skill for it.

5 Then God sent to them His angel to show them how to work it out. And the angel said to Adam, "Go forth, and bring some palm-thorns." Then Adam went out, and brought some, as the angel had commanded him.

6 Then the angel began before them to work out the skins, after the manner of one who prepares a shirt. And he took the thorns and stuck them into the skins, before their eyes.

7 Then the angel again stood up and prayed God that the thorns in those skins should be hidden, so as to be, as it were, sewn with one thread.

8 And so it was, by God's order; they became garments for Adam and Eve, and He clothed them

therewith.

9 From that time the nakedness of their bodies was covered from the sight of each other's eyes.

10 And this happened at the end of the fifty-first day.

11 Then when Adam's and Eve's bodies were covered, they stood and prayed, and sought mercy of the Lord, and forgiveness, and gave Him thanks for that He had had mercy on them, and had covered their nakedness. And they ceased not from prayer the whole of that night.

12 Then when the morning dawned at the rising of the sun, they said their prayers after their custom; and then went out of the cave.

13 And Adam said to Eve, "Since we don't know what there is to the west of this cave, let us go out and see it today." Then they came forth and went toward the western border.

CHAPTER LIII

The prophecy of the Western Lands and of the great flood.

1 They were not very far from the cave, when Satan came towards them, and hid himself between them and the cave, under the form of two ravenous lions three days without food, that came towards Adam and Eve, as if to break them in pieces and devour them.

2 Then Adam and Eve cried, and prayed God to deliver them from their paws.

3 Then the Word of God came to them, and drove away the lions from them.

4 And God said to Adam, "O Adam, what do you seek on the western

border? And why have you left of thine own accord the eastern border, in which was your living place?

5 Now then, turn back to your cave, and remain in it, so that Satan won't deceive you or work his purpose over you.

6 For in this western border, O Adam, there will go from you a descendant, that shall replenish it; and that will defile themselves with their sins, and with their yielding to the commands of Satan, and by following his works.

7 Therefore will I bring over them the waters of a flood, and overwhelm them all. But I will deliver what is left of the righteous among them; and I will bring them to a distant land, and the land in which you live now shall remain desolate and without one inhabitant in it.

8 After God had thus spoken to them, they went back to the Cave of Treasures. But their flesh was dried up, and they were weak from fasting and praying, and from the sorrow they felt at having trespassed against God.

CHAPTER LIV

Adam and Eve go exploring.

1 Then Adam and Eve stood up in the cave and prayed the whole of that night until the morning dawned. And when the sun was risen they both went out of the cave; their heads were wandering from heaviness of sorrow and they didn't know where they were going.

2 And they walked in that condition to the southern border of the garden. And they began to go up that border until they came to the eastern border beyond which

there was no more land.

3 And the cherub who guarded the garden was standing at the western gate, and guarding it against Adam and Eve, lest they should suddenly come into the garden. And the cherub turned around, as if to put them to death; according to the commandment God had given him.

4 When Adam and Eve came to the eastern border of the garden — thinking in their hearts that the cherub was not watching — as they were standing by the gate as if wishing to go in, suddenly came the cherub with a flashing sword of fire in his hand; and when he saw them, he went forth to kill them. For he was afraid that God would destroy him if they went into the garden without His order.

5 And the sword of the cherub seemed to shoot flames a distance away from it. But when he raised it over Adam and Eve, the flame of the sword did not flash forth.

6 Therefore the cherub thought that God was favorable to them, and was bringing them back into the garden. And the cherub stood wondering.

7 He could not go up to Heaven to determine God's order regarding their getting into the garden; he therefore continued to stand by them, unable as he was to part from them; for he was afraid that if they should enter the garden without permission, God would destroy him.

8 When Adam and Eve saw the cherub coming towards them with a flaming sword of fire in his hand, they fell on their faces from fear, and were as dead.

9 At that time the heavens and the earth shook; and another cherubim came down from heaven to the cherub who guarded the garden, and saw him amazed and silent.

10 Then, again, other angels came down close to the place where Adam and Eve were. They were divided between joy and sorrow.

11 They were glad, because they thought that God was favorable to Adam, and wished him to return to the garden; and wished to restore him to the gladness he once enjoyed.

12 But they sorrowed over Adam, because he was fallen like a dead man, he and Eve; and they said in their thoughts, "Adam has not died in this place; but God has put him to death, for his having come to this place, and wishing to get into the garden without His permission."

CHAPTER LV

The Conflict between God and Satan.

1 Then came the Word of God to Adam and Eve, and raised them from their dead state, saying to them, "Why did you come up here? Do you intend to go into the garden, from which I brought you out? It cannot be today; but only when the covenant I have made with you is fulfilled."

2 Then Adam, when he heard the Word of God, and the fluttering of the angels whom he did not see, but only heard the sound of them with his ears, he and Eve cried, and said to the angels: —

3 "O Spirits, who wait on God, look at me, and at my being unable

to see you! For when I was in my former bright nature, then I could see you. I sang praises as you do; and my heart was far above you.

4 But now, that I have transgressed, that bright nature is gone from me, and I am come to this miserable state. And now I have come to this, that I cannot see you, and you do not serve me like you used to do. For I have become animal flesh.

5 Yet now, O angels of God, ask God with me, to restore me to that wherein I was formerly; to rescue me from this misery, and to remove from me the sentence of death He passed on me, for having trespassed against Him."

6 Then, when the angels heard these words, they all grieved over him; and cursed Satan who had misled Adam, until he came from the garden to misery; from life to death; from peace to trouble; and from gladness to a strange land.

7 Then the angels said to Adam, "You obeyed Satan, and ignored the Word of God who created you; and you believed that Satan would fulfil all he had promised you.

8 But now, O Adam, we will make known to you, what came over us through him, before his fall from heaven.

9 He gathered together his hosts, and deceived them, promising to give them a great kingdom, a divine nature; and other promises he made them.

10 His hosts believed that his word was true, so they yielded to him, and renounced the glory of God.

11 He then sent for us — according to the orders in which we were

— to come under his command, and to accept his vain promise. But we would not, and we did not take his advice.

12 Then after he had fought with God, and had dealt forwardly with Him, he gathered together his hosts, and made war with us. And if it had not been for God's strength that was with us, we could not have prevailed against him to hurl him from heaven.

13 But when he fell from among us, there was great joy in heaven, because of his going down from us. For if he had remained in heaven, nothing, not even one angel would have remained in it.

14 But God in His mercy, drove him from among us to this dark earth; for he had become darkness itself and a worker of unrighteousness.

15 And he has continued, O Adam, to make war against you, until he tricked you and made you come out of the garden, to this strange land, where all these trials have come to you. And death, which God brought to him, he has also brought to you, O Adam, because you obeyed him, and trespassed against God."

16 Then all the angels rejoiced and praised God, and asked Him not to destroy Adam this time, for his having sought to enter the garden; but to bear with him until the fulfillment of the promise; and to help him in this world until he was free from Satan's hand.

CHAPTER LVI

A chapter of divine comfort.

1 Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said to him: —

2 "O Adam, look at that garden of joy and at this earth of toil, and behold the garden is full of angels, but look at yourself alone on this earth with Satan whom you obeyed.

3 Yet, if you had submitted, and been obedient to Me, and had kept My Word, you would be with My angels in My garden.

4 But when you transgressed and obeyed Satan, you became his guests among his angels, that are full of wickedness; and you came to this earth, that brings forth to you thorns and thistles.

5 O Adam, ask him who deceived you, to give you the divine nature he promised you, or to make you a garden as I had made for you; or to fill you with that same bright nature with which I had filled you.

6 Ask him to make you a body like the one I made you, or to give you a day of rest as I gave you; or to create within you a reasonable soul, as I created for you; or to take you from here to some other earth than this one which I gave you. But, O Adam, he will not fulfil even one of the things he told you.

7 Acknowledge, then, My favor towards you, and My mercy on you, My creature; that I have not avenged you for your transgression against Me, but in My pity for you I have promised you that at the end of the great five and a half days I will come and save you."

8 Then God said again to Adam and Eve, "Get up, go down from here, before the cherub with a sword of fire in his hand destroys you."

9 But Adam's heart was comforted by God's words to him, and he

worshipped before Him.

10 And God commanded His angels to escort Adam and Eve to the cave with joy, instead of the fear that had come over them.

11 Then the angels took up Adam and Eve, and brought them down from the mountain by the garden, with songs and psalms, until they arrived at the cave. There the angels began to comfort and to strengthen them, and then departed from them towards heaven, to their Creator, who had sent them.

12 But after the angels had departed from Adam and Eve, Satan came with shamefacedness, and stood at the entrance of the cave in which were Adam and Eve. He then called to Adam, and said, "O Adam, come, let me speak to you."

13 Then Adam came out of the cave, thinking he was one of God's angels that was come to give him some good counsel.

CHAPTER LVII

"Therefore I fell. . . ."

1 But when Adam came out and saw his hideous figure, he was afraid of him, and said to him, "Who are you?"

2 Then Satan answered and said to him, "It is I, who hid myself within the serpent, and who spoke to Eve, and who enticed her until she obeyed my command. I am he who sent her, using my deceitful speech, to deceive you, until you both ate of the fruit of the tree and abandoned the command of God."

3 But when Adam heard these words from him, he said to him, "Can you make me a garden as God made for me? Or can you clothe

me in the same bright nature in which God had clothed me?

4 Where is the divine nature you promised to give me? Where is that slick speech of yours that you had with us at first, when we were in the garden?"

5 Then Satan said to Adam, "Do you think that when I have promised one something that I would actually deliver it to him or fulfil my word? Of course not. For I myself have never even thought of obtaining what I promised.

6 Therefore I fell, and I made you fall by that for which I myself fell; and with you also, whosoever accepts my counsel, falls thereby.

7 But now, O Adam, because you fell you are under my rule, and I am king over you; because you have obeyed me and have transgressed against your God. Neither will there be any deliverance from my hands until the day promised you by your God."

8 Again he said, "Because we do not know the day agreed on with you by your God, nor the hour in which you shall be delivered, for that reason we will multiply war and murder on you and your descendants after you.

9 This is our will and our good pleasure, that we may not leave one of the sons of men to inherit our orders in heaven.

10 For as to our home, O Adam, it is in burning fire; and we will not stop our evil doing, no, not one day nor one hour. And I, O Adam, shall set you on fire when you come into the cave to live there."

11 When Adam heard these words he cried and mourned, and said to Eve, "Hear what he said; that he

won't fulfil any of what he told you in the garden. Did he really then become king over us?

12 But we will ask God, who created us, to deliver us out of his hands."

CHAPTER LVIII

"About sunset on the 53rd day. . ."

1 Then Adam and Eve spread their hands before God, praying and begging Him to drive Satan away from them so that he can't harm them or force them to deny God.

2 Then God sent to them at once, His angel, who drove away Satan from them. This happened about sunset, on the fifty-third day after they had come out of the garden.

3 Then Adam and Eve went into the cave, and stood up and turned their faces to the ground, to pray to God.

4 But before they prayed Adam said to Eve, "Look, you have seen what temptations have befallen us in this land. Come, let us get up, and ask God to forgive us the sins we have committed; and we will not come out until the end of the day next to the fortieth. And if we die in here, He will save us."

5 Then Adam and Eve got up, and joined together in entreating God.

6 They continued praying like this in the cave; neither did they come out of it, by night or by day, until their prayers went up out of their mouths, like a flame of fire.

CHAPTER LIX

Eighth apparition of Satan of Satan to Adam and Eve.

1 But Satan, the hater of all good, did not allow them to finish their

prayers. For he called to his hosts, and they came, all of them. Then he said to them, "Since Adam and Eve, whom we deceived, have agreed together to pray to God night and day, and to beg Him to deliver them, and since they will not come out of the cave until the end of the fortieth day.

2 And since they will continue their prayers as they have both agreed to do, that He will deliver them out of our hands, and restore them to their former state, see what we shall do to them." And his hosts said to him, "Power is thine, O our lord, to do what you list."

3 Then Satan, great in wickedness, took his hosts and came into the cave, in the thirtieth night of the forty days and one; and he beat Adam and Eve, until he left them dead.

4 Then came the Word of God to Adam and Eve, who raised them from their suffering, and God said to Adam, "Be strong, and be not afraid of him who has just come to you."

5 But Adam cried and said, "Where were you, O my God, that they should punish me with such blows, and that this suffering should come over us; over me and over Eve, Your handmaiden?"

6 Then God said to him, "O Adam, see, he is lord and master of all you have, he who said, he would give you divinity. Where is this love for you? And where is the gift he promised?"

7 Did it please him just once, O Adam, to come to you, comfort you, strengthen you, rejoice with you, or send his hosts to protect you; because you have obeyed him,

and have yielded to his counsel; and have followed his commandment and transgressed Mine?"

8 Then Adam cried before the Lord, and said, "O Lord because I transgressed a little, You have severely punished me in return for it, I ask You to deliver me out of his hands; or else have pity on me, and take my soul out of my body now in this strange land."

9 Then God said to Adam, "If only there had been this sighing and praying before, before you transgressed! Then would you have rest from the trouble in which you are now."

10 But God had patience with Adam, and let him and Eve remain in the cave until they had fulfilled the forty days.

11 But as to Adam and Eve, their strength and flesh withered from fasting and praying, from hunger and thirst; for they had not tasted either food or drink since they left the garden; nor were the functions of their bodies yet settled; and they had no strength left to continue in prayer from hunger, until the end of the next day to the fortieth. They were fallen down in the cave; yet what speech escaped from their mouths, was only in praises.

CHAPTER LX

The Devil appears like an old man. He offers "a place of rest."

1 Then on the eighty-ninth day, Satan came to the cave, clad in a garment of light, and girt about with a bright girdle.

2 In his hands was a staff of light, and he looked most awful; but his face was pleasant and his speech

was sweet.

3 He thus transformed himself in order to deceive Adam and Eve, and to make them come out of the cave, before they had fulfilled the forty days.

4 For he said within himself, "Now that when they had fulfilled the forty days' fasting and praying, God would restore them to their former state; but if He did not do so, He would still be favorable to them; and even if He had not mercy on them, would He yet give them something from the garden to comfort them; as already twice before."

5 Then Satan drew near the cave in this fair appearance, and said: —

6 "O Adam, get up, stand up, you and Eve, and come along with me, to a good land; and don't be afraid. I am flesh and bones like you; and at first I was a creature that God created.

7 And it was so, that when He had created me, He placed me in a garden in the north, on the border of the world.

8 And He said to me, 'Stay here!' And I remained there according to His Word, neither did I transgress His commandment.

9 Then He made a slumber to come over me, and He brought you, O Adam, out of my side, but did not make you stay with me.

10 But God took you in His divine hand, and placed you in a garden to the eastward.

11 Then I worried about you, for that while God had taken you out of my side, He had not let you stay with me.

12 But God said to me: 'Do not

worry about Adam, whom I brought out of your side; no harm will come to him.

13 For now I have brought out of his side a help-meet* for him; and I have given him joy by so doing.' "

14 Then Satan said again, "I did not know how it is you are in this cave, nor anything about this trial that has come over you — until God said to me, 'Behold, Adam has transgressed, he whom I had taken out of your side, and Eve also, whom I took out of his side; and I have driven them out of the garden; I have made them live in a land of sorrow and misery, because they transgressed against Me, and have obeyed Satan. And look, they are in suffering until this day, the eightieth.'

15 Then God said to me, 'Get up, go to them, and make them come to your place, and suffer not that Satan come near them, and afflict them. For they are now in great misery; and lie helpless from hunger.'

16 He further said to me, 'When you have taken them to yourself, give them to eat of the fruit of the Tree of Life, and give them to drink of the water of peace; and clothe them in a garment of light, and restore them to their former state of grace, and leave them not in misery, for they came from you. But grieve not over them, nor repent of that which has come over them.

17 But when I heard this, I was sorry; and my heart could not patiently bear it for your sake, O my child.

18 But, O Adam, when I heard the name of Satan, I was afraid, and I

said within myself, I will not come out because he might trap me as he did my children, Adam and Eve.

19 And I said, 'O God, when I go to my children, Satan will meet me in the way, and war against me, as he did against them.'

20 Then God said to me, 'Fear not; when you find him, hit him with the staff that is in thine hand, and don't be afraid of him, for you are of old standing, and he shall not prevail against you.'

21 Then I said, 'O my Lord, I am old, and cannot go. Send Your angels to bring them.'

22 But God said to me, 'Angels, verily, are not like them; and they will not consent to come with them. But I have chosen you, because they are your offspring and are like you, and they will listen to what you say.'

23 God said further to me, 'If you don't have enough strength to walk, I will send a cloud to carry you and set you down at the entrance of their cave; then the cloud will return and leave you there.

24 And if they will come with you, I will send a cloud to carry you and them.'

25 Then He commanded a cloud, and it bear me up and brought me to you; and then went back.

26 And now, O my children, Adam and Eve, look at my old gray hair and at my feeble state, and at my coming from that distant place. Come, come with me, to a place of rest."

27 Then he began to cry and to sob before Adam and Eve, and his tears poured on the ground like water.

28 And when Adam and Eve raised their eyes and saw his beard, and heard his sweet talk, their hearts softened towards him; they obeyed him, for they believed he was true.

29 And it seemed to them that they were really his offspring, when they saw that his face was like their own; and they trusted him. * The existence of the two words helpmeet and helpmate, meaning exactly the same thing, is a comedy of errors. God's promise to Adam, as rendered in the King James version of the Bible, was to give him an help meet for him (that is, a helper fit for him). In the

17th century the two words help and meet in this passage were mistaken for one word, applying to Eve, and thus helpmeet came to mean a wife. Then in the 18th century, in a misguided attempt to make sense of the word, the spelling helpmate was introduced. Both errors are now beyond recall, and both spellings are acceptable.

CHAPTER LXI

They begin to follow Satan.

1 Then he took Adam and Eve by the hand, and began to bring them out of the cave.

2 But when they had come a little ways out of it, God knew that Satan had overcome them, and had brought them out before the forty days were ended, to take them to some distant place, and to destroy them.

3 Then the Word of the Lord God again came and cursed Satan, and drove him away from them.

4 And God began to speak to Ad-

am and Eve, saying to them, "What made you come out of the cave, to this place?"

5 Then Adam said to God, "Did you create a man before us? For when we were in the cave there suddenly came to us a friendly old man who said to us, 'I am a messenger from God to you, to bring you back to some place of rest.'

6 And we believed, O God, that he was a messenger from you; and we came out with him; and knew not where we should go with him."

7 Then God said to Adam, "See, that is the father of evil arts, who brought you and Eve out of the Garden of Delights. And now, indeed, when he saw that you and Eve both joined together in fasting and praying, and that you came not out of the cave before the end of the forty days, he wished to make your purpose vein, to break your mutual bond; to cut off all hope from you, and to drive you to some place where he might destroy you.

8 Because he couldn't do anything to you unless he showed himself in the likeness of you.

9 Therefore he came to you with a face like your own, and began to give you tokens as if they were all true.

10 But because I am merciful and am favorable to you, I did not allow him to destroy you; instead I drove him away from you.

11 Now, therefore, O Adam, take Eve, and return to your cave, and remain in it until the morning after the fortieth day. And when you come out, go towards the eastern gate of the garden."

12 Then Adam and Eve wor-

shipped God, and praised and blessed Him for the deliverance that had come to them from Him. And they returned towards the cave. This happened in the evening of the thirty-ninth day.

13 Then Adam and Eve stood up and with a fiery passion, prayed to God, to give them strength; for they had become weak because of hunger and thirst and prayer. But they watched the whole of that night praying, until morning.

14 Then Adam said to Eve, "Get up, let us go towards the eastern gate of the garden as God told us."

15 And they said their prayers as they were accustomed to do every day; and they left the cave to go near to the eastern gate of the garden.

16 Then Adam and Eve stood up and prayed, and appealed to God to strengthen them, and to send them something to satisfy their hunger.

17 But after they finished their prayers, they were too weak to move.

18 Then came the Word of God again, and said to them, "O Adam, get up, go and bring the two figs here."

19 Then Adam and Eve got up, and went until they came near to the cave.

CHAPTER LXII

Two fruit trees.

1 But Satan the wicked was envious, because of the consolation God had given them.

2 So he prevented them, and went into the cave and took the two figs, and buried them outside the cave, so that Adam and Eve should

not find them. He also had in his thoughts to destroy them.

3 But by God's mercy, as soon as those two figs were in the ground, God defeated Satan's counsel regarding them; and made them into two fruit trees, that overshadowed the cave. For Satan had buried them on the eastern side of it.

4 Then when the two trees were grown, and were covered with fruit, Satan grieved and mourned, and said, "It would have been better to have left those figs where they were; for now, behold, they have become two fruit trees, whereof Adam will eat all the days of his life. Whereas I had in mind, when I buried them, to destroy them entirely, and to hide them forever.

5 But God has overturned my counsel; and would not that this sacred fruit should perish; and He has made plain my intention, and has defeated the counsel I had formed against His servants."

6 Then Satan went away ashamed because he hadn't thought his plans all the way through.

CHAPTER LXIII

The first joy of trees.

1 But Adam and Eve, as they got closer to the cave, saw two fig trees, covered with fruit, and overshadowing the cave.

2 Then Adam said to Eve, "It seems to me that we have gone the wrong way. When did these two trees grow here? It seems to me that the enemy wishes to lead us the wrong way. Do you suppose that there is another cave besides this one in the earth?"

3 Yet, O Eve, let us go into the

cave, and find in it the two figs; for this is our cave, in which we were. But if we should not find the two figs in it, then it cannot be our cave."

4 They went then into the cave, and looked into the four corners of it, but found not the two figs.

5 And Adam cried and said to Eve, "Did we go to the wrong cave, then, O Eve? It seems to me these two fig trees are the two figs that were in the cave." And Eve said, "I, for my part, do not know."

6 Then Adam stood up and prayed and said, "O God, You commanded us to come back to the cave, to take the two figs, and then to return to you.

7 But now, we have not found them. O God, have you taken them, and sown these two trees, or have we gone astray in the earth; or has the enemy deceived us? If it be real, then, O God, reveal to us the secret of these two trees and of the two figs."

8 Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said to him, "O Adam, when I sent you to fetch the figs, Satan went before you to the cave, took the figs, and buried them outside, eastward of the cave, thinking to destroy them; and not sowing them with good intent.

9 Not for his mere sake, then, have these trees grown up at once; but I had mercy on you and I commanded them to grow. And they grew to be two large trees, that you be overshadowed by their branches, and find rest; and that I made you see My power and My marvelous works.

10 And, also, to show you Satan's meanness, and his evil works, for

ever since you came out of the garden, he has not ceased, no, not one day, from doing you some harm. But I have not given him power over you."

11 And God said, "From now on, O Adam, rejoice on account of the trees, you and Eve; and rest under them when you feel weary. But do not eat any of their fruit or come near them."

12 Then Adam cried, and said, "O God, will You again kill us, or will You drive us away from before Your face, and cut our life from off the face of the earth?

13 O God, I beg you, if You know that there be in these trees either death or some other evil, as at the first time, root them up from near our cave, and with them; and leave us to die of the heat, of hunger and of thirst.

14 For we know Your marvelous works, O God, that they are great, and that by Your power You can bring one thing out of another, without one's wish. For Your power can make rocks to become trees, and trees to become rocks."

CHAPTER LXIV

Adam and Eve partake of the first earthly food.

1 Then God looked at Adam and at his strength of mind, at his endurance of hunger and thirst, and of the heat. And He changed the two fig trees into two figs, as they were at first, and then said to Adam and to Eve, "Each of you may take one fig." And they took them, as the Lord commanded them.

2 And He said to them, "You must now go into the cave and eat the figs, and satisfy your hunger, or

else you will die."

3 So, as God commanded them, they went into the cave about sunset. And Adam and Eve stood up and prayed during the setting sun.

4 Then they sat down to eat the figs; but they knew not how to eat them; for they were not accustomed to eat earthly food. They were afraid that if they ate, their stomach would be burdened and their flesh thickened, and their hearts would take to liking earthly food.

5 But while they were thus seated, God, out of pity for them, sent them His angel, so they wouldn't perish of hunger and thirst.

6 And the angel said to Adam and Eve, "God says to you that you do not have the strength that would be required to fast until death; eat, therefore, and strengthen your bodies; for you are now animal flesh and cannot subsist without food and drink."

7 Then Adam and Eve took the figs and began to eat of them. But God had put into them a mixture as of savory bread and blood.

8 Then the angel went from Adam and Eve, who ate of the figs until they had satisfied their hunger. Then they put aside what was left; but by the power of God, the figs became whole again, because God blessed them.

9 After this Adam and Eve got up, and prayed with a joyful heart and renewed strength, and praised and rejoiced abundantly the whole of that night. And this was the end of the eighty-third day.

CHAPTER LXV

Adam and Eve acquire digestive or-

gans. Final hope of returning to the Garden is lost.

1 And when it was day, they got up and prayed, after their custom, and then went out of the cave.

2 But they became sick from the food they had eaten because they were not used to it, so they went about in the cave saying to each other: —

3 "What has our eating caused to happen to us, that we should be in such pain? We are in misery, we shall die! It would have been better for us to have died keeping our bodies pure than to have eaten and defiled them with food."

4 Then Adam said to Eve, "This pain did not come to us in the garden, neither did we eat such bad food there. Do you think, O Eve, that God will plague us through the food that is in us, or that our innards will come out; or that God means to kill us with this pain before He has fulfilled His promise to us?"

5 Then Adam besought the Lord and said, "O Lord, let us not perish through the food we have eaten. O Lord, don't punish us; but deal with us according to Your great mercy, and forsake us not until the day of the promise You have made us."

6 Then God looked at them, and then fitted them for eating food at once; as to this day; so that they should not perish.

7 Then Adam and Eve came back into the cave sorrowful and crying because of the alteration of their bodies. And they both knew from that hour that they were altered beings, that all hope of returning to the garden was now lost; and

that they could not enter it.

8 For that now their bodies had strange functions; and all flesh that requires food and drink for its existence, cannot be in the garden.

9 Then Adam said to Eve, "Behold, our hope is now lost; and so is our trust to enter the garden. We no longer belong to the inhabitants of the garden; but from now on we are earthy and of the dust, and of the inhabitants of the earth. We shall not return to the garden, until the day in which God has promised to save us, and to bring us again into the garden, as He promised us."

10 Then they prayed to God that He would have mercy on them; after which, their mind was quieted, their hearts were broken, and their longing was cooled down; and they were like strangers on earth. That night Adam and Eve spent in the cave, where they slept heavily by reason of the food they had eaten.

CHAPTER LXVI

Adam does his first day's work.

1 When it was morning, the day after they had eaten food, Adam and Eve prayed in the cave, and Adam said to Eve, "Look, we asked for food of God, and He gave it. But now let us also ask Him to give us a drink of water."

2 Then they got up, and went to the bank of the stream of water, that was on the south border of the garden, in which they had before thrown themselves. And they stood on the bank, and prayed to God that He would command them to drink of the water.

3 Then the Word of God came to Adam, and said to him, "O Adam, your body has become brutish, and requires water to drink. Take some and drink it, you and Eve, then give thanks and praise."

4 Adam and Eve then went down to the stream and drank from it, until their bodies felt refreshed. After having drunk, they praised God, and then returned to their cave, after their former custom. This happened at the end of eighty-three days.

5 Then on the eighty-fourth day, they took the two figs and hung them in the cave, together with the leaves thereof, to be to them a sign and a blessing from God. And they placed them there so that if their descendants came there, they would see the wonderful things God had done for them.

6 Then Adam and Eve again stood outside the cave, and asked God to show them some food with which they could nourish their bodies.

7 Then the Word of God came and said to him, "O Adam, go down to the westward of the cave until you come to a land of dark soil, and there you shall find food."

8 And Adam obeyed the Word of God, took Eve, and went down to a land of dark soil, and found there wheat* growing in the ear and ripe, and figs to eat; and Adam rejoiced over it.

9 Then the Word of God came again to Adam, and said to him, "Take some of this wheat and make yourselves some bread with it, to nourish your body therewith." And God gave Adam's heart wisdom, to work out the corn until it became bread.

10 Adam accomplished all that, until he grew very faint and weary. He then returned to the cave; rejoicing at what he had learned of what is done with wheat, until it is made into bread for one's use. * In this book, the terms 'corn' and 'wheat' are used interchangeably. The reference is possibly used to indicate a type of ancient grain resembling Egyptian Corn also known as Durra. Durra is a wheat-like cereal grain frequently cultivated in dry regions such as Egypt.

CHAPTER LXVII

"Then Satan began to lead astray Adam and Eve. . . ."

1 When Adam and Eve went down to the land of black mud and came near to the wheat God had showed them and saw that it was ripe and ready for reaping, they did not have a sickle to reap it with. So they readied themselves, and began to pull up the wheat by hand, until it was all done.

2 Then they heaped it into a pile; and, faint from heat and from thirst, they went under a shady tree, where the breeze fanned them to sleep.

3 But Satan saw what Adam and Eve had done. And he called his hosts, and said to them, "Since God has shown to Adam and Eve all about this wheat, wherewith to strengthen their bodies — and, look, they have come and made a big pile of it, and faint from the toil are now asleep — come, let us set fire to this heap of corn, and burn it, and let us take that bottle of water that is by them, and empty it out, so that they may find nothing to drink, and we kill them

with hunger and thirst.

4 Then, when they wake up from their sleep, and seek to return to the cave, we will come to them in the way, and will lead them astray; so that they die of hunger and thirst; when they may, perhaps, deny God, and He destroy them. So shall we be rid of them."

5 Then Satan and his hosts set the wheat on fire and burned it up.

6 But from the heat of the flame Adam and Eve awoke from their sleep, and saw the wheat burning, and the bucket of water by them, poured out.

7 Then they cried and went back to the cave.

8 But as they were going up from below the mountain where they were, Satan and his hosts met them in the form of angels, praising God.

9 Then Satan said to Adam, "O Adam, why are you so pained with hunger and thirst? It seems to me that Satan has burnt up the wheat." And Adam said to him, "Yes."

10 Again Satan said to Adam, "Come back with us; we are angels of God. God sent us to you, to show you another field of corn, better than that; and beyond it is a fountain of good water, and many trees, where you shall live near it, and work the corn field to better purpose than that which Satan has consumed."

11 Adam thought that he was true, and that they were angels who talked with him; and he went back with them.

12 Then Satan began to lead astray Adam and Eve eight days, until they both fell down as if

dead, from hunger, thirst, and faintness. Then he fled with his hosts, and left them.

CHAPTER LXVIII

How destruction and trouble is of Satan when he is the master. Adam and Eve establish the custom of worship.

1 Then God looked at Adam and Eve, and at what had come over them from Satan, and how he had made them perish.

2 God, therefore, sent His Word, and raised up Adam and Eve from their state of death.

3 Then, Adam, when he was raised, said, "O God, You have burnt and taken from us the corn You have given us, and You have emptied out the bucket of water. And You have sent Your angels, who have caused us to lose our way from the corn field. Will You make us perish? If this be from you, O God, then take away our souls; but punish us not."

4 Then God said to Adam, "I did not burn down the wheat, and I did not pour the water out of the bucket, and I did not send My angels to lead you astray.

5 But it is Satan, your master who did it; he to whom you have subjected yourself; my commandment being meanwhile set aside. He it is, who burnt down the corn, and poured out the water, and who has led you astray; and all the promises he has made you were just a trick, a deception, and a lie.

6 But now, O Adam, you shall acknowledge My good deeds done to you."

7 And God told His angels to take Adam and Eve, and to bear them

up to the field of wheat, which they found as before, with the bucket full of water.

8 There they saw a tree, and found on it solid manna; and wondered at God's power. And the angels commanded them to eat of the manna when they were hungry.

9 And God admonished Satan with a curse, not to come again, and destroy the field of corn.

10 Then Adam and Eve took of the corn, and made of it an offering, and took it and offered it up on the mountain, the place where they had offered up their first offering of blood.

11 And they offered this offering again on the altar they had built at first. And they stood up and prayed, and besought the Lord saying, "Thus, O God, when we were in the garden, our praises went up to you, like this offering; and our innocence went up to you like incense. But now, O God, accept this offering from us, and don't turn us away, deprived of Your mercy."

12 Then God said to Adam and Eve, "Since you have made this offering and have offered it to Me, I shall make it My flesh, when I come down on earth to save you; and I shall cause it to be offered continually on an altar, for forgiveness and for mercy, for those who partake of it duly."

13 And God sent a bright fire over the offering of Adam and Eve, and filled it with brightness, grace, and light; and the Holy Ghost came down on that offering.

14 Then God commanded an angel to take fire tongs, like a spoon, and with it to take an offering and

bring it to Adam and Eve. And the angel did so, as God had commanded him, and offered it to them.

15 And the souls of Adam and Eve were brightened, and their hearts were filled with joy and gladness and with the praises of God.

16 And God said to Adam, "This shall be to you a custom, to do so, when affliction and sorrow come over you. But your deliverance and your entrance in to the garden, shall not be until the days are fulfilled as agreed between you and Me; were it not so, I would, of My mercy and pity for you, bring you back to My garden and to My favor for the sake of the offering you have just made to My name."

17 Adam rejoiced at these words which he heard from God; and he and Eve worshipped before the altar, to which they bowed, and then went back to the Cave of Treasures.

18 And this took place at the end of the twelfth day after the eightieth day, from the time Adam and Eve came out of the garden.

19 And they stood up the whole night praying until morning; and then went out of the cave.

20 Then Adam said to Eve, with joy of heart, because of the offering they had made to God, and that had been accepted of Him, "Let us do this three times every week, on the fourth day Wednesday, on the preparation day Friday, and on the Sabbath Sunday, all the days of our life."

21 And as they agreed to these words between themselves, God was pleased with their thoughts, and with the resolution they had

each taken with the other.

22 After this, came the Word of God to Adam, and said, "O Adam, you have determined beforehand the days in which sufferings shall come over Me, when I am made flesh; for they are the fourth Wednesday, and the preparation day Friday.

23 But as to the first day, I created in it all things, and I raised the heavens. And, again, through My rising again on this day, will I create joy, and raise them on high, who believe in Me; O Adam, offer this offering, all the days of your life."

24 Then God withdrew His Word from Adam.

25 But Adam continued to offer this offering thus, every week three times, until the end of seven weeks. And on the first day, which is the fiftieth, Adam made an offering as he was accustomed, and he and Eve took it and came to the altar before God, as He had taught them.

CHAPTER LXIX

Twelfth apparition of Satan to Adam and Eve, while Adam was praying over the offering on the altar; when Satan beat him.

1 Then Satan, the hater of all good, envious of Adam and of his offering through which he found favor with God, hastened and took a sharp stone from among the sharp iron stones; appeared in the form of a man, and went and stood by Adam and Eve.

2 Adam was then offering on the altar, and had begun to pray, with his hands spread before God.

3 Then Satan hastened with the

sharp iron stone he had with him, and with it pierced Adam on the right side, from which flowed blood and water, then Adam fell on the altar like a corpse. And Satan fled.

4 Then Eve came, and took Adam and placed him below the altar. And there she stayed, crying over him; while a stream of blood flowed from Adam's side over his offering.

5 But God looked at the death of Adam. He then sent His Word, and raised him up and said to him, "Fulfil your offering, for indeed, Adam, it is worth much, and there is no shortcoming in it."

6 God said further to Adam, "Thus will it also happen to Me, on the earth, when I shall be pierced and blood and water shall flow from My side and run over My body, which is the true offering; and which shall be offered on the altar as a perfect offering."

7 Then God commanded Adam to finish his offering, and when he had ended it he worshipped before God, and praised Him for the signs He had showed him.

8 And God healed Adam in one day, which is the end of the seven weeks; and that is the fiftieth day.

9 Then Adam and Eve returned from the mountain, and went into the Cave of Treasures, as they were used to do. This completed for Adam and Eve, one hundred and forty days since their coming out of the garden.

10 Then they both stood up that night and prayed to God. And when it was morning, they went out, and went down westward of the cave, to the place where their

corn was, and there rested under the shadow of a tree, as they were accustomed.

11 But when there a multitude of beasts came all around them. It was Satan's doing, in his wickedness; in order to wage war against Adam through marriage.

CHAPTER LXX

Thirteenth apparition of Satan, to trick Adam into marrying Eve.

1 After this Satan, the hater of all good, took the form of an angel, and with him two others, so that they looked like the three angels who had brought to Adam gold, incense, and myrrh.

2 They passed before Adam and Eve while they were under the tree, and greeted Adam and Eve with fair words that were full of deceit.

3 But when Adam and Eve saw their pleasant expression, and heard their sweet speech, Adam rose, welcomed them, and brought them to Eve, and they remained all together; Adam's heart the while, being glad because he thought concerning them, that they were the same angels, who had brought him gold, incense, and myrrh.

4 Because, when they came to Adam the first time, there came over him from them, peace and joy, through their bringing him good tokens; so Adam thought that they had come a second time to give him other tokens for him to rejoice therewith. For he did not know it was Satan; therefore he received them with joy and consoorted with them.

5 Then Satan, the tallest of them, said, "Rejoice, O Adam, and be

glad. Look, God has sent us to you to tell you something."

6 And Adam said, "What is it?" Then Satan answered, "It is a simple thing, yet it is the Word of God, will you accept it from us and do it? But if you will not accept it, we will return to God, and tell Him that you would not receive His Word."

7 And Satan said again to Adam, "Don't be afraid and don't tremble; don't you know us?"

8 But Adam said, "I do not know you."

9 Then Satan said to him, "I am the angel that brought you gold, and took it to the cave; this other angel is the one that brought you incense; and that third angel, is the one who brought you myrrh when you were on top of the mountain, and who carried you to the cave."

10 But as to the other angels our fellows, who bare you to the cave, God has not sent them with us this time; for He said to us, 'You will be enough'."

11 So when Adam heard these words he believed them, and said to these angels, "Speak the Word of God, that I may receive it."

12 And Satan said to him, "Swear, and promise me that you will receive it."

13 Then Adam said, "I do not know how to swear and promise."

14 And Satan said to him, "Hold out your hand, and put it inside my hand."

15 Then Adam held out his hand, and put it into Satan's hand; when Satan said to him, "Say, now — So true as God is living, rational, and speaking, who raised the stars in

heaven, and established the dry ground on the waters, and has created me out of the four elements*, and out of the dust of the earth — I will not break my promise, nor renounce my word."

16 And Adam swore thus.

17 Then Satan said to him, "Look, it is now some time since you came out of the garden, and you know neither wickedness nor evil. But now God says to you, to take Eve who came out of your side, and to marry her so that she will bear you children, to comfort you, and to drive from you trouble and sorrow; now this thing is not difficult, neither is there any scandal in it to you. * See the previous footnote in chapter XXXIV regarding the 'four elements'."

CHAPTER LXXI

Adam is troubled by the thought of marrying Eve.

1 But when Adam heard these words from Satan, he sorrowed much, because of his oath and of his promise, and said, "Shall I commit adultery with my flesh and my bones, and shall I sin against myself, for God to destroy me, and to blot me out from off the face of the earth?"

2 Since, when at first, I ate of the tree, He drove me out of the garden into this strange land, and deprived me of my bright nature, and brought death over me. If, then, I should do this, He will cut off my life from the earth, and He will cast me into hell, and will plague me there a long time.

3 But God never spoke the words that you have said; and you are not God's angels, and you weren't

sent from Him. But you are devils that have come to me under the false appearance of angels. Away from me; you cursed of God!"

4 Then those devils fled from before Adam. And he and Eve got up, and returned to the Cave of Treasures, and went into it.

5 Then Adam said to Eve, "If you saw what I did, don't tell anyone; for I sinned against God in swearing by His great name, and I have placed my hand another time into that of Satan." Eve, then, held her peace, as Adam told her.

6 Then Adam got up, and spread his hands before God, beseeching and entreating Him with tears, to forgive him what he had done. And Adam remained thus standing and praying forty days and forty nights. He neither ate nor drank until he dropped down on the ground from hunger and thirst.

7 Then God sent His Word to Adam, who raised him up from where he lay, and said to him, "O Adam, why have you sworn by My name, and why have you made agreement with Satan another time?"

8 But Adam cried, and said, "O God, forgive me, for I did this unwittingly; believing they were God's angels."

9 And God forgave Adam, saying to him, "Beware of Satan."

10 And He withdrew His Word from Adam.

11 Then Adam's heart was comforted; and he took Eve, and they went out of the cave, to prepare some food for their bodies.

12 But from that day Adam struggled in his mind about his marrying Eve; afraid that if he was to do it, God would be angry with him.

13 Then Adam and Eve went to the river of water, and sat on the bank, as people do when they enjoy themselves.

14 But Satan was jealous of them; and planned to destroy them.

CHAPTER LXXII

Adam's heart is set on fire. Satan appears as beautiful maidens.

1 Then Satan, and ten from his hosts, transformed themselves into maidens, unlike any others in the whole world for grace.

2 They came up out of the river in presence of Adam and Eve, and they said among themselves, "Come, we will look at the faces of Adam and Eve, who are of the men on earth. How beautiful they are, and how different is their look from our own faces." Then they came to Adam and Eve, and greeted them; and stood wondering at them.

3 Adam and Eve looked at them also, and wondered at their beauty, and said, "Is there, then, under us, another world, with such beautiful creatures as these in it?"

4 And those maidens said to Adam and Eve, "Yes, indeed, we are an abundant creation."

5 Then Adam said to them, "But how do you multiply?"

6 And they answered him, "We have husbands who have married us, and we bear them children, who grow up, and who in their turn marry and are married, and also bear children; and thus we increase. And if so be, O Adam, you will not believe us, we will show you our husbands and our children."

7 Then they shouted over the riv-

er as if to call their husbands and their children, who came up from the river, men and children; and every man came to his wife, his children being with him.

8 But when Adam and Eve saw them, they stood dumb, and wondered at them.

9 Then they said to Adam and Eve, "See all our husbands and our children? You should marry Eve, as we have married our husbands, so that you will have children as we have." This was a device of Satan to deceive Adam.

10 Satan also thought within himself, "God at first commanded Adam concerning the fruit of the tree, saying to him, 'Eat not of it; else of death you shall die.' But Adam ate of it, and yet God did not kill him; He only decreed on him death, and plagues and trials, until the day he shall come out of his body.

11 Now, then, if I deceive him to do this thing, and to marry Eve without God's permission, God will kill him then."

12 Therefore Satan worked this apparition before Adam and Eve; because he sought to kill him, and to make him disappear from off the face of the earth.

13 Meanwhile the fire of sin came over Adam, and he thought of committing sin. But he restrained himself, fearing that if he followed this advice of Satan, God would put him to death.

14 Then Adam and Eve got up, and prayed to God, while Satan and his hosts went down into the river, in presence of Adam and Eve; to let them see that they were going back to their own world.

15 Then Adam and Eve went back to the Cave of Treasures, as they usually did; about evening time.

16 And they both got up and prayed to God that night. Adam remained standing in prayer, yet not knowing how to pray, by reason of the thoughts in his heart regarding his marrying Eve; and he continued so until morning.

17 And when light came up, Adam said to Eve, "Get up, let us go below the mountain, where they brought us gold, and let us ask the Lord concerning this matter."

18 Then Eve said, "What is that matter, O Adam?"

19 And he answered her, "That I may request the Lord to inform me about marrying you; for I will not do it without His permission or else He will make us perish, you and me. For those devils have set my heart on fire, with thoughts of what they showed us, in their sinful apparitions.

20 Then Eve said to Adam, "Why need we go below the mountain? Let us rather stand up and pray in our cave to God, to let us know whether this counsel is good or not."

21 Then Adam rose up in prayer and said, "O God, you know that we transgressed against you, and from the moment we transgressed, we were stripped of our bright nature; and our body became brutish, requiring food and drink; and with animal desires.

22 Command us, O God, not to give way to them without Your permission, for fear that You will turn us into nothing. Because if you do not give us permission, we shall be overpowered, and follow

that advice of Satan; and You will again make us perish.

23 If not, then take our souls from us; let us be rid of this animal lust. And if You give us no order respecting this thing, then sever Eve from me, and me from her; and place us each far away from the other.

24 Then again, O God, if You separate us from each other, the devils will deceive us with their apparitions that resemble us, and destroy our hearts, and defile our thoughts towards each other. Yet if it is not each of us towards the other, it will, at all events, be through their appearance when the devils come to us in our likeness." Here Adam ended his prayer.

CHAPTER LXXIII

The marriage of Adam and Eve.

1 Then God considered the words of Adam that they were true, and that he could long await His order, respecting the counsel of Satan.

2 And God approved Adam in what he had thought concerning this, and in the prayer he had offered in His presence; and the Word of God came to Adam and said to him, "O Adam, if only you had had this caution at first, before you came out of the garden into this land!"

3 After that, God sent His angel who had brought gold, and the angel who had brought incense, and the angel who had brought myrrh to Adam, that they should inform him respecting his marriage to Eve.

4 Then those angels said to Adam, "Take the gold and give it to Eve as

a wedding gift, and promise to marry her; then give her some incense and myrrh as a present; and be you, you and she, one flesh."

5 Adam obeyed the angels, and took the gold and put it into Eve's bosom in her garment; and promised to marry her with his hand.

6 Then the angels commanded Adam and Eve to get up and pray forty days and forty nights; when that was done, then Adam was to have sexual intercourse with his wife; for then this would be an act pure and undefiled; so that he would have children who would multiply, and replenish the face of the earth.

7 Then both Adam and Eve received the words of the angels; and the angels departed from them.

8 Then Adam and Eve began to fast and pray, until the end of the forty days; and then they had sexual intercourse, as the angels had told them. And from the time Adam left the garden until he wedded Eve, were two hundred and twenty-three days, that is seven months and thirteen days.

9 Thus was Satan's war with Adam defeated.

CHAPTER LXXIV

The birth of Cain and Luluwa. Why they received those names.

1 And they lived on the earth working in order to keep their bodies in good health; and they continued so until the nine months of Eve's pregnancy were over, and the time drew near when she must give birth.

2 Then she said to Adam, "The signs placed in this cave since we

left the garden indicate that this is a pure place and we will be praying in it again some time. It is not appropriate then, that I should give birth in it. Let us instead go to the sheltering rock cave that was formed by the command of God when Satan threw a big rock down on us in an attempt to kill us with it.

3 Adam then took Eve to that cave. When the time came for her to give birth, she strained a lot. Adam felt sorry, and he was very worried about her because she was close to death and the words of God to her were being fulfilled: "In suffering shall you bear a child, and in sorrow shall you bring forth a child."

4 But when Adam saw the distress in which Eve was, he got up and prayed to God, and said, "O Lord, look at me with the eye of Your mercy, and bring her out of her distress."

5 And God looked at His maid-servant Eve, and delivered her, and she gave birth to her first-born son, and with him a daughter.

6 The Adam rejoiced at Eve's deliverance, and also over the children she had borne him. And Adam ministered to Eve in the cave, until the end of eight days; when they named the son Cain, and the daughter Luluwa.

7 The meaning of Cain is "hater," because he hated his sister in their mother's womb; before they came out of it. Therefore Adam named him Cain.

8 But Luluwa means "beautiful," because she was more beautiful than her mother.

9 Then Adam and Eve waited until

Cain and his sister were forty days old, when Adam said to Eve, "We will make an offering and offer it up in behalf of the children."

10 And Eve said, "We will make one offering for the first-born son and then later we shall make one for the daughter."

CHAPTER LXXV

The family revisits the Cave of Treasures. Birth of Abel and Akliia.

1 Then Adam prepared an offering, and he and Eve offered it up for their children, and brought it to the altar they had built at first.

2 And Adam offered up the offering, and asked God to accept his offering.

3 Then God accepted Adam's offering, and sent a light from heaven that shown on the offering. Adam and his son drew near to the offering, but Eve and the daughter did not approach it.

4 Adam and his son were joyful as they came down from on the altar. Adam and Eve waited until the daughter was eighty days old, then Adam prepared an offering and took it to Eve and to the children. They went to the altar, where Adam offered it up, as he was accustomed, asking the Lord to accept his offering.

5 And the Lord accepted the offering of Adam and Eve. Then Adam, Eve, and the children, drew near together, and came down from the mountain, rejoicing.

6 But they returned not to the cave in which they were born; but came to the Cave of Treasures, in order that the children should go around in it, and be blessed with the tokens brought from the gar-

den.

7 But after they had been blessed with these tokens, they went back to the cave in which they were born.

8 However, before Eve had offered up the offering, Adam had taken her, and had gone with her to the river of water, in which they threw themselves at first; and there they washed themselves. Adam washed his body and Eve hers also clean, after the suffering and distress that had come over them.

9 But Adam and Eve, after washing themselves in the river of water, returned every night to the Cave of Treasures, where they prayed and were blessed; and then went back to their cave, where their children were born.

10 Adam and Eve did this until the children had been weaned. After they were weaned, Adam made an offering for the souls of his children in addition to the three times every week he made an offering for them.

11 When the children were weaned, Eve again conceived, and when her pregnancy came to term, she gave birth to another son and daughter. They named the son Abel and the daughter Aklia.

12 Then at the end of forty days, Adam made an offering for the son, and at the end of eighty days he made another offering for the daughter, and treated them, as he had previously treated Cain and his sister Luluwa.

13 He brought them to the Cave of Treasures, where they received a blessing, and then returned to the cave where they were born. After these children were born, Eve

stopped having children.

CHAPTER LXXVI

Cain becomes jealous of Abel because of his sisters.

1 And the children began to grow stronger and taller; but Cain was hard-hearted, and ruled over his younger brother.

2 Often when his father made an offering, Cain would remain behind and not go with them, to offer up.

3 But, as to Abel, he had a meek heart, and was obedient to his father and mother. He frequently moved them to make an offering, because he loved it. He prayed and fasted a lot.

4 Then came this sign to Abel. As he was coming into the Cave of Treasures, and saw the golden rods, the incense and the myrrh, he asked his parents, Adam and Eve, to tell him about them and asked, "Where did you get these from?"

5 Then Adam told him all that had befallen them. And Abel felt deeply about what his father told him.

6 Furthermore his father, Adam, told him of the works of God, and of the garden. After hearing that, Abel remained behind after his father left and stayed the whole of that night in the Cave of Treasures.

7 And that night, while he was praying, Satan appeared to him under the figure of a man, who said to him, "You have frequently moved your father into making offerings, fasting and praying, therefore I will kill you, and make you perish from this world."

8 But as for Abel, he prayed to

God, and drove away Satan from him; and did not believe the words of the devil. Then when it was day, an angel of God appeared to him, who said to him, "Do not cut short either fasting, prayer, or offering up an offering to your God. For, look, the Lord had accepted your prayer. Be not afraid of the figure which appeared to you in the night, and who cursed you to death." And the angel departed from him.

9 Then when it was day, Abel came to Adam and Eve, and told them of the vision he had seen. When they heard it, they grieved much over it, but said nothing to him about it; they only comforted him.

10 But as to the hard-hearted Cain, Satan came to him by night, showed himself and said to him, "Since Adam and Eve love your brother Abel so much more than they love you, they wish to join him in marriage to your beautiful sister because they love him. However, they wish to join you in marriage to his ugly sister, because they hate you.

11 Now before they do that, I am telling you that you should kill your brother. That way your sister will be left for you, and his sister will be cast away."

12 And Satan departed from him. But the devil remained behind in Cain's heart, and frequently aspired to kill his brother.

CHAPTER LXXVII

Cain, 15 years old, and Abel 12 years old, grow apart.

1 But when Adam saw that the older brother hated the younger,

he endeavored to soften their hearts, and said to Cain, "O my son, take of the fruits of your sowing and make an offering to God, so that He might forgive you for your wickedness and sin."

2 He said also to Abel, "Take some of your sowing and make an offering and bring it to God, so that He might forgive you for your wickedness and sin."

3 Then Abel obeyed his father's voice, took some of his sowing, and made a good offering, and said to his father, Adam, "Come with me and show me how to offer it up."

4 And they went, Adam and Eve with him, and they showed him how to offer up his gift on the altar. Then after that, they stood up and prayed that God would accept Abel's offering.

5 Then God looked at Abel and accepted his offering. And God was more pleased with Abel than with his offering, because of his good heart and pure body. There was no trace of guile in him.

6 Then they came down from the altar, and went to the cave in which they lived. But Abel, by reason of his joy at having made his offering, repeated it three times a week, after the example of his father Adam.

7 But as to Cain, he did not want to make an offering, but after his father became very angry, he offered up a gift once. He took the smallest of his sheep for an offering and when he offered it up, his eyes were on the lamb.

8 Therefore God did not accept his offering, because his heart was full of murderous thoughts.

9 And they all thus lived together in the cave in which Eve had brought forth, until Cain was fifteen years old, and Abel twelve years old.

CHAPTER LXXVIII

Jealousy overcomes Cain. He makes trouble in the family. How the first murder was planned.

1 Then Adam said to Eve, "Behold the children are grown up; we must think of finding wives for them."

2 Then Eve answered, "How can we do it?"

3 Then Adam said to her, "We will join Abel's sister in marriage to Cain, and Cain's sister to Abel."

4 The said Eve to Adam, "I do not like Cain because he is hard-hearted; but let them stay with us until we offer up to the Lord in their behalf."

5 And Adam said no more.

6 Meanwhile Satan came to Cain in the figure of a man of the field, and said to him, "Behold Adam and Eve have taken counsel together about the marriage of you two; and they have agreed to marry Abel's sister to you, and your sister to him."

7 But if it was not that I love you, I would not have told you this thing. Yet if you will take my advice, and obey me, I will bring to you on your wedding day beautiful robes, gold and silver in plenty, and my relations will attend you."

8 Then Cain said with joy, "Where are your relations?"

9 And Satan answered, "My relations are in a garden in the north, where I once meant to bring your father Adam; but he would not accept my offer."

10 But you, if you will receive my words and if you will come to me after your wedding, you shall rest from the misery in which you are; and you shall rest and be better off than your father Adam."

11 At these words of Satan Cain opened his ears, and leaned towards his speech.

12 And he did not remain in the field, but he went to Eve, his mother, and beat her, and cursed her, and said to her, "Why are you planning to take my sister to wed her to my brother? Am I dead?"

13 His mother, however, quieted him, and sent him to the field where he had been.

14 Then when Adam came, she told him of what Cain had done.

15 But Adam grieved and held his peace, and said not a word.

16 Then on the next morning Adam said to Cain his son, "Take of your sheep, young and good, and offer them up to your God; and I will speak to your brother, to make to his God an offering of corn."

17 They both obeyed their father Adam, and they took their offerings, and offered them up on the mountain by the altar.

18 But Cain behaved haughtily towards his brother, and shoved him from the altar, and would not let him offer up his gift on the altar; but he offered his own on it, with a proud heart, full of guile, and fraud.

19 But as for Abel, he set up stones that were near at hand, and on that, he offered up his gift with a heart humble and free from guile.

20 Cain was then standing by the

altar on which he had offered up his gift; and he cried to God to accept his offering; but God did not accept it from him; neither did a divine fire come down to consume his offering.

21 But he remained standing over against the altar, out of humor and meanness, looking towards his brother Abel, to see if God would accept his offering or not.

22 And Abel prayed to God to accept his offering. Then a divine fire came down and consumed his offering. And God smelled the sweet savor of his offering; because Abel loved Him and rejoiced in Him.

23 And because God was well pleased with him, He sent him an angel of light in the figure of a man who had partaken of his offering, because He had smelled the sweet savor of his offering, and they comforted Abel and strengthened his heart.

24 But Cain was looking on all that took place at his brother's offering, and was angry because of it.

25 Then he opened his mouth and blasphemed God, because He had not accepted his offering.

26 But God said to Cain, "Why do you look sad? Be righteous, that I may accept your offering. Not against Me have you murmured, but against yourself.

27 And God said this to Cain in rebuke, and because He abhorred him and his offering.

28 And Cain came down from the altar, his color changed and with a sad face, and came to his father and mother and told them all that had befallen him. And Adam

grieved much because God had not accepted Cain's offering.

29 But Abel came down rejoicing, and with a gladsome heart, and told his father and mother how God had accepted his offering. And they rejoiced at it and kissed his face.

30 And Abel said to his father, "Because Cain shoved me from the altar, and would not allow me to offer my gift on it, I made an altar for myself and offered my gift on it."

31 But when Adam heard this he was very sorry, because it was the altar he had built at first, and on which he had offered his own gifts.

32 As to Cain, he was so resentful and so angry that he went into the field, where Satan came to him and said to him, "Since your brother Abel has taken refuge with your father Adam, because you shoved him from the altar, they have kissed his face, and they rejoice over him, far more than over you."

33 When Cain heard these words of Satan, he was filled with rage; and he let no one know. But he was laying wait to kill his brother, until he brought him into the cave, and then said to him: —

34 "O brother, the country is so beautiful, and there are such beautiful and pleasurable trees in it, and charming to look at! But brother, you have never been one day in the field to take your pleasure in that place.

35 Today, O, my brother, I very much wish you would come with me into the field, to enjoy yourself and to bless our fields and our flocks, for you are righteous, and I

love you much, O my brother! But you have alienated yourself from me."

36 Then Abel consented to go with his brother Cain into the field.

37 But before going out, Cain said to Abel, "Wait for me, until I fetch a staff, because of wild beasts."

38 Then Abel stood waiting in his innocence. But Cain, the forward, fetched a staff and went out.

39 And they began, Cain and his brother Abel, to walk in the way; Cain talking to him, and comforting him, to make him forget everything.

CHAPTER LXXIX

A wicked plan is carried to a tragic conclusion. Cain is frightened. "Am I my brother's keeper?" The seven punishments. Peace is shattered.

1 And so they went on, until they came to a lonely place, where there were no sheep; then Abel said to Cain, "Behold, my brother, we are tired from walking; for we see none of the trees, nor of the fruits, nor of the flourishing green plants, nor of the sheep, nor any one of the things of which you told me. Where are those sheep of thine you told me to bless?"

2 Then Cain said to him, "Come on, and you shall see many beautiful things very soon, but go before me, until I catch up to you."

3 Then went Abel forward, but Cain remained behind him.

4 And Abel was walking in his innocence, without guile; not believing his brother would kill him.

5 Then Cain, when he came up to him, comforted him with his talk, walking a little behind him; then

he ran up to him and beat him with the staff, blow after blow, until he was stunned.

6 But when Abel fell down on the ground, seeing that his brother meant to kill him, he said to Cain, "O, my brother, have pity on me. By the breasts we have sucked, don't hit me! By the womb that bore us and that brought us into the world, don't beat me to death with that staff! If you will kill me, take one of these large stones and kill me outright."

7 Then Cain, the hard-hearted, and cruel murderer, took a large stone, and beat his brother's head with it, until his brains oozed out, and he wallowed in his blood, before him.

8 And Cain repented not of what he had done.

9 But the earth, when the blood of righteous Abel fell on it, trembled, as it drank his blood, and would have destroyed Cain because of it.

10 And the blood of Abel cried mysteriously to God, to avenge him of his murderer.

11 Then Cain began at once to dig the ground wherein to lay his brother; for he was trembling from the fear that came over him, when he saw the earth tremble on his account.

12 He then cast his brother into the pit he made, and covered him with dust. But the ground would not receive him; but it threw him up at once.

13 Again Cain dug the ground and hid his brother in it; but again the ground threw him up on itself; until three times the ground thus threw up on itself the body of Abel.

14 The muddy ground threw him up the first time, because he was not the first creation; and it threw him up the second time and would not receive him, because he was righteous and good, and was killed without a cause; and the ground threw him up the third time and would not receive him, that there might remain before his brother a witness against him.

15 And so the earth mocked Cain, until the Word of God, came to him concerning his brother.

16 Then was God angry, and much displeased at Abel's death; and He thundered from heaven, and lightnings went before Him, and the Word of the Lord God came from heaven to Cain, and said to him, "Where is Abel your brother?"

17 Then Cain answered with a proud heart and a gruff voice, "How, O God? Am I my brother's keeper?"

18 Then God said to Cain, "Cursed be the earth that has drunk the blood of Abel your brother; and as for you, you will always be trembling and shaking; and this will be a mark on you so that whoever finds you, will kill you."

19 But Cain cried because God had said those words to him; and Cain said to Him, "O God, whosoever finds me shall kill me, and I shall be blotted out from the face of the earth."

20 Then God said to Cain, "Whoever finds you will not kill you;" because before this, God had been saying to Cain, "I shall put seven punishments on anyone that kills Cain." For as to the word of God to Cain, "Where is your brother?" God said it in mercy for him, to try

and make him repent.

21 For if Cain had repented at that time, and had said, "O God, forgive me my sin, and the murder of my brother," God would then have forgiven him his sin.

22 And as to God saying to Cain, "Cursed be the ground that has drunk the blood of your brother" That also, was God's mercy on Cain. For God did not curse him, but He cursed the ground; although it was not the ground that had killed Abel, and committed a wicked sin.

23 For it was fitting that the curse should fall on the murderer; yet in mercy did God so manage His thoughts as that no one should know it, and turn away from Cain.

24 And He said to him, "Where is your brother?" To which he answered and said, "I know not." Then the Creator said to him, "Be trembling and quaking."

25 Then Cain trembled and became terrified; and through this sign did God make him an example before all the creation, as the murderer of his brother. Also did God bring trembling and terror over him, that he might see the peace in which he was at first, and see also the trembling and terror he endured at the last; so that he might humble himself before God, and repent of his sin, and seek the peace that he enjoyed at first.

26 And in the word of God that said, "I will put seven punishments on anyone who kills Cain," God was not seeking to kill Cain with the sword, but He sought to make him die of fasting, and praying and crying by hard rule, until the time that he was delivered

from his sin.

27 And the seven punishments are the seven generations during which God awaited Cain for the murder of his brother.

28 But as to Cain, ever since he had killed his brother, he could find no rest in any place; but went back to Adam and Eve, trembling, terrified, and defiled with blood. .

. .

THE BOOK OF GIANTS

THE WATCHERS, NEPHILIM, AND THE BOOK OF ENOCH



The Book of Giants
The Watchers, Nephilim, and The Book of
Enoch

Joseph Lumpkin

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Introduction

The discovery of the first Dead Sea Scrolls in a remote Judean Desert cave in 1947 is considered one of the greatest archaeological events of the twentieth century.

East of the city of Jerusalem, the mountainous landscape plummets 1200 meters to the lowest point on earth. This is the Dead Sea. Many biblical stories are set in the caves and hills of the region. Here, King David fled from King Saul and hid in the desert's mountain caves. Here Jesus struggled with the devil, resisting temptation. Here, the community of Qumran hid their most valuable treasures, scrolls of ancient wisdom and religious insight.

For thousands of years the Judean Desert held secrets buried by the Jews of Qumarn, a group most scholars refer to as the Qumran Community. Much of this community was made up of the Essenes. This strict sect of Judaism used the caves to protect their literary treasures, which were scrolls hidden in sealed jars, placed deep within the caves perched high in the area of the Dead Sea. These scrolls, and their secrets, were revealed by a young Bedouin shepherd one day in 1947.

Prompted by the loss of one of his sheep, a shepherd of the Ta'amireh tribe left his flock to search for the stray. While searching, he found an opening in the steep hillside. Curious, as many young men are, he tossed a stone into the cave. The rock answered with the sound of pots breaking and he was compelled to investigate. He had stumbled on the greatest find of the century, the Dead Sea Scrolls.

In the caves were a number of pots. The majority of the pots were empty, begging the question, had vandals and thieves been there first, stealing much of the precious treasure. Some of the jars were still intact, with lids sealed in place. He opened the seals to reveal the ancient scrolls. They were wrapped in linen and blackened with age. No rubies, no diamond, no gold. Just a bunch of old scrolls turning to dust before his eyes.

He was not impressed. Wondering if he could trade them for anything of value, he and several companions brought the scrolls to Kando, a Bethlehem antiquities

dealer, for appraisal. Kando seemed to recognize the age and value of the find, so he sent the Bedouins back to the caves in search of more treasures. They returned with a total of seven scrolls. The boys had no idea of the value of their find and so the Bedouin sold four of the seven scrolls to Kando and three to a second antiquities dealer named Salahi. Kando in turn resold the four scrolls to Archbishop Samuel, head of the Syrian Orthodox Monastery of St. Mark in Jerusalem.

Soon after the announcement of the find, Bedouin treasure hunters and archaeologists descended on the site and the surrounding caves. Ultimately they would find hundreds of ancient scrolls and fragments, including the oldest existing copies of the Hebrew Bible. The scrolls ranged in dates from the third century BCE (mid–Second Temple period) to the first century of the Common Era, before the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE. The scrolls provide an unprecedented picture of the diverse religious beliefs of ancient Judaism, and of daily life during the Second Temple period when Jesus lived and preached. While Hebrew is the most frequently used language in the Scrolls, about 15% were written in Aramaic and several in Greek. The Scrolls' materials are made up mainly of parchment, although some are papyrus, and the text of one Scroll is engraved on copper. A quarter of these non-biblical manuscripts are sectarian, and reflect the life and philosophy of a specific community. These core texts consist of eschatological biblical commentaries, apocalyptic texts, liturgical works, and regulations or rules that govern community life.

In the early days of Scrolls research, scholars attributed all of the Qumran scrolls to the Essene community. In recent years however, this consensus has been challenged and modified, though many scholars still maintain a link between the Essenes and the Dead Sea Scrolls.

In that time, the Essenes were one of the three basic sects of Judaism. Jewish sects described in ancient sources were the Pharisee, the Sadducee, and the Essene sect. It is thought the majority of the scrolls were written and hidden by the Essenes.

One of the many discoveries from the caves of Qumran is a scroll given the name, "The Book of Giants." It is thought to have been based on the Book of Enoch, a pseudepigraphical Jewish work from the 3rd century BCE, which was based on Genesis 6:1-4. The Book of Giants, like the Book of Enoch, concerns itself with the Nephilim, which, in the Enoch version, are the offspring of fallen angels, who are called the Watchers.

The angels saw the beauty of the daughters of men. They broke their allegiance to heaven, descended to Earth, and married the women, and thus fathered giants. The book attempts to fill in the details about the giants and their offspring that the Book of Enoch is lacking. Indeed, there has been a theory put forth that the Book of Giants was actually part of the Book of Enoch at one time. The text relates how some giants, named Ohya, Hahya and Mahway, sons of the fallen angels, were compelled to dream. In these dreams they foresaw the Biblical Deluge, and their own demise. There is dialog concerning the futility of fighting God or his angels, even though they could conquer any human alive. Seeing their coming fate they seek to enlist the help of Enoch.

The mention of Enoch and the storyline referencing the patriarch places The Book of Giants firmly in the list of "Enochian" texts, along with 1 Enoch, 2 Enoch, and 3 Enoch, also known as The Ethiopic Book of Enoch, The Slavonic Secrets of Enoch, and The Hebrew Book of Enoch respectively.

In the Qumran version of the Book of Giants there is a brief mention of one of the giants, "Ohya", whose name is found in the Babylonian Talmud (Nidah, Ch 9), where it is said Sihon and Og, mentioned in the Book of Numbers, were brothers, as they were the sons of Ohia (Ohya) the son of Samhazai, one of the leaders of the fallen angels in the Book of Enoch.

Samhazai is the same as Samyaza, also Semihazah, Shemyazaz, Shemyaza, Sêmîazâz, Semjâzâ, Samjâzâ, Semyaza, and Shemhazai. He is a fallen angel of apocryphal Jewish and Christian tradition that ranked in the heavenly hierarchy as one of the Grigori (meaning "Watchers" in Greek). The name "Shemyaza(z)" means 'infamous rebellion', the combination of 'shem' (meaning 'name' or 'fame' [whether positive or negative]) and 'azaz' (which means 'rebellion' or 'arrogance' as a negative particle). This name occurs in the Enochian literature.

We meet the Grigori in several books, some of which are considered apocryphal and some pseudepigrapha (texts written by someone unknown but attributed to authors of prominence, such as 2 Enoch). In the book of 2 Enoch we read:

Chapter 18

1 The men took me on to the fifth heaven and placed me, and there I saw many and countless soldiers, called Grigori, of human appearance, and their size (was) greater than that of great giants and their faces withered, and the silence of their mouths perpetual, and there was no service on the fifth heaven, and I said to the men who were with me: (See 2 Enoch 1:7)

(Note: The Greek transliteration egegoroi is the source of the term Grigori. The egegoroi are the Watchers; a group of fallen angels who mated with mortal women and produced the Nephilim mentioned in the books of Jubilees, 1 Enoch, and Genesis 6:4.)

2 Why are they so very withered and their faces melancholy, and their mouths silent, and why is there no service in this heaven?

3 And they said to me: These are the Grigori, who with their prince Satanail (Satan) rejected the Lord of Light. After them are those who are held in great darkness in the second heaven, and three of them went down on to earth from the Lord's throne, to the place Ermon (Mount Hermon), and broke through their vows on the shoulder of the hill Ermon and saw the daughters of men how good they are, and took to themselves wives, and fouled the earth with their deeds, who broke the law and mixing (with the women), giants are born and amazingly large men with great hatred.

(Note: The Hill of Ermon could be Mount Hermon, which is mentioned over a dozen times in the Bible.

4 And therefore God judged them with great judgment, and they weep for their brethren and they will be punished on the Lord's great day.

5 And I said to the Grigori: I saw your brethren and their works, and their great torments, and I prayed for them, but the Lord has condemned them to be under earth until this heaven and this earth shall end for ever.

6 And I said: Why do you stand there, brethren, and do not serve before the Lord's face, and have not put your services before the Lord's face? You could anger your Lord completely.

7 And they listened to my advice, and spoke to the four ranks in heaven. As I stood with those two men four trumpets sounded together with a loud voice, and the Grigori broke into song with one voice, and their voice went up before the Lord pitifully and touchingly.

A central theme in the Book of Giants is the fact that the giants were the offspring of the Watchers and human women. This theme has varied somewhat between various copies of the Book of Giants.

As it turns out, there are several versions of the Book of Giants. One version of the Book of Giants was spread by the Manichaean religion. The book became widely read and now exists in Syriac, Greek, Persian, Sogdian, Uyghur, and Arabic. Each version is somewhat different from that of the Qumran text, incorporating in each version local myths and legends and the various beliefs of the religions which had adapted the story for their own purpose.

Mani, the founder of the Manichaean religion needed to alter the story in order to fit it into his system. He taught a dualistic system of good and evil. The heavenly

origin of the sons of God of Genesis, The Book of Giants, or the Book of Enoch did not fit into Mani's conviction that evil could not come from good. Thus the angels, who were called the Sons of God, were presented as demons and evil entities. This kept the separation between good and evil taught in his religion.

Manichaeism taught a dualistic cosmology describing the struggle between a good, spiritual world of light, and an evil, material world of darkness. These forces were distinct, separate, and always at odds. The forces of good and evil are at war. They battle throughout human history. The world becomes darker as light is gradually removed from the world of matter and returned to its place of origin, the world of light. Mani's beliefs were based on Mesopotamian Gnosticism and other religious movements.

There are numerous similarities between Mani's Book of Giants and the stories of the giants related in the Enoch literature and in the Book of Jubilees. Both Enoch and Jubilees are part of the Ethiopic Christian canon. Mani's borrowed liberally from earlier Jewish traditions in his religious movement, adapting them as need. This idea was upheld by the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947. J. T. Milik discovered roughly six to ten extremely poorly preserved manuscripts of an Aramaic Book of Giants, apparently the document used by Mani as the basis for his scriptural work. Their dates fall roughly across the first century B.C.E., so presumably the book was composed before this, although how long before remains open to question.

The Aramaic version found at Qumran also describes the Sumerian hero Gilgamesh and the monster Humbaba. The Qumran text was in such poor condition and so fragmented that clear reconstruction was impossible. Pieces of the texts are missing and at times so difficult to reconstruct that the order of certain fragments are unclear, thus the order of certain verses in the texts are "best guess". Scholars have poured over the small fragments, comparing them to other versions in an attempt to determine the proper flow. However, versions vary so widely that there are places, for example in the Manichaean version, that have no analog to the Aramaic version. Even with part of the text missing, the Book of Giants gives us information on how the ancients thought about fallen angels, the Watchers, the Nephilim, and the patriarch Enoch. Certainly, the Book of Giants can be used to augment and expand on the story given to us in the Book of Enoch.

The Aramaic Book of Giants draws on ancient Near Eastern myths and the Manichean version draws on Iranian myths. Two of the evil giants in the Aramaic version are named Gilgamesh and Hobabis. Gilgamesh is an epic figure in

Sumerian and Akkadian literature, best known from the Epic of Gilgamesh, a work whose importance in ancient Mesopotamia was comparable to that of the Homeric epics in ancient Greece. Gilgamesh was said to be the king of Uruk. Uruk was an ancient city of Sumer and later Babylonia, situated east of the present bed of the Euphrates River, some 30 km east of modern As-Samawah, Al-Muthannā, in modern day Iraq. It is thought Gilgamesh lived sometime between 2800 and 2500 BC. The latest and most comprehensive telling of the Gilgamesh legend was the twelve-tablet Standard Babylonian Version, compiled circa 1200 BC by the priest Šîn-lēqi-unninni.

If one views the map that follows, it is easy to see how an ancient poem of the King of Sumer could have influenced the religion of Mani, a Babylonian, since Babylonia is modern-day Iraq. Likewise, it is easy to see how the actual name of Gilgamesh and the legends of his great strength recounted in the epic could have been used in a text found along the Dead Sea, since Iraq is in the region. Indeed, the path of transmission follows the area of agriculture in ancient times.



According to the Epic, Gilgamesh, a mortal demigod, meets Utnapishtim, the Babylonian version of Noah and the only man to survive the Flood. Utnapishtim was made immortal by the gods. In the Manichaean version, the giant Hobabiš, who is also called Humbaba, takes someone's wife. The giants fall out among themselves and begin killing one another, as well as other creatures.

The giants, Gilgamesh and Hobabis, of the "Book of Giants" appear to be the same as Gilgamesh and Humbaba/Huwawa of the "Gilgamesh Epic." In another version, Atanbush is mentioned and seems to be the same as Utnapishtim, the immortal. Since there are lost passages in the Aramaic Book of Giants he may have made an appearance there also.

Milik has translated and published an edition of some of the Aramaic fragments of the Book of Giants, which tells of the angels Šemihaza and Aza'el making a bet with God that if they were to descend from heaven to earth they would be able to resist the urge to sin. However, soon they could not restrain themselves from becoming sexually involved with the women they found to be so beautiful. As this kind of relationship tends to loosen the jaws of men and angels, they found themselves revealing secrets reserved for heavenly beings and restricted from humankind. Šemihaza (Samyaza) begets sons named Heyya and Aheyya. Heyya and Aheyya each have dreams foretelling their destruction. The angel Metatron (another name for the deified Enoch after his ascension to heaven) sends them a warning of the coming Flood.

Both dreams predict the coming of the Flood and the destructions of all human beings except Noah and his three sons. The giants, who are the sons of the angels, are killed in the Flood. Šemihazah repents and suspends himself upside down between heaven and earth. Aza'el refuses to repent and becomes a demon who entices men to corrupt deeds and who bears the sins of Israel on the “Day of Atonement” (cf. Lev 16:7-10).

Although there are parallels with the Book of Enoch, we must ask whether the Book of Giants is a Jewish work. Certainly, the discovery of the Aramaic version in the caves of Qumran points to the fact that the Essene community, a sect of Judaism, viewed that version as Jewish. The dates of the Aramaic manuscripts rule out the possibility of it being a Christian composition. However, the text contains Babylonian mythic material. This would seem to suggest the Jews borrowed from a polytheistic myth in a type of cross-pollination of mythic tales. The story does place the borrowed ideas into the proper light for Jewish literature. The Babylonian mythic figures are cast in an evil light and staged as wicked giants.

Since some have speculated that the Book of Giants was either part of or an expansion of the Book of Enoch, also called, 1 Enoch, we will examine the Book of Giants alone and also within the text of the Book of Enoch. There is a strong connection with the Book of Enoch, in a section called, “The Book of the Watchers” (1 Enoch 1-36). The reader is strongly advised to read Enoch, and especially that section, before reading the Book of Giants. The story will make much better sense if you do. Because of the need for this clarification the Book of Enoch will be included in the volume.

There have been many attempts to reconstruct the sequence and content of the Aramaic Book of Giants. There are instances where the various sequences of events are unclear. I generally follow Stuckenbruck's sequence of events. Since the text is so fragmented and at times not fully comprehensible, it is best to first present an overall flow or meaning of the storyline. We will now explore the story presented in the Book of Giants.

***2**

The Aramaic Version of the Book of Giants

(Following is synopsis of the storyline of the Book of Giants, the Aramaic version.)

The fallen angels, also called the Watchers, lusted after and mated with human women, who gave birth to their offspring called the Nephilim. The Nephilim were monstrous and bloodthirsty giants. They killed and consumed the animals, plants, cattle, and humans of the earth. Having experienced sex for the first time, they not only consumed the creatures they found, but according to one version they sexually abused them as well. These events were reported to Enoch.

Enoch exulted God and praised him for his glory, power, and for his creation.

Several giants, including Hobabis (Humbaba), Mahaway, and perhaps the Watcher Baraq'el, discussed killing humans.

The giants had dreams predicting a great flood in which they would perish. The first dream was of a stone writing-tablet submerged in water. In this dream most names on the tablet were washed away but three names remained. One version of the dream was of an angel defacing the tablet as a symbol of the destruction brought about on Earth. In defacing the tables, three names could not be erased, symbolizing the floods destruction with only three men remaining alive on Earth. There was also a second a dream which referred to a garden being destroyed. After the destruction three plant shoots or trees were left in a garden. In the second dream an angel descended and cut down all but three shoots in a garden. The text may be interpreted as three young trees or three plant shoots. (The three shoots and names represent the three sons of Noah).

The Giants met, counseled with one another, and decided to ask for help. Mahaway consulted Enoch the first time.

The giants Ohyah and Mahaway had a conversation in which Mahaway told Ohyah something he heard while in the presence of his father, the Watcher Baraq'el. Ohyah responded that he too had heard of the "four marvels". He compared it to the stages of childbirth.

(Baraq'el or Baraqiel was the 9th Watcher of the 20 leaders of the 200 fallen angels that are mentioned in an ancient work called the Book of Enoch. There were 200 Watchers who descended. They were grouped like soldiers with a leader for each team of ten. There were 20 leaders for the total of 200 Watchers. The name Baraq'el means "lightning of God", which is fitting since it has been said that Baraq'el taught men astrology during the days of Jared or Yered.)

Gilgamesh, one of the giants, proclaimed that despite his great strength and courage, and his ability to kill any human, he had been unable to prevail in a war against a number of heavenly beings (archangels). He lamented that he had no hope of surviving a full on battle with them.

Ohyah said he was made to dream a very disturbing dream. As it turned out, the giants were having nightmares and visions. Gilgamesh also had a dream and was told to recount it.

Ohyah spoke to his brother Hahyah about the Watcher, Azazel. Azazel was one of the Watchers, and father to some of the giants. God condemned Azazel. The giants realize there was no escape and they must die for their terrible deeds. Ohyah had not dared to sleep due to a vision that disturbs him so deeply it frightened him into being afraid to sleep. In the assembly of the giants they discussed their great fear of being killed and how their coming corporeal death in the Flood would strip their bodies from their spirits and reduce them to evil spirits.

The Watchers were imprisoned. They told the giants they could not win the coming battle. The giants would be defeated.

Mahaway and the two tablets were discussed. The second tablet was a letter from Enoch to the Watcher Šemihazah (Samyaza) and his fellow watchers. They were rebuked for their sins and for producing the giants. Their actions were labeled "corrupt" and had come to the attention of the archangel Raphael. They were told they would be destroyed. Raphael told them to release their hostages and to pray.

Ohyah relayed a message from Gilgamesh and Hobabish, which involved the cursing of "the princes". This cheered the giants. (We assume the princes are the angels, and the Watchers' curses had no affect on them.)

Two giants, Ohyah and Hahyah, had dreams. Hahyah described his dream in the assembly of the giants. He dreamed of gardeners watering a garden, which produced great shoots or trees. But the garden was destroyed in a deluge of water and fire. The other giants were unable to interpret his dream. Hahyah proposed that they consult Enoch for an interpretation. Then his brother, Ohyah told of his dream, in which God descended to the earth. Thrones were set up, and God sat on His throne in the midst of angels. God judged based on what was written in certain books. The giants asked Mahaway to go to Enoch, whom he had encountered before, to ask him to interpret the dreams.

Mahaway took wing and flew across the "Great Desert." Enoch saw him and called out to him. Mahaway referred to this encounter as his second visit. Mahaway asked Enoch to interpret the dreams. Enoch listened to the accounts of the dreams and foretold the violent deaths of a number of Watchers and Giants (Nephilim). Although the Watchers and Giants asked for forgiveness and peace, Enoch told them God had declared there will be "no peace to you."

Enoch blessed and praised God.

The Aramaic version was thought to belong in the Book of Enoch at one time. We will attempt to place it back into the Book of Enoch in some reasonable order and reconstruct the text.

Following is a reconstructed text. The order of some fragments is not certain and may not follow the preceding outline.

Translation of the Aramaic Version found the caves of Qumran.

Unreadable or missing portions of the text are signified by ... within the text. The symbol [...] signifies a phrase or portion thereof.

Book of Giants -- Reconstructed Texts

The wicked angels descend, bringing both knowledge and havoc.

1Q23 Frag. 9 + 14 + 15 [...] they knew the secrets of [...] ... sin was great in the earth [...] [...] and they killed many [...] [...] they begat giants [...]

4Q531 Frag. 3 [...] everything that the earth produced [...] [...] the great fish [...] [...] the sky with all that grew [...] [...] fruit of the earth and all kinds of grain and all the trees [...] [...] beasts and reptiles ... all creeping things of the earth and they observed all [...] [...] every harsh deed and [...] [...] utterance [...] [...] male and female, and among humans [...]

1Q23 Frag. 1 + 6 [...] two hundred donkeys, two hundred asses, two hundred . . . rams of the flock, two hundred goats, two hundred . . . beast of the field from every animal, from every bird [...] [...] for miscegenation (inbreeding of people considered to be of different races) [...]

4Q531 Frag. 2 [...] they defiled [...] [...] they begot] giants and monsters [. . .] [...] they begot, and, behold, all [the earth was corrupted . . .] [...] with its blood and by the hand of [...] giant's which did not satisfy them and [...] [. . .] and they were seeking to devour many [...] [...] the monsters attacked it.

4Q532 Col. 2 Frags. 1 - 6 [...] flesh [...] All . . . monsters [...] will be [...] [...] they would arise [...] lacking in true knowledge [...] because [...] [...] the earth [grew corrupt . . .] mighty [...] [...] they were considering [...] [...] from the angels upon [...] [...] in the end it will perish and die [...] [...] they caused great corruption in the [earth . . .] [...] this did not suffice to [. . .] "they will be [...]

2Q26 [. . .] they drenched the tablet in the water [. . .] [. . .] the waters went up over the [tablet . . .] [. . .] they lifted out the tablet from the water of [. . .]

4Q530 Frag.7 [. . .] this vision] is for cursing and sorrow. I am the one who confessed [. . .] the whole group of the castaways that I shall go to [. . .] [. . . the spirits of the slain complaining about their killers and crying out [. . .] that we shall die together and be made an end of [. . .] much and I will be sleeping, and bread [. . .] for my dwelling; the vision and also [. . .] entered into the gathering of the giants [. . .]

6Q8 [. . .] Ohya and he said to Mahway [. . .] [. . .] without trembling. Who showed you all this vision, my brother? [. . .] Barakel, my father, was with me. [. . .] Before Mahway had finished telling [what he had seen . . .] [. . . said] to him, Now I have heard wonders! If a barren woman gives birth [. . .]

4Q530 Frag. 4 [There]upon Ohya said to Hahya . . .] [. . . to be destroyed] from upon the earth and [. . .] [. . .]the earth. When [. . .] they wept before [the giants . . .]

4Q530 Frag. 7 [. . .] your strength [. . .] [. . .] After that, Ohya said to Hahya [. . .] Then he answered, It is not for us, but for Azaiel, for he did [. . . the children of] angels are the giants, and they would not let all their proved ones] be neglected [. . . we have] not been cast down; you have strength [. . .]

4Q531 Frag. 1 [. . .] I am a giant, and by the mighty strength of my arm and my own great strength [. . .] any one mortal, and I have made war against them; but I am not [. . .] able to stand against them, for my opponents [. . .] reside in Heaven, and they dwell in the holy places. And not [. . . they] are stronger than I. [. . .] of the wild beast has come, and the wild man they call me. [. . .] Then Ohya said to him, I have been forced to have a dream [. . .] the sleep of my eyes vanished, to let me see a vision. Now I know that on [. . .] [. . .] Gilgamesh [. . .]

6Q8 Frag. 2 three of its roots [. . .] while I was [watching,] there came [. . . they moved the roots into] this garden, all of them, and not [. . .]

4Q530 Col. 2 concerns the death of our souls [. . .] and all his comrades, and Ohya told them what Gilgamesh said to him [. . .] and it was said [. . .]

"concerning [. . .] the leader has cursed the potentates" and the giants were glad at his words. Then he turned and left [. . .]

(So much of the Aramaic version is missing in this area of the text that to reconstruct the flow we have used the Manichean version to supplement.)

Thereupon two of them had dreams and the sleep of their eye, fled from them, and they arose and came to [. . . and told] their dreams, and said in the assembly of [their comrades] the monsters [. . . In] my dream I was watching this very night [and there was a garden . . .] gardeners and they were watering [. . . two hundred trees and] large shoots came out of their root [. . .] all the water, and the fire burned all [the garden . . .] They found the giants to tell them [the dream . . .]

[. . . to Enoch] the noted scribe, and he will interpret for us the dream. Thereupon his fellow Ohya declared and said to the giants, I too had a dream this night, O giants, and, behold, the Ruler of Heaven came down to earth [. . .] and such is the end of the dream. [Thereupon] all the giants [and monsters! grew afraid and called Mahway. He came to them and the giants pleaded with him and sent him to Enoch, the noted scribe. They said to him, Go [. . .] to you that [. . .] you have heard his voice. And he said to him, He will [. . . and] interpret the dreams [. . .] how long the giants have to live. [. . .]

[. . . he mounted up in the air] like strong winds, and flew with his hands like eagles . . . he left behind] the inhabited world and passed over Desolation, the great desert [. . .] and Enoch saw him and hailed him, and Mahway said to him [. . .] hither and thither a second time to Mahway [. . .] The giants await your words, and all the monsters of the earth. If [. . .] has been carried [. . .] from the days of [. . .] their [. . .] and they will be added [. . .] [. . .] we would know from you their meaning [. . .] [. . .] two hundred trees that from heaven [came down . . .]

One version adds:

.. " . . for the closed door of the sun will open, the sun's light and heat will descend and set your wings alight. You will burn and die," said he. Having heard these words, I beat my wings and quickly flew down from the air. I looked back: Dawn had . . . , with the light of the sun it had come to rise over the Kōgmān mountains. And again a voice came from above. Bringing the command of Enoch, the apostle, it said: "I call you, Vir ō gd ā d (Baraq'el), . . . I know . . . his direction . . . you . . . you . . . Now quickly . . . people . . . also . . .

(This ends the Manichean addition.)

4Q530 Frag. 2 The scribe [Enoch . . .] [. . .] a copy of the second tablet that [Enoch sent . . .] in the very handwriting of Enoch the noted scribe [. . . In the name of God the great] and holy one, to Shemihaza and all [his companions . . .] let it be known to you that not [. . .] and the things you have done, and that your wives [. . .] they and their sons and the wives of [their sons . . .] by your licentiousness on the earth, and there has been upon you [. . . and the land is crying out] and complaining about you and the deeds of your children [. . .] the harm that you have done to it. [. . .] until Raphael arrives, behold, destruction [is coming, a great flood, and it will destroy all living things] and whatever is in the deserts and the seas. And the meaning of the matter [. . .] upon you for evil. But now, loosen the bonds binding you to evil [. . .] and pray.

4Q531 Frag. 7 [. . . great fear] seized me and I fell on my face; I heard his voice [. . .] [. . .] he dwelt among human beings but he did not learn from them [. . .]

This ends the Aramaic Version.

***3**

The Manichean Version of the Book of Giants

Fragments of and allusions to the Manichean version of the Book of Giants have been recovered in medieval manuscripts in various languages, including Middle Persian, Sogdian, Uygur, Coptic, Parthian, and Latin. The following is a summary of the surviving fragments and allusions, which has been placed in a sequence, which reveals a logical story line. There could be other possible sequences of the fragmented verses.

Some of the Manichean versions adapted the story of the giants to fit Iranian mythology. Skjaervø discusses these adaptations at length. Three of the most striking adjustments have to do with the names of major characters. Sahm is the name of an immortal dragon slayer in later Iranian epic. His name is given to the giant Ohyah. Ohyah's brother, Hahyah, is given the name Nariman, who in Iranian epic is a figure closely connected to Sahm; either identified with him or presented as one of his close relatives. The name of the father of the giant Mahaway, the demon "Virogdad," means "given by lightning" in Persian, a loose translation of "Baraq'el," which is Hebrew for "lightning of God." The Watcher Baraq'el seems to be the father of Mahaway in the Aramaic version of the Book of Giants.

Following is a synopsis of the storyline of the Manichean version of the Book of Giants.

The two hundred demons descended to earth.

The watchers forsook their duties and descended to Earth because of the beauty of the human women. Some thought they could resist the allure, but they could not.

They begin having sex with the women. The demons revealed forbidden arts and spiritual mysteries. Some shared their power to seduce the women. In doing these things the Watchers brought ruin on the earth.

The descent from their estate and revealing to humans their secrets of power angered the angels and God.

Enoch warned that the coming of the two hundred demons (Watchers) will lead only to "hurting speech" and "hard labor."

Watchers subjugated the human race, killing hundreds of thousands of the righteous in battle, forcibly marrying beautiful women, and enslaving the nations. The Watchers "veil" which seems to mean they hid themselves among humans to keep the angles sent from God from finding them.

The righteous endured burning and Enoch is mentioned.

The Watcher, Šamizad (Šemihaza), begat two giant sons, Sahm (Ohyah) and Pat-Sam (Ahyah/Hahyah). The other demons and Yaksas begat the rest of the giants. These are the Nephilim.

(Versions of the Book of the Giants were influenced by local traditions. The names of Ohya as Sahm were introduced via myths pertaining to that Iranian hero; this explains the "immortality" of Sahm. The name of the country of Aryan-Vezan = Airyana Vaejah and the change of the mountain to "Kgmin mountains" substituting for "Mount Hermon" reflect changes due to influence by local myths, names, landscape and terrain.)

The giants grew up and brought destruction and ruin upon the earth and the human race. The lamentation of humanity reached up to heaven.

The God, Yima, accepted the prayers and worship of mankind as they begged him for help.

The giants boasted that Sahm and his brother would live and rule forever because their power and strength were unequalled among men. (This is a possible parallel to the Aramaic version of Gilgamesh.)

The giant Hobabiš (Humbaba) robbed another of his wife. The giants argued among themselves and began killing one another and other creatures. Sahm and his brother were mentioned. Sahm had a dream in which a tablet was thrown in water. The Tablet contained three signs, portending woe, battle, and destruction. Nariman had a dream about a garden full of trees in rows. He saw two hundred trees.

A list of proverbs was recited. Nariman reported what he saw in the dream. In the dream some were weeping and lamenting and many others were sinful rulers.

The giant Mahaway, son of Virogdad (Baraq'el), wanted to seek out Enoch. As he flew he heard a voice as the sun began to rise warning him. The heavenly voice told him that if he had flown too high the sun would set his wings on fire. The voice told him he must descend. The voice guided him to Enoch, who hails him and meets him. (This seems to be an adaptation of the Icarus myth). He lands and the voice leads him to. As he approached Enoch hailed him.

The dream was recounted to Enoch who interpreted the dream, indicating that the trees represent the "Eggoroi" (Greek for "Watchers," and the same as the Grigori). He also mentioned the giants who were born of women. The trees are pulled up.

Mahaway was ordered not to run away but to bring the message written on two stone tablets, showing it first to Nariman. He brought them to share the contents of one tablet with the giants, however the content pertained to the demons. Šamizad told him to read the writing to Enoch (or have Enoch read it).

Enoch delivered a message of judgment to the demons and their children, telling them that they will "have no peace" and that they will see the destruction of their children (the giants). He stated the giants ruled for one hundred twenty years. Enoch predicted an era of earthly fertility and birth after the Flood.

Sahm exhorted the other giants to cheer up and eat but they were too sorrowful to eat and instead they fell asleep. Mahaway went to Atanbush (Utnapistim) (this is probably another name for Enoch) and told him everything. When Mahaway returned, Sahm had a dream in which he ascended to heaven. He saw the water of the earth consumed with heat. A demon came out of the water. Some beings (the protecting spirits?) were invisible but he saw the heavenly rulers.

Here, the text is not clear. Sahm, Šamizad, and Mahaway had a conversation. Mahaway mentioned his father, Virogdad (Baraq'el). There are references to weapons and blessings on someone who witnessed something not intended for them to see but he escaped with his life. Sahm and Mahaway searched for something.

Assurance was given to Mahaway that he will be protected from Sahm but nevertheless Sahm and Mahaway argued and began to fight. Keep in mind, these

appear to be brothers.

The wicked demons were glad to see the "apostle" (Enoch). They gathered before him, begging for mercy and promising to reform their ways. They hoped for him to intervene.

Enoch warned the demons that they would be placed in fire and taken to face eternal damnation. The demons believed they would never lose their power but they did not know their power would not matter. He also addressed their "sinful misbegotten sons" (the giants) and described how the righteous will fly over the fire of damnation and gloat over the souls inside it.

The demons, took some heavenly helpers hostage. As a result the angels descended from heaven, terrifying the two hundred demons, who took human form and hide among human beings. This was called "veiling".

The angels separated out the human beings and posted a watch over them. The angels seized the giants from the demons, and led "them" (the children of the giants) to safety in thirty-two distant towns prepared for them by the "Living Spirit" at Aryan Wezan (the traditional homeland of the Indo-Iranians) in the vicinity of the sacred Mount Sumeru and other mountains. These people originated the arts and crafts.

The two hundred demons fought a massive and fiery battle with the four angels. Two-hundred demons were the 200 Watchers of fallen angles of the Aramaic version.

Atanbush battled, accompanied by Watchers and giants, and three of the giants were killed. An angel and other beings were also killed.

Ohyah and Ahyah resolved to keep their promise to do battle, and they boast of their power and strength.

God commanded four angels to bind the Egregoroi with everlasting chains in a dark prison and the angels annihilated their children.

Even before the rebellion of the Egregoroi, this prison had been built for them under the mountains. In addition, thirty-six towns had been prepared for the habitation of the wicked and long-lived sons of the giants before they were even born.

Ohyah (or Ahyah), the primordial monster Leviathan, and the archangel Raphael engaged in a great battle, "and they vanished."

Author's note: According to one tradition, Ohyah survived the Flood and fought this battle after the flood. There is a myth of a Watcher named Og surviving the flood. This attempts to answer the question as to where giants such as Goliath came from. According to the legend, Noah had mercy on Og, who was found clinging to the ark after the waters had risen and set the ark afloat. Og clung to the door of the ark until the waters receded. During the flood Noah fed the giant. After the flood was over Og went his own way.

In another legend Og was so tall the waters only covered his feet. Another legend has him going to Palestine, where there was no flood.

The Jewish Encyclopedia states:

—Biblical Data:

Amorite king of Bashan, who reigned in Ashtaroth and was conquered by Moses and Israel in the battle of Edrei (Num. xxi. 33), sixty fortified cities, with high walls, gates, and bars, comprising the region of Argob, being taken and given to the children of Machir, son of Manasseh (Deut. iii. 13; Josh. xiii. 31). Og was one of the giants of the remnant of the Rephaim. His iron bedstead in Rabbath, the capital of Ammon, is described as having been nine cubits in length and four cubits in breadth (Deut. iii. 11).

—In Rabbinical Literature:

Og was not destroyed at the time of the Flood (Niddah 61a), for, according to one legend, the waters reached only to his ankles (Midr. Pe ṭ irat Mosheh, i. 128, in Jellinek, "B. H." ii.). Another tradition states that he fled to Palestine, where there was no flood (Rashi to Niddah, ad loc.); while, according to a third legend, he sat on a rung of the ladder outside the ark, and, after he had sworn to be a slave to Noah and his children, received his food each day through a hole made in the side of the ark (Pir ḳ e R. El. ch. xxiii.). Og was known also as "Ha-Pali ṭ " (see Gen. xiv. 13).

It was Og who brought the news to Abraham of the captivity of Lot. This he did, however, with an evil motive, for he thought that Abraham would seek to release Lot and would be killed in battle with the great kings, and that he, Og, would be able to marry the beautiful Sarah (Gen. R. xlii. 12). A long lease of life was granted him as a reward for informing Abraham, but because of his sinister

motive he was destined to be killed by the descendants of Abraham. Og was present at the banquet which Abraham gave on the day Isaac was weaned (comp. Gen. xxi. 8). As Og had always declared that Abraham would beget no children, the guests teasingly asked him what he had to say now that Abraham had begotten Isaac, whereupon Og answered that Isaac was no true descendant since he could kill Isaac with one finger. It was in punishment for this remark, one legend declares, that he was condemned to live to see a hundred thousand descendants of Abraham and to be killed in battle against them. (Gen. R. liii. 14). When Jacob went to Pharaoh and blessed him (Gen. xlvii. 7), Og was present, and the king said to him: "The grandson of Abraham, who, according to thy words, was to have no descendants, is now here with seventy of them." As Og cast an evil eye upon the children of Israel, God foretold that he would fall into their hands (Deut. R. i. 22).

Death of Og.

During the battle of Edrei (Num. xxi. 33) Og sat on the city wall, his legs, which were eighteen ells long, reaching down to the ground; Moses did not know what monster he had before him until God told him that it was Og. Og hurled an entire mountain against the Israelites, but Moses intercepted it (Deut. R. l.c.). According to another legend, Og uprooted a mountain three miles long, intending to destroy all Israel at once by hurling it upon their camp, which was also three miles in length; but while he was carrying it upon his head a swarm of locusts burrowed through it, so that it fell round his neck. When he attempted to throw off this unwieldy necklace long teeth grew from both sides of his mouth and kept the mountain in place. Thereupon Moses, who was himself ten ells tall, took an ax of equal length, jumped upward ten ells, so that he could reach Og's ankles, and thus killed him (Ber. 54b).

Shabbat (151b) and 'Erubin (48a) also indicate that Og was regarded as an unusually large giant. A legend says that a grave-digger pursued a stag three miles inside of one of Og's bones without reaching the other end (Niddah 24b).

The Manichean version states that three thousand, two hundred and eighty years passed between the time of Enoch and the time of King Vishtasp, who ruled at the time of the prophet Zoroaster, who, along with Buddha and Christ, was an apostle who came before the final apostle Mani. This draws a connection from Enoch to the great prophets, and then to Mani, and places Mani on their same spiritual level.

Fragments of the Book of Giants were written in Kawan, which is a Middle-Persia Language.

The fragments were so small and broken it has proved impossible, so far, to re-establish the original order of the pages. In the text below some of the order is uncertain. Unreadable or missing portions of the text are signified by ... within the text.

The Manichean Version of the Book of Giants

... hard ... arrow ... bow, he that ... S ā m said: "Blessed be ... had he seen this, he would not have died." Then Shahm ī z ā d said to S ā m, his son: "All that M ā hawai ..., is spoilt." Thereupon he said to ... "We are ... until ... and ... that are in the fiery hell ... As my father, Vir ō gd ā d, was ..." Shahm ī z ā d said: "It is true what he says. He says one of thousands. For one of thousands ...". S ā m thereupon began ... M ā hawai, too, in many places ... until to that place he might escape and ...

... Vir ō gd ā d ... H ō b ā b ī š robbed Ahr ... of his wife. Thereupon the giants began to kill each other and to abduct their wives. The creatures, too, began to kill each other. S ā m ... before the sun, one hand in the air, the other ... whatever he obtained, to his brother ... imprisoned ... over To the angels ... from heaven. to ... threw (or: was thrown) into the water. Finally ... in his sleep saw three signs, [one portending ...], one woe and flight, and one ... annihilation. Nar ī m ā n saw a garden full of trees in rows. Two hundred ... came out, the trees. ...

... Enoch, the apostle, ... gave a message to the demons and their children: To you ... not peace. The judgment on you is that you shall be bound for the sins you have committed. You shall see the destruction of your children. ruling for a hundred and twenty years ... wild ass, ibex ... ram, goat, gazelle, ... oryx, of each two hundred, a pair ... the other wild beasts, birds, and animals and their wine [shall be] six thousand jugs ... irritation of water ... and their oil shall be . . .

... father ... nuptials ... until the completion of his ... in fighting ... and in the nest Ohya and Ahya ... he said to his brother: "get up and ... we will take

what our father has ordered us to. The pledge we have given . . . battle." And the giants . . . together . . . "Not the . . . of the lion, but the . . . on his . . . Not the . . . of the rainbow, but the bow . . . firm. Not the sharpness of the blade, but the strength of the ox. Not the . . . eagle, but his wings. Not the . . . gold, but the brass that hammers it. Not the proud ruler, but the diadem on his head. Not the splendid cypress, but the . . . of the mountain . . .

. . . Not he that engages in quarrels, but he that is true in his speech. Not the evil fruit, but the poison in it. Not they that are placed in the skies but the God of all worlds. Not the servant is proud, but the lord that is above him. Not one that is sent . . ., but the man that sent him". Thereupon Nar ī m ā n . . . said . . . And in another place I saw those that were weeping for the ruin that had befallen them, and whose cries and laments rose up to heaven. And also I saw another place where there were tyrants and rulers . . . in great number, who had lived in sin and evil deeds, when . . .

. . . many . . . were killed, four hundred thousand Righteous . . . with fire, naphtha, and brimstone . . . And the angels veiled or: covered, or: protected, or: moved out of sight Enoch. Chose and extracted and listened . . . and ravished them. They chose beautiful women, and demanded . . . them in marriage. Sordid . . . all . . . carried off . . . severally they were subjected to tasks and services. And they . . . from each city . . . and were, ordered to serve the . . . The Mesenians were directed to prepare, the Kh ū z i a n s to sweep and water, the Persians to . . .

[On the Five Elements]

. . . slaying . . . righteous . . . good deeds . . . elements. The crown, the diadem, the garland, and the garment of Light. The seven demons. Like a blacksmith who binds or: shuts, fastens and looses or: opens, detaches . . . who from the seeds of . . . and serves the king . . . offends . . . when weeping . . . with mercy . . . hand . . . the Pious gave . . . presents. Some buried the idols. The Jews did good and evil. Some make their god half demon, half god . . . killing . . . the seven demons . . . eye . . .

. . . various colors that by . . . and bile. If . . . from the five elements. As if it were a means not to die, they fill themselves with food and drink. Their garment is . . . this corpse . . . and not firm . . . Its ground is not firm . . . Like . . . imprisoned in this corpse, in bones, nerves, flesh, veins, and skin, and entered herself [Ā z] into it. Then he(Man) cries out, over sun and moon, the Just God's

two flames ... over the elements, the trees and the animals. But God [Zrw ā n], in each epoch, sends apostles: Š ī t ī l, Zarathushtra, Buddha, Christ, ...

... evil-intentioned ... from where ... he came. The Misguided recognize the five elements, the five kinds of trees, the five kinds of animals.

... On the Hearers

... we receive ... from Mani, the Lord, ... the Five Commandments to ... the Three Seals ... living ... profession ... and wisdom ... moon. Rest from the power or: deceit ... own. And keep measured the mixture ... trees and wells, in two ... water, and fruit, milk, ... he should not offend his brother. The wise Hearer who like unto juniper leaves ...

... much profit. Like a farmer ... who sows seed ... in many ... The Hearer who ... knowledge, is like unto a man that threw the dish called fr ō šag into milk. It became hard, not ... The part that ruin ... at first heavy. Like ... first ... is honored ... might shine ... six days. The Hearer who gives alms to the Elect, is like unto a poor man that presents his daughter to the king; he reaches a position of great honor. In the body of the Elect the food given to him as alms is purified in the same manner as a ... that by fire and wind ... beautiful clothes on a clean body ... turn ...

... witness ... fruit ... tree ... like firewood ... like a grain ... radiance. The Hearer in the world, and the alms within the Church, are like unto a ship on the sea: the towing-line is in the hand of the tower on shore, the sailor is on board the ship. The sea is the world, the ship is the ... the ... is the alms, the tower is the ... , the towing-line is the Wisdom. ... The Hearer ... is like unto the branch of a fruitless tree ... fruitless ... and the Hearers ... fruit that ... pious deeds. The Elect, the Hearer, and Vahman, are like unto three brothers to whom some possessions were left by their father: a piece of land, ... , seed. They became partners ... they reap and ... The Hearer ... like ...

... an image of the king, cast of gold ... the king gave presents. The Hearer that copies a book, is like unto a sick man that gave his ... to a ... man. The Hearer that gives [his] daughter to the church, is like ... pledge, who father gave his son to ... learn ... to ... father, pledge ... Hearer. Again, the Hearer ... is like ... stumble ... is purified. To ... the soul from the Church, is like unto the wife of the soldier (of: Roman) who ... gave the infantry man, one shoe ... who,

however, with a denarius . . . was. The wind tore out one . . . he was abashed . . . from the ground . . . ground . . .

. . . sent . . . The Hearer that makes one . . ., is like unto [a compassionate mother] who had seven sons . . . the enemy killed all . . . The Hearer that . . . piety . . . a well. One on the shore of the sea, one in the boat. He that is on shore, tows him that is in the boat. He that is in the boat. . . sea. Upwards to . . . like . . . like a pearl . . . diadem . . .

. . . Church. Like unto a man that . . . fruit and flowers . . . then they praise . . . fruitful tree . . . Like unto a man that bought a piece of land. On that piece of land there was a well, and in that well a bag full of drachmas . . . the king was filled with wonder . . . share . . . pledge . . .

. . . numerous . . . Hearer. At . . . like unto a garment . . . like . . . to the master . . . like . . . and a blacksmith. The goldsmith . . . to honor, the blacksmith to . . . one to . . .

This ends the translation.

In the Manichean version the Watchers were demons. In other versions they are fallen angels. In most versions the children of the Watchers were demons. But even in the earlier versions there were Watchers that were considered so evil as to be Satan-like. Let us examine a few viewpoints of demons, devils, Watchers, and Giants.

1 En 14:8-11 - The Giants who were begotten by spirits and flesh, they will call them evil spirits on the earth These spirits rise up against the sons of men.

Jubilees 10:2-9 - The sons of Noah came to Noah their father, and they told him about the demons who were leading astray and blinding and slaying his sons' sons. He prayed before the Lord his God and said: "God of the spirits of all flesh. You know how your Watchers, the fathers of these spirits, acted in my day; as for these spirits which are living, imprison them too. The Lord our God bade us to bind all. But the chief of the spirits, Mastema (Hater / Enmity), came and said: "Lord, Creator, let some of them remain before me, and let them harken to my voice. If some of them are not left to me, I shall not be able to execute the power of my will on the sons of men. For great is the wickedness of the sons of men.' He said: "Let a tenth of them remain before him.

Clem. Hom. 8:18-19 - Since the souls of the deceased Giants were greater than human souls inasmuch as they also excelled their bodies, they, being a new race, were called also by a new name [i.e., demons]. A certain angel was sent to them by God, declaring to them His will, and saying: "These things seem good to the all-seeing God, that you lord it over no man; that you trouble no one, unless any one of his own accord subject himself to you, worshipping you, and sacrificing and pouring libations, and partaking of your table, or accomplishing anything else that they ought not, or shedding blood, or tasting dead flesh, or filling themselves with that which is torn of beasts, or that which is cut, or that which is strangled, or anything else that is unclean. Those who betake themselves to my law, you not only shall not touch. But if any of those who worship me go astray, either committing adultery, or practicing magic, or living impurely, or doing any other of the things which are not well-pleasing to me, then they will have to suffer something at your hands."

Azazel was so evil he was linked to the scapegoat mentioned in the Old Testament. Azazel, was one of the leaders of the wayward angels.

Lev 16:5-10 - Aaron shall cast lots on the two goats, one lot for the LORD and the other lot for Azazel. Aaron shall present the goat on which the lot fell for the LORD, and offer it as a sin offering; but the goat on which the lot fell for Azazel shall be presented alive before the LORD to make atonement over it, that it may be sent away into the wilderness to Azazel.

Irenaeus, Against Heresies 1.15.6 (2nd c.; ANF) - Marcus, you maker of idols and inspector of portents, experienced in astrology and magical skill, through these, you confirm the doctrines of error. You show signs to those lead astray by you, undertakings of apostate power, which your father Satan always orchestrates for you to do through the angelic power Azazel, making you the precursor of godlike villainy.

Rashi (1040-1105) was a medieval French rabbi and author of a comprehensive commentary on the Talmud and commentary on the Tanakh.. He stated: On Uzzah and Azael in b. Yoma 67b - Angels of Destruction who descended to earth in the days of Naamah, daughter of Tubal-Cain, and about them it is written: "The sons of God saw the daughters of the earth" (Gen 6:2); hence it is said that he [i.e., Azazel] atones for their prohibited sexual activity. [Cf. his euhemeristic exegesis of Gen 6:1-4]

Yerahmeel, 12th century Jewish historian, wrote: — Azael did not repent. Therefore, when the Israelites used to bring sacrifices on the Day of Atonement, they cast one lot for the Lord that it might atone for iniquities of the Israelites, and one lot for Azazel that he might bear the burden of Israel's iniquity. This is the Azazel that is mentioned in Scripture.

Yerahmeel - When the Generation of Enoch arose and practiced idolatry and when the Generation of the Flood arose and corrupted their actions, the Holy One Blessed be He was grieved that He created humankind, as it is said "And the Lord repented that He had made man, and He was grieved at heart" (Gen 6:6). Then there arose two angels, whose names were Shemhazai and Azael, and said before Him: "O Lord of the universe, did we not say to You when You created the world: 'Do not create man?' As it is said: 'What is man that you are mindful of him?' (Ps 8:5)" "Then what will become of the World," asked God. They replied, "We will occupy ourselves within it!" God said, "It is revealed and well known to Me that if you by chance happened to live in the earthly world, the evil inclination would sway you just as much as it rules over the sons of man, but you would be even more stubborn than they are!" [They said,] "Give us Your sanction, then, and let us descend among the creatures and then You will see just how we sanctify Your Name!" "Descend," said the Lord, "and dwell among them." Right away, He allowed the evil inclination to sway them. As soon as they descended and "saw the daughters of men that they were beautiful" (Gen 6:2) they began to cavort with them, as it is said: "When the sons of God saw the daughters of men" (Gen 6:2) they could not resist their inclination.

Now, we shall look at the Book of Enoch (1 Enoch) and how the Aramaic Book of Giants may fit into the text as a parallel or supplement to the text of Enoch. Before we get into the text of Enoch, let us examine its history and layout. Bible and apocryphal references have been used to provide more context and insight into the Book of Enoch and thus the Book of Giants.

***4**

History of the Book of Enoch

The Book of Enoch was once cherished by Jews and Christians alike. It is read in certain Coptic Christian Churches in Ethiopia. Three versions of the Book of Enoch exist today.

Most scholars date the Book of Enoch, also called 1 Enoch, to sometime during the second century B.C. We do not know what earlier oral tradition, if any, the book contains. Enoch was considered inspired and authentic by certain Jewish sects of the first century B.C. and remained popular for at least five hundred years. The earliest Ethiopian text was apparently derived from a Greek manuscript of the Book of Enoch, which itself was a copy of an earlier text. The original was apparently written in the Semitic language, now thought to be Aramaic.

The Book of Enoch (1 Enoch) was discovered in the 18th century. It was assumed to have been penned after beginning of the Christian era. This theory was based on the fact that it had quotes and paraphrases as well as concepts found in the New Testament. Thus, it was assumed that it was heavily influenced by writers such as Jude and Peter.

However, recent discoveries of copies of the book among the Dead Sea Scrolls found at Qumran prove the book was in existence before the time of Jesus Christ. These scrolls forced a closer look and reconsideration. It became obvious that the New Testament did not influence the Book of Enoch; on the contrary, the Book of Enoch influenced the New Testament. The date of the original writing upon which the second century B.C. Qumran copies were based is shrouded in obscurity. Likewise lost are the sources of the oral traditions that came to be the Book of Enoch. Slowly, over the past sixty years, we have unraveled some of the mystery.

It has been largely the opinion of historians that the book does not really contain the authentic words of the ancient Enoch, since he would have lived several thousand years earlier than the first known appearance of the book attributed to

him. However, the first century Christians accepted the Book of Enoch as inspired, if not authentic. They relied on it to understand the origin and purpose of many things, from angels to wind, sun, and stars. In fact, many of the key concepts used by Jesus Christ himself seem directly connected to terms and ideas in the Book of Enoch.

The theories regarding the authenticity of Enoch vary widely. Some believe Enoch is Midrash, that is an elaboration on a biblical story. In this case it is suggested that Enoch expands Genesis chapter 6.

Another, more controversial theory has Enoch predating the Genesis story. Like the Book of Enoch, Genesis seems to have several authors with stories intertwined. One of these authors is known simply as “P” owing to the fact he was thought to be a priest. If we compare the “P” contribution of Genesis to the Book of Enoch parallels leap out.

Enoch	P
Corrupt earth	Human way corrupt on the earth (Gen 6)
eating animals	eating animals (Gen 9)
bloodshed	bloodshed (Gen 9)
364-day year (12 months x 30 + 4)	30-day months (Gen 7) 365-day year (Gen 5)
Enoch goes to heaven	Enoch goes to heaven (Gen 5)

There are other connections. The name “Azazel” appears in Leviticus. The scapegoat is sent into the wilderness “to Azazel” and through the ceremony of laying on of hand by the priest and people the goat is sent away, bearing the sins of the people. This reference only makes sense if the writer believed that Azazel was responsible for all human sins and would bear the punishment for it, as the Book of Enoch declares.

In Genesis, it is Cain that bares sins into the wilderness. However, we will see that there are connections between the fallen angels and the descendant of Cain.

The problem with such a connection between Enoch and Genesis is that it does not point to the direction of the transmission. We now can be reasonably sure that Enoch and Genesis are connected, but we cannot be certain which came first. The best evidence we have for the undisputed authenticity of 1 Enoch is not the

connection to Genesis, but the faith Jesus and the apostles had in the Book of Enoch, demonstrated by various references and quotes.

It is hard to avoid the evidence that Jesus not only studied the book, but also respected it highly enough to allude to its doctrine and content. Enoch is replete with mentions of the coming kingdom and other holy themes. It was not only Jesus who used phrases or ideas from Enoch, there are over one hundred comments in the New Testament which find precedence in the Book of Enoch.

As we begin looking for connections between the words of or about Jesus and those of Enoch, we cannot look for exact matches. It is possible that what was originally spoken by these men was very close in wording or exact meaning, but after divergent paths of transmission and translations through various languages and cultures they arrive here in the 21st century with many alterations. Like the child's game of "telephone," exact wording has been somewhat altered. Let us look at general ideas within passages.

Jesus	Enoch
Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth. (Mat 5:5)	And all the elect shall rejoice, and there shall be forgiveness of sins, and mercy and peace and forbearance and joy. There shall be salvation for them, (like/and) a good light. (Enoch 5:7)
the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the son (John 5:22).	And he sat on the throne of his glory, and the sum of judgment was given to the Son of Man. (Enoch 69:27)
Matt. 19:16 Now a man came up to Jesus and asked, "Teacher, what good thing	...who is set over the repentance and those who hope to

must I do to get eternal life?" (Jesus said) And everyone who has left houses or brothers or sisters or father or mother or children or fields for my sake will receive a hundred times as much and will inherit eternal life.	inherit eternal life. (Enoch 40:9)
"Woe unto you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation. (Luke 6:24)	Woe to you, you rich, for you have trusted in your riches, and from your riches shall you depart, because you have not remembered the Most High in the days of your riches. (Enoch 94:8)
Ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. (Mat. 19:28)	And I will bring out in shining light those who have loved My holy name, and I will seat each on the throne of his honor (glory). (Enoch 108:12)
Woe unto that man through whom the Son of man is betrayed! It had been good for that man if he had not been born. (Mat. 26:24)	Where will there be the dwelling for sinners, and where the will there be a resting-place for those who have denied the Lord of spirits? It had been good for them if they had not been born. (Enoch 38:2)
between us and you there is a great gulf fixed. (Luke 16:26)	Then I asked, regarding all the hollow places (chasm): 'Why is one separated from the other?'

	9 And he answered me and said to me: 'These three have been made that the spirits of the dead might be separated. (Enoch 22: 9)
Luke 1:32 He will be great and will be called the Son of the Most High. The Lord God will give him the throne of his father David, 33and he will reign over the house of Jacob forever; his kingdom will never end." John 14:2 In my Father's house are many mansions	On that day My Elect One shall sit on the throne of glory and shall try the works of the righteous, and their places of rest shall be. (Enoch 45:3)
that ye may be called the children of light (John 12:36)	And now I will summon the spirits of the good who belong to the generation of light,... (Enoch 108:11)
the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life. (John 4:14)	And in that place I saw the spring of righteousness which was inexhaustible. And around it were many springs of wisdom. And all the thirsty drank of them, and were filled with wisdom, and their dwellings were with the righteous and holy and elect. (Enoch 48:1)

Other evidence of the early Christians' acceptance of the Book of Enoch was for many years buried under the King James Bible's mistranslation of Luke 9:35,

describing the transfiguration of Christ: "And there came a voice out of the cloud, saying, 'This is my beloved Son. Hear him.' " Apparently the translator here wished to make this verse agree with a similar verse in Matthew and Mark. But Luke's verse in the original Greek reads: "This is my Son, the Elect One (from the Greek *ho eklelegmenos*, lit., "the elect one"). Hear him."

The "Elect One" is a most significant term (found fourteen times) in the Book of Enoch. If the book was indeed known to the apostles of Christ, with its abundant descriptions of the Elect One who should "sit upon the throne of glory" and the Elect One who should "dwell in the midst of them;" then the great scriptural authenticity is justly accorded to the Book of Enoch when the "voice out of the cloud" tells the apostles, "This is my Son, the Elect One,"... the one promised in the Book of Enoch.

The Book of Jude tells us in Verse 14 that "Enoch, the seventh from Adam, prophesied." Jude also, in Verse 15, makes a direct reference to the Book of Enoch (2:1), where he writes, "to execute judgment on all, to convict all who are ungodly." As a matter of fact, it is a direct, word for word quote. Therefore, Jude's reference to the Enochian prophecies strongly leans toward the conclusion that these written prophecies were available to him at that time.

Fragments of ten manuscripts of Enoch were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. The number of scrolls indicate the Essenes (a Jewish commune or sect at the time of Christ) could well have used the Enochian writings as a community prayer book or teacher's manual and study text.

Many of the early church fathers also supported the Enochian writings. Justin Martyr ascribed all evil to demons whom he alleged to be the offspring of the angels who fell through lust for women; directly referencing the Enochian writings.

Athenagoras (170 A.D.), regarded Enoch as a true prophet. He describes the angels who "violated both their own nature and their office." In his writings, he goes into detail about the nature of fallen angels and the cause of their fall, which comes directly from the Enochian writings.

Irenaeus (A.D. 180) In his work "Against Heresies," spoke of Enoch, whose translation was a prophetic view of our future rapture: "For Enoch, when he pleased God, was translated in the same body in which he did please Him, thus pointing out by anticipation the translation of the just" (Against Heresies, bk. 5).

Since any book stands to be interpreted in many ways, Enoch posed problems for some theologians. Instead of reexamining their own theology, they sought to dispose of that which went counter to their beliefs. Some of the visions in Enoch are believed to point to the consummation of the age in conjunction with Christ's second coming which took place in A.D. 70 (in the destruction of Jerusalem). This being the case, it should not surprise us that Enoch was declared a fake and was rejected by Hilary, Jerome, and Augustine. Enoch was subsequently lost to Western Christendom for over a thousand years.

However, some view the book of Enoch as prophetic, not only as a time line, but being a picture into what is coming to all those who believe and are obedient to God.

"By faith Enoch was translated that he should not see death; and was not found, because God had translated him: for before his translation he had this testimony, that he pleased God" (Hebrews 11:5). Enoch experienced "rapture" in his time before the judgment of the Flood. What Enoch experienced is what some modern Christians believe is waiting for the church. 1 Thes. 4:15-17 promises that Jesus will descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel and the trumpet of God and the church will be taken up, or "raptured", to meet Him in the air. The Book of Enoch may inform and prepare us for coming events. Some believe there are prophecies contained in the Book of Enoch that are as applicable as those written in the books of Daniel and Revelation.

The prophecies within Enoch are presented in several ways. There is a list of weeks, much like those of Daniel. There are a list of animals and their actions toward each other. There is a list of generations defining a timeline.

Enoch's "seventy generations" was also a great problem. Many scholars thought it could not be made to stretch beyond the First Century. Copies of Enoch soon disappeared. Indeed, for almost two thousand years we knew only the references made to it in the Bible. Without having the book itself, we could not have known it was being quoted in the Bible, sometimes word for word by Peter and Jude.

"[...]the Lord, having saved a people out of the land of Egypt, afterward destroyed them that believed not. And angels that kept not their own principality, but left their proper habitation, he hath kept in everlasting bonds under darkness unto the judgment of the great day. Even as Sodom and Gomorrah, and the cities about them[...]in like manner[...]are set out as examples[...]" (Jude 5-7)

“For if God spared not the angels when they sinned, but cast them down into hell, and committed them to pits of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment.” (2 Peter 2.4)

To what extent other New Testament writers regarded Enoch as scriptural canon may be determined by comparing their writings with those found in Enoch. A strong possibility of influence upon their thought and choice of wording is evidenced by a great many references found in Enoch which remind one of passages found in the New Testament.

Enoch was also referenced in other writings, such as the Book of Jubilees, which is canon in the Ethiopic Christian Church, and the Book of Giant, in which one of the fallen angels is called by the name of Gilgamesh.

The Book of Enoch seems to be a missing link between Jewish and Christian theology and is considered by many to be more Christian in its theology than Jewish. It was considered scripture by many early Christians. The literature of the church fathers is filled with references to this book. The early second century apocryphal book of the Epistle of Barnabus makes many references and quotes from the Book of Enoch. Second and third century church fathers like Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Origen and Clement of Alexandria all seemed to have accepted Enoch as authentic. Tertullian (160-230 A.D.) even called the Book of Enoch, "Holy Scripture". The Ethiopian Coptic Church holds the Book of Enoch as part of its official spiritual canon. It was widely known and read the first three centuries after Christ. This and many other books became discredited after the Council of Laodicea. And being under ban of the authorities, it gradually disappeared from circulation.

In 1773, rumors of a surviving copy of the book drew Scottish explorer James Bruce to distant Ethiopia. He found the Book of Enoch had been preserved by the Ethiopian church, which put it right alongside the other books of the Bible.

Bruce secured not one, but three Ethiopian copies of the book and brought them back to Europe and Britain. In 1773 Bruce returned from six years in Abyssinia. In 1821 Richard Laurence published the first English translation. The famous R.H. Charles edition was published in 1912.

In the following years several portions of the Greek text surfaced. Then with the discovery of cave 4 at Qumran, seven fragmentary copies of the Aramaic text

were discovered. This means the text passed from its Aramaic form into Greek, and finally into Geez, an Ethiopian tongue.

Before the discovery of the Aramaic form was uncovered, it was thought that Enoch was written after Jude and borrowed heavily from it. However, after the discover of Enoch among the texts in Qumran, scholars had to re-examine the evidence. Enoch not only existed long before the biblical book of Jude, it is now obvious that both Jude and Peter read, believed and borrowed heavily from Enoch. This makes the Book of Enoch (1 Enoch) one of the earliest apocalyptic books.

Most apocalyptic literature was written after the destruction of the Jewish temple in Jerusalem in 70 A.D. under the feet of a Roman siege. Rome was considered by the Jews to be an ungodly nation as well as the oppressors and enemy of the Jews. The Jews considered themselves to be the chosen people of God. When the temple of God was destroyed it caused great turmoil throughout Judaism. Why would God let this happen to His chosen people and moreover, to His own house? The answer must be that the Jewish people had sinned and wandered away from the will of God. If this were true then when the Jewish nation repented and came back to God, He would avenge them by allowing the Jews to conquer and crush their enemies. The Jews would once again appear to be the victorious and chosen people their were meant to be. The return of the Jewish nation to the strict will and law of God and the battle and victory through God's help is the basis of most apocalyptic literature.

This is not the case in the first and oldest section of the Book of Enoch, written as early as the 3rd century B.C. The apocalyptic theme in the section we are calling "The Book of the Watchers" is a simple one of blessing the righteous and destroying the unrighteous beings, both human and angelic. More traditional or common apocalyptic themes can be seen in sections of Enoch written around 100 A.D.

The Book of Enoch is not one manuscript. It is a composite of several manuscripts written by several authors over a period of three to four hundred years.

The Book of Enoch is composed of six main parts. These sections can be subdivided further. It could be argued that, like the writers of the Bible itself, the various authors of Enoch did not foresee their contributions being concatenated into a single volume.

The six basic sections are as follows:

The Book of Watchers (Chapters 1-36):

Late third century or early second century B.C. Overall theme - Last Judgment. This section is considered to be the most authentic and important part of the Book of Enoch.

Introduction (Chapters 1-5): Last Judgment;

The Fall (Chapters 6-36): Fall of the angels by having sex with the women of earth. The evil of the children and the corruption of mankind.

-1. The Book of Parables (Chapters 37-71):

-1. First century A.D. Overall theme – The Messiah and his Judgment.

First parable: Enoch's vision on heaven containing the righteous people, the angels and the Messiah. (Chapters 38-44);

Second parable: The messianic judgment. (Chapters 45-57)

Third parable: The Son of Man (Chapters 58-71).

-1. The Book of Astronomy and Calendar (Chapters 72-82):

Late third or early second century B.C. Overall theme – Elements of weather, movement of stars, planets, sun and moon, and the calendar.

-1.

-1. The Book of Visions (Chapters 83-90):

165-160 B.C. (Thought to be written around the time of the revolt led by the Maccabees.) Overall theme – Judgment and history.

First vision: the Deluge as the first judgment (Chapters 83-84);

Second vision: a history of Israel until the revolt (Chapters 85-90).

-1.

-1. The Book of Warnings and Blessings of Enoch (Chapters 91-104):

Early second century B.C. Overall theme - Warnings, blessings and an apocalypse.

The prophecy of the Apocalypse of Weeks. (Chapters 91 and 93)

What will befall sinners and the righteous. (Chapters 94-104)

Later Additions to the Text – Book of Noah (Chapters 105-108):

Second century B.C. Overall theme - Noah and Methuselah.

This section of the book seems to be added as an afterthought. It consists of fragments from other books, such as the Book of Noah.

When the Book of Enoch was found along with other scrolls around the Dead Sea, the Book of Parables was not included. This was because that section was

added later. In addition, the Book of Watchers and the Book of Visions were already joined and intact.

Later, another "Book of Enoch" surfaced. This text, dubbed "2 Enoch" and commonly called "the Slavonic Enoch," was discovered in 1886 by Professor Sokolov in the archives of the Belgrade Public Library. It appears that just as the Ethiopian Enoch ("1 Enoch") escaped the sixth-century Church suppression of Enoch texts in the Mediterranean area, so a Slavonic Enoch survived far away, long after the originals from which it was copied were destroyed or hidden.

Specialists in the Enochian texts believe that the missing original from which the Slavonic was copied was probably a Greek manuscript, which itself may have been based on a Hebrew or Aramaic manuscript.

The Slavonic text has evidence of many later additions to the original manuscript. Unfortunately, later additions and the deletion of teachings considered "erroneous," rendered the text unreliable.

Because of certain references to dates and data regarding certain calendar systems in the Slavonic Enoch, some claim the text cannot be earlier than the seventh century A.D. Some see these passages not as evidence of Christian authorship, but as later Christian interpolations into an earlier manuscript. Enochian specialist R.H. Charles, for instance, states that even the better of the two Slavonic manuscripts contains interpolations and is, in textual terms, "corrupt." It is for the reasons above; we will look only at the book referred to as 1 Enoch. We will leave the manuscript of 2 Enoch for another day.

The last great book of the Enochian tradition is 3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch. 3 Enoch is a wealth of mystical knowledge. The book claims to be authored by Rabbi Ishmael, a highly respected and brilliant priest living between 90 and 130 A.D. however, no fragments have been found dating earlier than around 400 A.D. The book was written in Hebrew but has a few Latin and Greek words and cognates. 3 Enoch has its roots in the Metatron tradition, which has Enoch ascending to heaven and being translated into the angel Metatron. He is then given authority over the angels and the earthly nations, much to the protests of the angelic host. The amount of mystical information, along with the angelology contained in the book is unrivaled. 3 Enoch is obviously a continuation and expansion of the Enochian traditions of 1 and 2 Enoch, which are drawn on for the story's foundation. Translations of 2 Enoch and 3 Enoch are available by this author.

The books of 2 Enoch and 3 Enoch have been of little influence within mainline Christianity. However, 1 Enoch, (the Ethiopic Book of Enoch,) addressed in this work is of major and amazing influence within the modern Christian world, informing our beliefs and concepts of angels, demons, and the world to come.

The translations used for this work are taken from both the Richard Laurence and R.H. Charles manuscripts in addition to numerous sources and commentaries. The texts were compared and rendered for easier reading by the modern “American” English reader as some phrasing from the 18th and 19th centuries may seem somewhat clumsy to our 21st century eyes. When there are clear differences in various texts, a word is added in parentheses to show both paths of translations.

In addition to the translation there are Biblical references showing how the Book of Enoch contains various Old Testament sources or how the Book of Enoch was quoted, referenced, or was possibly used as a source document for New Testament writers. Biblical references, as well as quotes from other ancient sources, are italicized and the chapters and verses are noted. Notes and commentaries from the author are kept in plain text, leaving the bold text to be the Book of Enoch. The Texts from the Book of Giants are underlined. They are inserted in places where the meanings are parallel or the storyline expands the texts of Enoch and where additions to Enoch seem logical. Let us now proceed to the Book of Enoch.

***5**

The Book of Enoch Including the Book of Giants

The *Book of Watchers* (Chapters 1-36):

[Chapter 1]

1 The words of the blessing of Enoch, with which he blessed the elect and righteous, who will be living in the day of tribulation, when all the wicked and godless people are to be removed (from the earth).

2 And he began his story saying: (I am) Enoch, a righteous man, whose eyes were opened by God, and who saw the vision of the Holy One in heaven, which the angels showed me. And I heard everything from them, and I saw and understood, but it was not for this generation (to know), but for a remote one which is to come.

3 As I began my story concerning the elect I said,: The Holy Great One will come out from His dwelling,

4 And the eternal God will tread on the earth, (even) on Mount Sinai, and appear in the strength of His might from heaven.

5 And all shall be very afraid. The Watchers shall shake, and great fear and trembling shall seize them all the way to the ends of the earth.

6 And the high mountains shall be shaken, and the high hills shall be laid low, and shall melt like wax in the flame.

7 And the earth shall be completely torn apart, and all that is on the earth shall be destroyed, And there shall be a judgment on all.

Rev. 21: 7 He who overcomes will inherit all this, and I will be his God and he will be my son. 8 But the cowardly, the unbelieving, the vile, the murderers, the

sexually immoral, those who practice magic arts, the idolaters and all liars—their place will be in the fiery lake of burning sulfur. This is the second death."

8 But with the righteous He will make peace; and will protect the elect and mercy shall be on them. And they shall all belong to God, and they shall prosper, and they shall be blessed. And the light of God shall shine on them.

Rev. 21: 23 The city does not need the sun or the moon to shine on it, for the glory of God gives it light, and the Lamb is its lamp. 24 The nations will walk by its light, and the kings of the earth will bring their splendor into it. 25 On no day will its gates ever be shut, for there will be no night there.

9 And behold! He comes with ten thousand of His holy ones (saints) to execute judgment on all, and to destroy all the ungodly (wicked); and to convict all flesh of all the works of their ungodliness which they have ungodly committed, and of all the hard things which ungodly sinners have spoken against Him.

JUD 1:14 And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints, 15 To execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him.

[Chapter 2]

1 Observe everything that takes place in the sky, how the lights do not change their orbits, and the luminaries which are in heaven, how they all rise and set in order each in its season (proper time), and do not transgress (defy) their appointed order.

2 Consider the earth, and understand the things which take place on it from start to finish, how steadfast they are, how none of the things on the earth change, but all the works of God appear to you.

3 Behold the summer and the winter, how the whole earth is filled with water, and clouds and dew and rain lie on it.

[Chapter 3]

1 Observe and see how (in the winter) all the trees seem as though they had withered and shed all their leaves, except fourteen trees, which do not lose their foliage but retain the old foliage from two to three years until the new comes.

[Chapter 4]

1 And again, observe the days of summer how the sun is above the earth. And you seek shade and shelter because of the heat of the sun, and the earth also burns with growing heat, and so you cannot walk on the earth, or on a rock because of its heat.

[Chapter 5]

1 Observe how the trees are covered with green leaves and how they bear fruit. Understand, know, and recognize that He that lives for ever made them this way for you.

2 And all His works go on before Him from year to year for ever, and all the work and the tasks which they accomplish for Him do not change, and so is it done.

3 Consider how the sea and the rivers in like manner accomplish their course do not change because of His commandments.

4 But you, you have neither held to nor have you done the commandments of the Lord, But you have turned away and spoken proud and hard words with your unclean mouths against His greatness. Oh, you hard-hearted, you shall find no peace.

5 Therefore shall you curse your days, and the years of your life shall perish, and the years of your destruction shall be multiplied and in an eternal curse you shall find no mercy.

Deuteronomy 11: 26 See, I am setting before you today a blessing and a curse- 27 the blessing if you obey the commands of the LORD your God that I am giving you today; 28 the curse if you disobey the commands of the LORD your God and

turn from the way that I command you today by following other gods, which you have not known.

6 In those days you shall make your names an eternal curse to all the righteous, and by you shall all who curse, curse, and all the sinners and godless shall curse you forever. And for you the godless there shall be a curse.

7 And all the elect shall rejoice, and there shall be forgiveness of sins, and mercy and peace and forbearance and joy. There shall be salvation for them, (like/and) a good light. And for all of you sinners there shall be no salvation, but on you all shall abide a curse.

8 But for the elect there shall be light and joy and peace, and they shall inherit the earth.

9 And then wisdom shall be given to the elect, and they shall all live and never again sin, either through forgetfulness or through pride: But those who are given wisdom shall be humble.

10 And they shall not again transgress, Nor shall they sin all the days of their life, Nor shall they die of the anger or wrath of God, But they shall complete the number of the days of their lives. And their lives shall be increased in peace, and their years will grow in joy and eternal gladness and peace, all the days of their lives.

Isaiah 65

1I am sought of them that asked not for me; I am found of them that sought me not: I said, Behold me, behold me, unto a nation that was not called by my name.

2I have spread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious people, which walketh in a way that was not good, after their own thoughts;

3A people that provoketh me to anger continually to my face; that sacrificeth in gardens, and burneth incense upon altars of brick;

4Which remain among the graves, and lodge in the monuments, which eat swine's flesh, and broth of abominable things is in their vessels;

5Which say, Stand by thyself, come not near to me; for I am holier than thou. These are a smoke in my nose, a fire that burneth all the day.

6Behold, it is written before me: I will not keep silence, but will recompense, even recompense into their bosom,

7Your iniquities, and the iniquities of your fathers together, saith the LORD, which have burned incense upon the mountains, and blasphemed me upon the

hills: therefore will I measure their former work into their bosom.

8Thus saith the LORD, As the new wine is found in the cluster, and one saith, Destroy it not; for a blessing is in it: so will I do for my servants' sakes, that I may not destroy them all.

9And I will bring forth a seed out of Jacob, and out of Judah an inheritor of my mountains: and mine elect shall inherit it, and my servants shall dwell there.

[Chapter 6]

1 And it came to pass when the children of men had multiplied that in those days were born to them beautiful and fair daughters.

GEN 6:1 And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, 2 That the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose. 3 And the LORD said, My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years.

2 And the angels, the sons of heaven, saw and lusted after them, and said to one another: 'Come, let us choose us wives from among the children of men

3 And have children with them.' And Semjaza, who was their leader, said to them: 'I fear you will not agree to do this deed,

4 And I alone shall have to pay the penalty of this great sin.'

5 And they all answered him and said: 'Let us all swear an oath, and all bind ourselves by mutual curses so we will not abandon this plan but to do this thing.' Then they all swore together and bound themselves by mutual curses.

6 And they were in all two hundred who descended in the days of Jared in the summit of Mount Hermon, and they called it Mount Hermon, because they had sworn and bound themselves by mutual curses on the act.

JUD 1:5 I will therefore put you in remembrance, though ye once knew this, how that the Lord, having saved the people out of the land of Egypt, afterward destroyed them that believed not. 6 And the angels who kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day.

7 And these are the names of their leaders: Samlazaz, their leader, Araklba, Rameel, Kokablel, Tamlel, Ramlel, Danel, Ezeqeel, Baraqijal,

(Author's note: Samlazaz could be another spelling of Semjaza, and possibly be the same entity.)

8 Asael, Armaros, Batarel, Ananel, Zaquel, Samsapeel, Satarel, Turel, Jomjael, Sariel. These are their chiefs of tens.

[Chapter 7]

1 And all of them together went and took wives for themselves, each choosing one for himself, and they began to go in to them and to defile themselves with sex with them,

GEN 5:32 And Noah was five hundred years old: and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japheth. 6:1 And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, 2 That the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose. 3 And the LORD said, My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years. 4 There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown. 5 And GOD saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. 6 And it repented the LORD that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart.

2 And the angels taught them charms and spells, and the cutting of roots, and made them acquainted with plants.

3 And the women became pregnant, and they bare large giants, whose height was three thousand cubits (ells).

1Q23 Frag. 9 + 14 + 15 [. . .] they knew the secrets of [. . .] . . . sin was great in the earth [. . .]. [. . .] and they killed many [. . .]. [. . .] they begat giants [. . .]

Jubilees 7

21 Because of these three things came the flood on the earth, namely, the fornication that the Watchers committed against the law of their ordinances when they went whoring after the daughters of men, and took themselves wives of all they chose, and they made the beginning of uncleanness.

22 And they begat sons, the Naphilim (Naphidim), and they were all dissimilar, and they devoured one another, and the Giants killed the Naphil, and the Naphil killed the Eljo, and the Eljo killed mankind, and one man killed one another.

23 Every one committed himself to crime and injustice and to shed much blood, and the earth was filled with sin.

24 After this they sinned against the beasts and birds, and all that moved and walked on the earth, and much blood was shed on the earth, and men continually desired only what was useless and evil.

25 And the Lord destroyed everything from the face of the earth. Because of the wickedness of their deeds, and because of the blood they had shed over all the earth, He destroyed everything. “

4 The giants consumed all the work and toil of men. And when men could no longer sustain them, the giants turned against them and devoured mankind.

4Q531 Frag. 3 [. . .] everything that the earth produced [. . .]. [. . .] the great fish [. . .]. [. . .] the sky with all that grew [. . .]. [. . .] fruit of the earth and all kinds of grain and all the trees [. . .]. [. . .] beasts and reptiles [. . .] all creeping things of the earth and they observed all [. . .]. [. . .] every harsh deed and [. . .] utterance [. . .]. [. . .] male and female, and among humans [. . .]

5 And they began to sin against birds, and beasts, and reptiles, and fish, and to devour one another's flesh, and drank the blood.

1Q23 Frag. 1 + 6 [. . .] two hundred donkeys, two hundred asses, two hundred . . . rams of the flock, two hundred goats, two hundred [. . .] beast of the field from every animal, from every bird [. . .] for miscegenation (inbreeding of people considered to be of different races). [. . .]

4Q531 Frag. 2 [. . .] they defiled [. . .]. [. . .] they begot] giants and monsters [. . .]. [. . .] they begot, and, behold, all [the earth was corrupted [. . .]. [. . .] with its blood and by the hand of [. . .]. giant's which did not satisfy them and [. . .]. [.

..] and they were seeking to devour many [...] [...] [...] the monsters attacked it.

6 Then the earth laid accusation against the lawless ones.

Jasher 2

19 For in those days the sons of men began to trespass against God, and to go contrary to the commandments which he had given Adam, to be prolific and reproduce in the earth.

20 And some of the sons of men caused their wives to drink a mixture that would render them unable to conceive, in order that they might retain their figures and their beautiful appearance might not fade.

21 And when the sons of men caused some of their wives to drink, Zillah drank with them.

22 And the child-bearing women appeared abominable in the sight of their husbands and they treated them as widows, while their husbands lived with those unable to conceive and to those women they were attached.

Genesis 4:8 And Cain talked with Abel his brother: and it came to pass, when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him. 9And the LORD said unto Cain, Where is Abel thy brother? And he said, I know not: Am I my brother's keeper? 10And he said, What hast thou done? the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground. 11And now art thou cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand; 12When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength; a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth.

[Chapter 8]

1 And Azazel taught men to make swords, and knives, and shields, and breastplates, and taught them about metals of the earth and the art of working them, and bracelets, and ornaments, and the use of antimony, and the beautifying of the eyelids, and all kinds of precious stones, and all coloring and dyes.

2 And there was great impiety, they turned away from God, and committed fornication, and they were led astray, and became corrupt in all their ways.

Matthew 5:19 (New International Version)

19 Anyone who breaks one of the least of these commandments and teaches others to do the same will be called least in the kingdom of heaven, but whoever practices and teaches these commands will be called great in the kingdom of heaven.

3 Semjaza taught the casting of spells, and root-cuttings, Armaros taught counter-spells (release from spells), Baraqijal taught astrology, Kokabel taught the constellations (portents), Ezeqeel the knowledge of the clouds, Araquel the signs of the earth, Shamsiel the signs of the sun, and Sariel the course of the moon. And as men perished, they cried, and their cry went up to heaven.

Jasher 4

18 And their judges and rulers went to the daughters of men and took their wives by force from their husbands according to their choice, and the sons of men in those days took from the cattle of the earth, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air, and taught the mixture of animals of one species with the other, in order therewith to provoke the Lord; and God saw the whole earth and it was corrupt, for all flesh had corrupted its ways on earth, all men and all animals.

19 And the Lord said, I will blot out man that I created from the face of the earth, yea from man to the birds of the air together with cattle and beasts that are in the field for I repent that I made them.

20 And all men who walked in the ways of the Lord died in those days, before the Lord brought the evil on man which he had declared, for this was from the Lord that they should not see the evil which the Lord spoke of concerning the sons of men.

[Chapter 9]

1 And then Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel looked down from heaven and saw much blood being shed on the earth, and all lawlessness being done on the earth.

2 And they said to each other: 'Let the cries from the destruction of Earth ascend up to the gates of heaven.

3 And now to you, the holy ones of heaven, the souls of men make their petition, saying, "Bring our cause before the Most High."

4 And they said to the Lord of the ages: 'Lord of lords, God of gods, King of kings, and God of the ages, the throne of your glory endures through all the generations of the ages, and your name holy and glorious and blessed to all the ages!

1TI 6:15 Which in his times he shall shew, who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords; 16 Who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen, nor can see: to whom be honour and power everlasting. Amen.

5 You have made all things, and you have power over all things: and all things are revealed and open in your sight, and you see all things, and nothing can hide itself from you.

6 Look at what Azazel has done, who hath taught all unrighteousness on earth and revealed the eternal secrets which were made and kept in heaven, which men were striving to learn:

7 And Semjaza, who taught spells, to whom you gave authority to rule over his associates.

8 And they have gone to the daughters of men on the earth, and have had sex with the women, and have defiled themselves, and revealed to them all kinds of sins.

GEN 6:4 There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown.

9 And the women have borne giants, and the whole earth has thereby been filled with blood and unrighteousness.

4Q532 Col. 2 Frags. 1 - 6 [. . .] flesh [. . .] All [. . .] monsters [. . .] will be [. . .] [. . .] they would arise [. . .] lacking in true knowledge [. . .] because [. . .]

[...] the earth [grew corrupt [...]] mighty [...]. [...] they were considering [...] [...] from the angels upon [...] [...] in the end it will perish and die [...] [...] they caused great corruption in the earth [...] [...] this did not suffice to [...] "they will be [...]"

GEN 6:5 And GOD saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. 6 And it repented the LORD that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart.

10 And now, behold, the souls of those who have died are crying out and making their petition to the gates of heaven, and their lament has ascended and cannot cease because of the lawless deeds which are done on the earth.

11 And you know all things before they come to pass, and you see these things and you have permitted them, and say nothing to us about these things. What are we to do with them about these things?'

Revelation 6:10 (New International Version) 10 They called out in a loud voice, "How long, Sovereign Lord, holy and true, until you judge the inhabitants of the earth and avenge our blood?"

[Chapter 10]

1 Then said the Most High, the Great and Holy One, "Uriel, go to the son of Lamech.

2 Say to him: 'Go to Noah and tell him in my name "Hide yourself!" and reveal to him the end that is approaching: that the whole earth will be destroyed, and a flood is about to come on the whole earth, and will destroy everything on it.'

GEN 7:4 For yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights; and every living substance that I have made will I destroy from off the face of the earth.

3 'And now instruct him as to what he must do to escape that his offspring may be preserved for all the generations of the world.'

GEN 6:13 And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and, behold, I will destroy them with the earth. 14 Make thee an ark of gopher wood; rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch.

4 And again the Lord said to Raphael: 'Bind Azazel hand and foot, and cast him into the darkness and split open the desert, which is in Dudael, and cast him in.

5 And fill the hole by covering him rough and jagged rocks, and cover him with darkness, and let him live there for ever, and cover his face that he may not see the light.

Revelation 20: 1 And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand. 2 And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years, 3 And cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season.

6 And on the day of the great judgment he shall be hurled into the fire.

Revelation 19:20 (King James Version)

20And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.

7 And heal the earth which the angels have ruined, and proclaim the healing of the earth, for I will restore the earth and heal the plague, that not all of the children of men may perish through all the secret things that the Watchers have disclosed and have taught their sons.

ROM 8:18 For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us. 19 For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God. 20 For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope, 21 Because the creature itself also shall be

delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God.

8 The whole earth has been corrupted through the works that were taught by Azazel: to him ascribe ALL SIN.'

9 To Gabriel said the Lord: 'Proceed against the bastards and the reprobates, and against the children of fornication and destroy the children of fornication and the children of the Watchers. Cause them to go against one another that they may destroy each other in battle: Shorten their days.'

GEN 6:7 And the LORD said, I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth; both man, and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them. 8 But Noah found grace in the eyes of the LORD.

10 No request that (the Watchers) their fathers make of you shall be granted them on their behalf; for they hope to live an eternal life, and that each one of them will live five hundred years.'

11 And the Lord said to Michael: 'Go, bind Semjaza and his team who have associated with women and have defiled themselves in all their uncleanness.'

12 When their sons have slain one another, and they have seen the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them fast for seventy generations under the hills of the earth, until the day of the consummation of their judgment and until the eternal judgment is accomplished.

(Author's note: 70 generations of 500 years = 35000 years.)

13 In those days they shall be led off to the abyss of fire and to the torment and the prison in which they shall be confined for ever.'

14 Then Semjaza shall be burnt up with the condemned and they will be destroyed, having been bound together with them to the end of all generations.

Fragment from the Book of Giants:

And he answered, I am a giant, and by the mighty strength of my arm and my own great strength [I can defeat] anyone mortal, and I have made war against them;

but I am not [strong enough for our heavenly opponent or to be] able to stand against them, for my opponents [. . .] reside in Heaven, and they dwell in the holy places. And not [on the earth and they] are stronger than I. [. . .] The time of the wild beast has come, and the wild man calls me. Then Ohya said to him, I have been forced to have a dream and the sleep of my eyes vanished in order to let me see a vision. Now I know that on Gilgamesh [our futures rest.]

15 Destroy all the spirits of lust and the children of the Watchers, because they have wronged mankind.

16 Destroy all wrong from the face of the earth and let every evil work come to an end and let (the earth be planted with righteousness) the plant of righteousness and truth appear; and it shall prove a blessing, the works of righteousness and truth shall be planted in truth and joy for evermore.

GEN 6:7 And the LORD said, I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth; both man, and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them.

17 And then shall all the righteous survive, and shall live until they beget thousands of children, and all the days of their youth and their old age shall they complete in peace.

GEN 8:22 While the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease.

GEN 9:1 And God blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth.

18 And then shall the whole earth be untilled in righteousness and shall be planted with trees and be full of blessing. And all desirable trees shall be planted on it, and they shall plant vines on it.

19 And the vine which they plant shall yield fruit in abundance, and as for all the seed which is sown, each measurement (of it) shall bear a thousand, and each measurement of olives shall yield ten presses of oil.

20 You shall cleanse the earth from all oppression, and from all unrighteousness, and from all sin, and from all godlessness, and all the

uncleanness that is brought on the earth you shall destroy from off the earth.

(Author's note: Meanwhile, the Nephilin are having dreams and visions...)

2Q26 [. . .] they drenched the tablet in the water [. . .]. [. . .] the waters went up over the [tablet . . .]. [. . .] they lifted out the tablet from the water of [. . .]

4Q530 Frag.7 [. . .] this vision] is for cursing and sorrow. I am the one who confessed [. . .] the whole group of the castaways that I shall go to [. . .]. [. . .] the spirits of the slain complaining about their killers and crying out [. . .] that we shall die together and be made an end of [. . .] much and I will be sleeping, and bread [. . .] for my dwelling; the vision and also [. . .] entered into the gathering of the giants [. . .]

6Q8 [. . .] Ohya and he said to Mahway [. . .]. [. . .] without trembling. Who showed you all this vision, my brother? [. . .] Barakel, my father, was with me. [. . .] Before Mahway had finished telling [what he had seen . . .]. [. . . said] to him, Now I have heard wonders! If a barren woman gives birth [. . .]

4Q530 Frag. 4 There upon Ohya said to Hahya [. . .]. [. . .] to be destroyed from upon the earth and [. . .]. [. . .] the earth. When [. . .] they wept before [the giants . . .]

4Q530 Frag. 7 [. . .] your strength [. . .]. [. . .] After that, Ohya said to Hahya [. . .] Then he answered, It is not for us, but for Azaiel, for he did [. . .] the children of angels are the giants, and they would not let all their proved ones] be neglected [. . . we have] not been cast down; you have strength [. . .]

4Q531 Frag. 1 [. . .] I am a giant, and by the mighty strength of my arm and my own great strength [. . .] any one mortal, and I have made war against them; but I am not [. . .] able to stand against them, for my opponents [. . .] reside in Heaven, and they dwell in the holy places. And not [. . . they] are stronger than I. [. . .] of the wild beast has come, and the wild man they call me. [. . .] Then Ohya said to him, I have been forced to have a dream [. . .] the sleep of my eyes vanished, to let me see a vision. Now I know that on [. . .]. [. . .] Gilgamesh [. . .]

6Q8 Frag. 2 three of its roots [. . .]. [while] I was [watching,] there came [. . .] they moved the roots into] this garden, all of them, and not [. . .]

4Q530 Col. 2 concerns the death of our souls [. . .] and all his comrades, and Ohya told them what Gilgamesh said to him [. . .] and it was said [. . .] "concerning [. . .] the leader has cursed the potentates" and the giants were glad at his words. Then he turned and left [. . .]

Thereupon two of them had dreams and the sleep of their eye, fled from them, and they arose and came to [. . . and told] their dreams, and said in the assembly of [their comrades] the monsters [. . . In] my dream I was watching this very night [and there was a garden . . .]. gardeners and they were watering [. . .] two hundred trees and large shoots came out of their root [. . .] all the water, and the fire burned all [the garden . . .] They found the giants to tell them [the dream . . .]

21 All the children of men shall become righteous, and all nations shall offer adoration and shall praise Me,

22 And all shall worship Me. And the earth shall be cleansed from all defilement, and from all sin, and from all punishment, and from all torment, and I will never again send another flood from this generation to all generations and for ever.

[Chapter 11]

1 And in those days I will open the storehouse of blessings in heaven, and rain down blessings on the earth and over the work and labor of the children of men.

Malachi 3:10 (King James Version)

10Bring ye all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in mine house, and prove me now herewith, saith the LORD of hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it.

2 Truth and peace shall be united throughout all the days of the world and throughout all the generations of men.'

[Chapter 12]

1 Then Enoch disappeared and no one of the children of men knew where he was hidden, and where he abode;

GEN 5:21 And Enoch lived sixty and five years, and begat Methuselah: 22 And Enoch walked with God after he begat Methuselah three hundred years, and begat sons and daughters: 23 And all the days of Enoch were three hundred sixty and five years: 24 And Enoch walked with God: and he was not; for God took him.

2 And what had become of him. And his activities were with the Holy Ones and the Watchers.

[. . . to Enoch] the noted scribe, and he will interpret for us the dream. Thereupon his fellow Ohya declared and said to the giants, I too had a dream this night, O giants, and, behold, the Ruler of Heaven came down to earth [. . .] and such is the end of the dream. Thereupon all the giants and monsters grew afraid and called Mahway. He came to them and the giants pleaded with him and sent him to Enoch, the noted scribe. They said to him, Go [. . .] to you that [. . .] you have heard his voice. And he said to him, He will [. . . and] interpret the dreams [. . .]. Col. 3 [. . .] how long the giants have to live. [. . .]

3 And I, Enoch, was blessing the Lord of majesty and the King of the ages, and lo! the Watchers called me, Enoch the scribe, and said to me:

4 'Enoch, you scribe of righteousness, go, tell the Watchers of heaven who have left the high heaven, the holy eternal place, and have defiled themselves with women, and have done as the children of earth do, and have taken to themselves wives:

5 "You have done great destruction on the earth: And you shall have no peace nor forgiveness of sin:

6 Since they delight themselves in their children, They shall see the murder of their beloved ones, and the destruction of their children shall and they shall lament, and shall make supplication forever, you will receive neither mercy or peace."

(Author's note: Although we are led to believe the fallen angels are loathsome and evil, they loved and adored their children. Further, it was not the angels that became the demons. It was their children, whose spirits were evil and could not be killed.)

[. . .] he (the Nephilim) mounted up in the air like strong winds, and flew with his hands like eagles . . . he left behind] the inhabited world and passed over Desolation, the great desert [. . .] and Enoch saw him and hailed him, and Mahway said to him [. . .] hither and thither a second time to Mahway.[. . .] The giants await your words, and all the monsters of the earth. If [. . .] has been carried [. . .] from the days of [. . .] their [. . .] and they will be added [. . .] [. . .] we would know from you their meaning.[. . .] [. . .] two hundred trees that from heaven [came down . . .]

4Q530 Frag. 2 The scribe [Enoch . . .] [. . .] a copy of the second tablet that Enoch sent [. . .] in the very handwriting of Enoch the noted scribe [. . .] In the name of God the great and holy one, to Shemihaza and all [his companions . . .] let it be known to you that not [. . .] and the things you have done, and that your wives [. . .] they and their sons and the wives of [their sons . . .] by your licentiousness on the earth, and there has been upon you [. . .] and the land is crying out and complaining about you and the deeds of your children [. . .] the harm that you have done to it. [. . .] until Raphael arrives, behold, destruction [is coming, a great flood, and it will destroy all living things] and whatever is in the deserts and the seas. And the meaning of the matter [. . .] upon you for evil. But now, loosen the bonds binding you to evil [. . .] and pray.

4Q531 Frag. 7 [. . .].great fear seized me and I fell on my face; I heard his voice [. . .]. [. . .] he dwelt among human beings but he did not learn from them [. . .]

(The Book of Jubilees - Chapter 5:1 When the children of men began to multiply on the face of the earth and daughters were born to them, and the angels of God saw them on a certain year of this jubilee, that they were beautiful, and they took themselves wives of all whom they chose, and they gave birth to their sons and they were giants.

2 Because of them lawlessness increased on the earth and all flesh corrupted its way. Men and cattle and beasts and birds and everything that walked on the earth were all corrupted in their ways and their orders, and they began to devour each other. Lawlessness increased on the earth and the imagination and thoughts of all men were continually, totally evil.

3 God looked on the earth, and saw it was corrupt, and all flesh had corrupted its orders, and all that were on the earth had committed all manner of evil before His eyes.

4 He said that He would destroy man and all flesh on the face of the earth that He had created.

5 But Noah found grace before the eyes of the Lord. 6 And against the angels whom He had sent on the earth, He had boiling anger, and He gave commandment to root them out of all their dominion, and He commanded us to bind them in the depths of the earth, and look, they are bound in the middle of the earth, and are kept separate.

7 And against their sons went out a command from His mouth that they should be killed with the sword, and be left under heaven.

8 He said, "My spirit shall not always abide on man; for they also are flesh and their days shall be one hundred and twenty years.")

(Jasher 4:17 ~~E And e~~very man made to himself a god, and they robbed and plundered every man his neighbor as well as his relative, and they corrupted the earth, and the earth was filled with violence.

18 And their judges and rulers went to the daughters of men and took their wives by force from their husbands according to their choice, and the sons of men in those days took from the cattle of the earth, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air, and taught the mixture of animals of one species with the other, in order therewith to provoke the Lord; and God saw the whole earth and it was corrupt, for all flesh had corrupted its ways on earth, all men and all animals.

19 And the Lord said, I will blot out man that I created from the face of the earth, yea from man to the birds of the air ~~;~~together with cattle and beasts that are in the field ,for I repent that I made them.

20 ~~A And a~~ll men who walked in the ways of the Lord ~~;~~died in those days, before the Lord brought the evil on man which he had declared, for this was from the Lord ~~;~~that they should not see the evil which the Lord spoke of concerning the sons of men.

21 And Noah found grace in the sight of the Lord, and the Lord chose him and his children to raise up offspring on the face of the whole earth.)

[Chapter 13]

1 And Enoch went and said: 'Azazel, you shall have no peace: a severe sentence has been passed against you that you should be bound:

2 And you shall not have rest or mercy (toleration nor request granted), because of the unrighteousness which you have taught, and because of all the works of godlessness,

3 And unrighteousness and sin which you have shown to men.

4 Then I went and spoke to them all together, and they were all afraid, and fear and trembling seized them.

5 And they asked me to write a petition for them that they might find forgiveness, and to read their petition in the presence of the Lord of heaven. They had been forbidden to speak (with Him) nor were they to lift up their eyes to heaven for shame of their sins because they had been condemned.

6 Then I wrote out their petition, and the prayer in regard to their spirits and their deeds individually and in regard to their requests that they should obtain forgiveness and forbearance.

7 And I went off and sat down at the waters of Dan, in the land of Dan, to the southwest of Hermon: I read their petition until I fell asleep.

8 And I had a dream, and I saw a vision of their chastisement, and a voice came to me that I would reprimand (reprove) them.

9 And when I awoke, I came to them, and they were all sitting gathered together, weeping in Abelsjail, which is between Lebanon and Seneser, with their faces covered.

10 And I recounted to them all the visions which I had seen when I was asleep, and I began to speak the words of righteousness, and to reprimand heavenly Watchers.

[Chapter 14]

1 This is the book of the words of righteousness, and of the reprimand of the eternal Watchers in accordance with the command of the Holy Great One in that vision I saw in my sleep.

2 What I will now say with a tongue of flesh and with the breath of my mouth: which the Great One has given to men to speak with it and to understand with the heart.

3 As He has created and given to man the power of understanding the word of wisdom, so has He created me also and given me the power of reprimanding the Watchers, the children of heaven.

4 I wrote out your petition, and in my vision it appeared that your petition will not be granted to you throughout all the days of eternity, and that judgment has been finally passed on you:

5 Your petition will not be granted. From here on you shall not ascend into heaven again for all eternity, and you will be bound on earth for all eternity.

6 Before this you will see the destruction of your beloved sons and you shall have no pleasure in them, but they shall fall before you by the sword.

7 Your petition shall not be granted on their behalf or on yours, even though you weep and pray and speak all the words contained in my writings.

8 In the vision I saw clouds that invited me and summoned me into a mist, and the course of the stars and the flashes of lightning and hurried me and drove me,

9 And the winds in the vision caused me to fly and lifted me up, and bore me into heaven. And I went in until I drew near to a wall which was built out of crystals and surrounded by tongues of fire, and it began to frighten me.

10 I went into the tongues of fire and drew near a large house which was built of crystals: and the walls of the house were like a mosaic of hailstones and the floor was made of crystals like snow.

Revelation 4: 6 And before the throne there was a sea of glass like unto crystal: and in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, were four beasts full of eyes before and behind.

Revelation 21:10 And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and shewed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God,

11 Having the glory of God: and her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal; 12 And had a wall great and high, and had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which are the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel:

11 Its ceiling was like the path of the stars and lightning flashes, and between them were fiery cherubim,

12 Their sky was clear as water. A flaming fire surrounded the walls, and its doors blazed with fire.

13 I entered that house, and it was hot as fire and cold as ice; there were no pleasures or life therein: fear covered me, and trembling got hold of me.

14 As I shook and trembled, I fell on my face.

15 And I saw a vision, And lo! there was a second house, greater than the first,

16 And the all the doors stood open before me, and it was built of flames of fire. And in every respect it was splendid and magnificent to the extent that I cannot describe it to you.

17 Its floor was of fire, and above it was lightning and the path of the stars, and its ceiling also was flaming fire.

18 And I looked and saw a throne set on high, its appearance was like crystal, and its wheels were like a shining sun, and there was the vision of cherubim.

1TI 6:16 Who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen, nor can see: to whom be honour and power everlasting. Amen.

19 And from underneath the throne came rivers of fire so that I could not look at it.

Third Book of Enoch: The Holy Chayoth carry the Throne of Glory from below. Each one uses only three fingers. The length of each fingers is 800,000 and 700 times one hundred, and 66,000 parasangs. (4) And underneath the feet of the Chayoth there are seven rivers of fire running and flowing

20 And He who is Great in Glory sat on the throne, and His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and was whiter than any snow.

MAT 25:31 When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory:

21 None of the angels could enter or could behold His face because of the magnificence and glory and no flesh could behold Him.

22 The sea of fire surrounded Him, and a great fire stood in front of Him, and no one could draw close to Him: ten thousand times ten thousand stood before Him, but He needed no Holy council.

23 The most Holy Ones who were near to Him did not leave night or day.

24 And until then I had been prostrate on my face, trembling, and the Lord called me with His own mouth, and said to me:

25 'Come here, Enoch, and hear my word.' And one of the Holy Ones came to me picked me up and brought me to the door: and I bowed down my face.

[Chapter 15]

1 And He answered and said to me, and I heard His voice: 'Do not be afraid, Enoch, you righteous man and scribe of righteousness.

2 Approach and hear my voice. Go and say to the Watchers of heaven, for whom you have come to intercede: "You should intercede for men, and not men for you."

3 Why and for what cause have you left the high, holy, and eternal heaven, and had sex with women, and defiled yourselves with the daughters of men and taken to yourselves wives, and done like the children of earth, and begotten giants (as your) sons?

4 Though you were holy, spiritual, living the eternal life, you have defiled yourselves with the blood of women, and have begotten children with the blood of flesh, and, as the children of men, you have lusted after flesh and blood like those who die and are killed.

5 This is why I have given men wives, that they might impregnate them, and have children by them, that deeds might continue on the earth.

6 But you were formerly spiritual, living the eternal life, and immortal for all generations of the world.

7 Therefore I have not appointed wives for you; you are spiritual beings of heaven, and in heaven was your dwelling place.

LUK 20:34 And Jesus answering said unto them, The children of this world marry, and are given in marriage: 35 But they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage: 36 Neither can they die any more: for they are equal unto the angels; and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection.

8 And now, the giants, who are produced from the spirits and flesh, shall be called evil spirits on the earth,

9 And shall live on the earth. Evil spirits have come out from their bodies because they are born from men and from the holy Watchers, their beginning is of primal origin;

10 They shall be evil spirits on earth, and evil spirits shall they be called spirits of the evil ones. [As for the spirits of heaven, in heaven shall be their dwelling, but as for the spirits of the earth which were born on the earth, on the earth shall be their dwelling.] And the spirits of the giants afflict, oppress, destroy, attack, war, destroy, and cause trouble on the earth.

11 They take no food, but do not hunger or thirst. They cause offences but are not observed.

12 And these spirits shall rise up against the children of men and against the women, because they have proceeded from them in the days of the slaughter and destruction.'

(Author's note: These are the evil spirits and demons. They are the disembodied spirits of the offspring of angels and humans.)

The Book of Jubilees: Because of these three things came the flood on the earth, namely, the fornication that the Watchers committed against the law of their ordinances when they went whoring after the daughters of men, and took themselves wives of all they chose, and they made the beginning of uncleanness.

And they begat sons, the Naphilim (Naphidim – the fallen), and they were all dissimilar, and they devoured one another, and the Giants killed the Naphil, and the Naphil killed the Eljo, and the Eljo killed mankind, and one man killed one another.

Every one committed himself to crime and injustice and to shed much blood, and the earth was filled with sin.

After this they sinned against the beasts and birds, and all that moved and walked on the earth, and much blood was shed on the earth, and men continually desired only what was useless and evil.

And the Lord destroyed everything from the face of the earth. Because of the wickedness of their deeds, and because of the blood they had shed over all the earth, He destroyed everything. “

[Chapter 16]

1 ‘And at the death of the giants, spirits will go out and shall destroy without incurring judgment, coming from their bodies their flesh shall be destroy until the day of the consummation, the great judgment in which the age shall be consummated, over the Watchers and the godless, and shall be wholly consummated.’

MAT 8:28 And when he was come to the other side into the country of the Gergesenes, there met him two possessed with devils, coming out of the tombs, exceeding fierce, so that no man might pass by that way. 29 And, behold, they cried out, saying, What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God? art thou come hither to torment us before the time?

2 And now as to the Watchers who have sent you to intercede for them, who had been in heaven before,

3 (Say to them): "You were in heaven, but all the mysteries of heaven had not been revealed to you, and you knew worthless ones, and these in the hardness of your hearts you have made known to the women, and through these mysteries women and men work much evil on earth."

4 Say to them therefore: " You have no peace."

Genesis 6: ¹And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, ²That the sons of God saw the

daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose. ³And the LORD said, My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years. ⁴There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown.

⁵And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. ⁶And it repented the LORD that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart. ⁷And the LORD said, I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth; both man, and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them. ⁸But Noah found grace in the eyes of the LORD.

[Chapter 17]

1 And they took me to a place in which those who were there were like flaming fire,

2 And, when they wished, they made themselves appear as men. They brought me to the place of darkness, and to a mountain the point of whose summit reached to heaven.

3 And I saw the lighted places and the treasuries of the stars and of the thunder and in the uttermost depths, where were

4 A fiery bow and arrows and their quiver, and a fiery sword and all the lightning. And they took me to the waters of life, and to the fire of the west, which receives every setting of the sun.

5 And I came to a river of fire in which the fire flows like water into the great sea towards the west.

6 I saw the great rivers and came to the great darkness, and went to the place where no flesh walks.

7 I saw the mountains of the darkness of winter and the place from where all the waters of the deep flow.

8 I saw the mouths of all the rivers of the earth and the mouth of the deep.

[Chapter 18]

1 I saw the storehouse of all the winds: I saw how He had adorned the whole creation with them and the firm foundations of the earth.

2 And I saw the corner-stone of the earth: I saw the four winds which support the earth and the firmament of the heaven.

3 I saw how the winds stretch out the height of heaven, and have their station between heaven and earth; these are the pillars of heaven.

4 I saw the winds of heaven which turn and bring the sky and the sun and all the stars to their setting place.

5 I saw the winds on the earth carrying the clouds: I saw the paths of the angels. I saw at the end of the earth the firmament of heaven above.

6 And I continued south and saw a place which burns day and night, where there are seven mountains of magnificent stones, three towards the east, and three towards the south.

7 And as for those towards the east, they were of colored stone, and one of pearl, and one of jacinth (a stone of healing), and those towards the south of red stone.

8 But the middle one reached to heaven like the throne of God, and was made of alabaster.

9 And the summit of the throne was of sapphire.

Ezekiel 1:22 And the likeness of the firmament upon the heads of the living creature was as the colour of the terrible crystal, stretched forth over their heads above.

23 And under the firmament were their wings straight, the one toward the other: every one had two, which covered on this side, and every one had two, which covered on that side, their bodies.

24 And when they went, I heard the noise of their wings, like the noise of great waters, as the voice of the Almighty, the voice of speech, as the noise of an host: when they stood, they let down their wings.

25 And there was a voice from the firmament that was over their heads, when they stood, and had let down their wings.

26 And above the firmament that was over their heads was the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a sapphire stone: and upon the likeness of the throne was the likeness as the appearance of a man above upon it.

27 And I saw as the colour of amber, as the appearance of fire round about within it, from the appearance of his loins even upward, and from the appearance of his loins even downward, I saw as it were the appearance of fire, and it had brightness round about. 28 As the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain, so was the appearance of the brightness round about. This was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the LORD. And when I saw it, I fell upon my face, and I heard a voice of one that spake.

10 And I saw a great abyss of the earth, with pillars of heavenly fire, and I saw among them fiery pillars of Heaven, which were falling,

11 And as regards both height and depth, they were immeasurable.

12 And beyond that abyss I saw a place which had no firmament of heaven above, and no firmly founded earth beneath it: there was no water on it, and no birds,

13 But it was a desert and a horrible place. I saw there seven stars like great burning mountains,

14 And an angel questioned me regarding them. The angel said: 'This place is the end of heaven and earth.

15 This has become a prison for the stars and the host of heaven. And the stars which roll over the fire are they which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord in the beginning of their rising, because they did not come out at their proper times.

16 And He was angry with them, and bound them until the time when their guilt should be consummated even for ten thousand years.'

[Chapter 19]

1 And Uriel said to me: 'The angels who have had sex with women shall stand here, and their spirits, having assumed many different forms, are defiling mankind and shall lead them astray into sacrificing to demons as gods, here shall they stand, until the day of the great judgment in which they shall be judged and are made an end of.'

1 Timothy 4

1The Spirit clearly says that in later times some will abandon the faith and follow deceiving spirits and things taught by demons.

Rev 9:20The rest of mankind that were not killed by these plagues still did not repent of the work of their hands; they did not stop worshiping demons, and idols of gold, silver, bronze, stone and wood—idols that cannot see or hear or walk. 21Nor did they repent of their murders, their magic arts, their sexual immorality or their thefts.

2 And the women also of the angels who went astray shall become sirens (other versions read 'shall become peaceful' also, another version reads, 'shall salute them').'

3 And I, Enoch, alone saw the vision, the ends of all things: and no man shall see as I have seen.

1PE 4:7 But the end of all things is at hand: be ye therefore sober, and watch unto prayer.

[Chapter 20]

1 These are the names of the holy angels who watch.

2 Uriel, one of the holy angels, who is over the world, turmoil and terror.

3 Raphael, one of the holy angels, who is over the spirits of men.

4 Raguel, one of the holy angels who takes vengeance on the world of the luminaries.

5 Michael, one of the holy angels, set over the virtues of mankind and over chaos.

6 Saraqael, one of the holy angels, who is set over the spirits, who sin in the spirit.

7 Gabriel, one of the holy angels, who is over Paradise and the serpents and the Cherubim.

8 Remiel, one of the holy angels, whom God set over those who rise.

[Chapter 21]

1 Then, I proceeded to where things were chaotic and void.

2 And I saw there something horrible: I saw neither a heaven above nor a firmly founded earth, but a place chaotic and horrible.

3 And there I saw seven stars of heaven bound together in it, like great mountains and burning with fire.

4 Then I said: 'For what sin are they bound, and on why have they been cast in here?'

5 Then said Uriel, one of the holy angels, who was with me, and was chief over them: 'Enoch, why do you ask, and why are you eager for the truth?'

6 These are some of the stars of heaven, which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord, and are bound here until ten thousand years, the time entailed by their sins, are consummated.'

7 And I went out from there to another place, which was still more horrible than the former, and I saw a terrible thing: a great fire there which burned and blazed, and the place was cleft as far as the abyss, full of great falling columns of fire:

8 Neither its width or breadth could I see, nor could I see its source.

9 Then I said: 'I am afraid of this place and cannot stand to look at it.!' Then Uriel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered and said to me: 'Enoch, why are you so afraid?'

10 And I answered: 'Because of this fearful place, and because of the spectacle of the pain.' And he said to me: 'This place is the prison of the angels, and here they will be imprisoned for ever.'

*Daniel 7:9 "As I looked,
"thrones were set in place, and the Ancient of Days took his seat. His clothing was as white as snow; the hair of his head was white like wool His throne was flaming with fire, and its wheels were all ablaze. 10 A river of fire was flowing, coming out from before him. Thousands upon thousands attended him; ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him. The court was seated and the books were opened. 11 "Then I continued to watch because of the boastful words the horn was speaking. I kept looking until the beast was slain and its body destroyed and thrown into the blazing fire.*

[Chapter 22]

1 And I went out to another place west where there was a mountain and hard rock.

2 And there was in it four hollow places, deep and wide and very smooth. How smooth are the hollow places and looked deep and dark.

3 Then Raphael answered, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said to me: 'These hollow places have been created for this very purpose, that the spirits of the souls of the dead should be gathered here, that all the souls of the children of men should brought together here. And these places have been made to receive them until the day of their judgment and until the period appointed, until the great judgment comes on them.'

(Author note: The idea of a gathering place of the dead is seen in the doctrine of Purgatory, where the dead are gathered and those who are "redeemable" are kept and purified until such time they might ascend to heaven.)

2 Maccabee 12: 41 All men therefore praising the Lord, the righteous Judge, who had opened the things that were hid,

42 Betook themselves unto prayer, and besought him that the sin committed might wholly be put out of remembrance. Besides, that noble Judas exhorted the people to keep themselves from sin, forsomuch as they saw before their eyes the things that came to pass for the sins of those that were slain.

43 And when he had made a gathering throughout the company to the sum of two thousand drachms of silver, he sent it to Jerusalem to offer a sin offering, doing therein very well and honestly, in that he was mindful of the resurrection:

44 For if he had not hoped that they that were slain should have risen again, it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead.

45 And also in that he perceived that there was great favour laid up for those that died godly, it was an holy and good thought. Whereupon he made a reconciliation for the dead, that they might be delivered from sin.

4 I saw the spirit of a dead man, and his voice went out to heaven and made petitions.

5 And I asked Raphael the angel who was with me, and I said to him: 'This spirit which petitions,

6 Whose is it, whose voice goes up and petitions heaven?'

7 And he answered me saying: 'This is the spirit which went out from Abel, whom his brother Cain slew, and he makes his suit against him until his offspring is destroyed from the face of the earth, and his offspring are annihilated from among the children of men.'

GEN 4:8 And Cain talked with Abel his brother: and it came to pass, when they were in the field that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him. 9 And the LORD said unto Cain, Where is Abel thy brother? And he said, I know not: Am I my brother's keeper? 10 And he said, What hast thou done? the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground. 11 And now art thou cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand; 12 When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength; a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth.

8 Then I asked, regarding all the hollow places: 'Why is one separated from the other?'

9 And he answered me and said to me: 'These three have been made that the spirits of the dead might be separated. Divisions have been made for the spirits of the righteous, in which there is the bright spring of water.

10 And one for sinners when they die and are buried in the earth and judgment has not been executed on them in their lifetime.

11 Here their spirits shall be set apart in this great pain until the great day of judgment and punishment and torment of those who curse for ever and retribution for their spirits.

2 Peter 3: 7By the same word the present heavens and earth are reserved for fire, being kept for the day of judgment and destruction of ungodly men.

12 There He shall bind them for ever. And such a division has been made for the spirits of those who make their petitions, who make disclosures concerning their destruction, when they were slain in the days of the sinners.

13 Such has been made for the spirits of men who were not righteous but sinners, who were complete in transgression, and of the transgressors they shall be companions, but their spirits shall not be destroyed in the day of judgment nor shall they be raised from here.'

14 Then I blessed the Lord of glory and said: 'Blessed be my Lord, the Lord of righteousness, who rules for ever.'

[Chapter 23]

1 From here I went to another place to the west of the ends of the earth.

2 And I saw a burning fire which ran without resting, and never stopped from its course day or night but flowed always in the same way.

3 And I asked saying: 'What is this which never stops?'

4 Then Raguel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered me and said to me: 'This course of fire which you have seen is the fire in the west and is the fire of all the lights of heaven.'

[Chapter 24]

1 And from here I went to another place on the earth, and he showed me a mountain range of fire which burned day and night.

2 And I went beyond it and saw seven magnificent mountains, all differing from each other, and their stones were magnificent and beautiful, and their form was glorious: three towards the east, one founded on the other, and three towards the south, one on the other, and deep rough ravines, no one of which joined with any other.

3 And the seventh mountain was in the midst of these, and it was higher than them, resembling the seat of a throne.

4 And fragrant trees encircled the throne. And among them was a tree such as I had never smelled, nor was any among them or were others like it; it had a fragrance beyond all fragrance, and its leaves and blooms and wood would not ever wither:

5 And its fruit is beautiful, and its fruit resembles the dates of a palm. Then I said: 'How beautiful is this tree, and fragrant, and its leaves are fair, and its blooms very delightful in appearance.'

6 Then Michael, one of the holy and honored angels who was with me, and was their leader, spoke.

[Chapter 25]

1 And he said to me: 'Enoch, why do you ask me about the fragrance of the tree, and why do you wish to learn the truth?'

2 Then I answered him saying: 'I wish to know about everything, but especially about this tree.'

3 And he answered saying: 'This high mountain which you have seen, whose summit is like the throne of God, is His throne, where the Holy Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, will sit, when He shall come down to visit the earth with goodness.'

4 And as for this fragrant tree, no mortal is permitted to touch it until the great judgment, when He shall take vengeance on all and bring everything to its completion for ever.

Genesis 2:8 Now the LORD God had planted a garden in the east, in Eden; and there he put the man he had formed. 9 And the LORD God made all kinds of trees grow out of the ground—trees that were pleasing to the eye and good for food. In the middle of the garden were the tree of life and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. 10 A river watering the garden flowed from Eden; from there it was separated into four headwaters. 11 The name of the first is the Pishon; it winds through the entire land of Havilah, where there is gold. 12 (The gold of that land is good; aromatic resin and onyx are also there.) 13 The name of the second river is the Gihon; it winds through the entire land of Cush. 14 The name of the third river is the Tigris; it runs along the east side of Asshur. And the fourth river is the Euphrates. 15 The LORD God took the man and put him in the Garden of Eden to work it and take care of it. 16 And the LORD God commanded the man, "You are free to eat from any tree in the garden; 17 but you must not eat from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, for when you eat of it you will surely die."

5 It shall then be given to the righteous and holy. Its fruit shall be for food to the Elect: it shall be transplanted to the holy place, to the temple of the Lord, the Eternal King.

REV 22:1 And he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. 2 In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations. 3 And there shall be no more curses: but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it; and his servants shall serve him.

6 Then they shall rejoice and be glad, and enter into the holy place; And its fragrance shall enter into their bones, And they shall live a long life on earth, as your fathers lived. And in their days there will be no sorrow or pain or torment or toil.'

7 Then I blessed the God of Glory, the Eternal King, who has prepared such things for the righteous, and has created them and promised to give to them.

Ezekiel 47:12 (New International Version)

12 Fruit trees of all kinds will grow on both banks of the river. Their leaves will not wither, nor will their fruit fail. Every month they will bear, because the water from the sanctuary flows to them. Their fruit will serve for food and their leaves for healing."

[Chapter 26]

1 And I went from there to the middle of the earth, and I saw a blessed place in which there were trees with branches alive and blooming on a tree that had been cut down.

(Author's note: The "hollow earth theory" has been espoused by various groups throughout history. The theory was used to create the book and movie, "Journey to the Center of the Earth.")

2 And there I saw a holy mountain,

3 And underneath the mountain to the east there was a stream and it flowed towards the south. And I saw towards the east another mountain higher than this, and between them a deep and narrow valley.

4 In it ran a stream underneath the mountain. And to the west of it there was another mountain, lower than the former and of small elevation, and a dry, deep valley between them; and another deep and dry valley was at the edge of the three mountains.

5 And all the valleys were deep and narrow, being formed from hard rock, and there were no trees planted on them.

6 And I was very amazed at the rocks in the valleys.

[Chapter 27]

1 Then I said: 'What is the purpose of this blessed land, which is entirely filled with trees, and what is the purpose of this accursed valley between them?'

2 Then Uriel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered and said: 'This accursed valley is for those who are cursed for ever: Here shall all the

accursed be gathered together who utter with their lips words against the Lord not befitting His glory or say hard things against Him. Here shall they be gathered together, and here shall be their place of judgment.

3 In the last days there shall be the spectacle of righteous judgment on them in the presence of the righteous for ever: here shall the merciful bless the Lord of glory, the Eternal King.

4 In the days of judgment they shall bless Him for the mercy in that He has shown them.'

5 Then I blessed the Lord of Glory and set out His glory and praised Him gloriously.

[Chapter 28]

1 Then, I went towards the east, into the midst of the mountain range in the desert, and I saw a wilderness.

2 And it was solitary, full of trees and plants. And water gushed out from above.

3 Rushing like a torrent which flowed towards the north-west it caused clouds and dew to fall on every side.

[Chapter 29]

1 Then I went to another place in the desert, and approached to the east of this mountain range.

2 And there I saw aromatic trees exuding the fragrance of frankincense and myrrh, and the trees also were similar to the almond tree.

[Chapter 30]

1 Beyond these, I went far to the east,

2 And I saw another place, a valley full of water like one that would not run dry.

3 And there was a tree, the color of fragrant trees was that of mastic. And on the sides of those valleys I saw fragrant cinnamon. And beyond these I proceeded to the east.

[Chapter 31]

1 And I saw other mountains, and among them were groves of trees, and there was nectar that flowed from them, which is named Sarara and Galbanum.

2 And beyond these mountains I saw another mountain to the east of the ends of the earth, on which there were aloe trees, and all the trees were full of fruit, being like almond trees.

3 And when it was burned it smelled sweeter than any fragrant odor.

[Chapter 32]

1 And after I had smelled these fragrant odors, I looked towards the north over the mountains I saw seven mountains full of fine nard and fragrant trees of cinnamon and pepper.

2 And then I went over the summits of all these mountains, far towards the east of the earth, and passed over the Red Sea and went far from it, and passed over the angel Zotiel.

(Author's note: The angel Zoteil, whose name means, "little one of God," welcomes back those sinners who have gone astray but have repented. Based on the description of the locations, some have suggested the sphinx could be a representation, although most believe this to be unlikely.)

3 And I came to the Garden of Righteousness. I saw far beyond those trees more trees and they were numerous and large. There were two trees there,

very large, beautiful, glorious, and magnificent. The tree of knowledge, whose holy fruit they ate and acquired great wisdom.

4 That tree is in height like the fir, and its leaves are like those of the Carob tree,

5 And its fruit is like the clusters of the grapes, very beautiful: and the fragrance of the tree carries far.

Isaiah 60:13 "The glory of Lebanon will come to you, the pine, the fir and the cypress together, to adorn the place of my sanctuary; and I will glorify the place of my feet.

6 Then I said: 'How beautiful is the tree, and how attractive is its look!' Then Raphael the holy angel, who was with me, answered me and said: 'This is the tree of wisdom, of which your father of old and your mother of old, who were your progenitors, have eaten, and they learned wisdom and their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked and they were driven out of the garden.'

[Chapter 33]

1 And from there I went to the ends of the earth and saw there large beasts, and each differed from the other; and I saw birds also differing in appearance and beauty and voice, the one differing from the other.

2 And to the east of those beasts I saw the ends of the earth where heaven rests on it, and the doors of heaven open. And I saw how the stars of heaven come out, and I counted the gates from which they came out,

3 And wrote down all their outlets, of each individual star by their number and their names, their courses and their positions, and their times and their months, as Uriel the holy angel who was with me showed me.

4 He showed me all things and wrote them down for me; also their names he wrote for me, and their laws and their functions.

[Chapter 34]

1 From there I went towards the north to the ends of the earth, and there I saw a great and glorious device at the ends of the whole earth.

2 And here I saw three gates of heaven open : through each of them proceed north winds: when they blow there is cold, hail, frost, snow, dew, and rain.

3 And out of one gate they blow for good: but when they blow through the other two gates, it is for violence and torment on the earth, and they blow with force.

[Chapter 35]

1 Then I went towards the west to the ends of the earth, and saw there three gates of heaven open such as I had seen in the east, the same number of gates, and the same number of outlets.

[Chapter 36]

1 And from there I went to the south to the ends of the earth, and saw there three open gates of heaven.

2 And from them come dew, rain, and wind. And from there I went to the east to the ends of heaven, and saw here the three eastern gates of heaven open and small gates above them.

3 Through each of these small gates pass the stars of heaven and they run their course to the west on the path which is shown to them.

4 And as often as I saw I blessed always the Lord of Glory, and I continued to bless the Lord of Glory who has done great and glorious wonders, who has shown the greatness of His work to the angels and to spirits and to men, that they might praise His work and all His creation: that they might see the power of His might and praise the great work of His hands and bless Him for ever.

[Chapter 37]

-1. The *Book of Parables* (Chapters 37-71):

1 The second vision which he saw, the vision of wisdom which Enoch the son of Jared, the son of Mahalalel,

2 The son of Cainan, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, saw. And this is the beginning of the words of wisdom which I lifted up my voice to speak and say to those which dwell on earth: Hear, you men of old time, and see, you that come after, the words of the Holy One which I will speak before the Lord of spirits.

3 The words are for the men of old time, and to those that come after. We will not withhold the beginning of wisdom from this present day. Such wisdom has never been given by the Lord of spirits as I have received according to my insight, according to the good pleasure of the Lord of spirits by whom the lot of eternal life has been given to me.

4 Now three Parables were imparted to me, and I lifted up my voice and recounted them to those that dwell on the earth.

[Chapter 38]

1 The first Parable: When the congregation of the righteous shall appear, and sinners shall be judged for their sins, and shall be driven from the face of the earth;

2 And when the Righteous One shall appear before the eyes of the elect righteous ones, whose works are weighed by the Lord of spirits, light shall appear to the righteous and the elect who dwell on the earth. Where will there be the dwelling for sinners, and where will there be a resting-place for those who have denied the Lord of spirits? It had been good for them if they had not been born.

JOH 1:1 In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. 2 The same was in the beginning with God. 3 All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made. 4 In him was life; and the life was the light of men. 5 And the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not.

3 When the secrets of the righteous shall be revealed and the sinners judged, and the godless driven from the presence of the righteous and elect,

4 From that time those that possess the earth shall no longer be powerful and mighty: And they shall not be able to look at the face of the holy ones, because the Lord of spirits has caused His light to appear on the face of the holy, righteous, and elect.

2CO 3:18 But we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord.

5 Then the kings and the mighty shall be destroyed and be turned over into the hands of the righteous and holy.

6 And from then on none shall seek mercy from the Lord of spirits for themselves for their life is at an end.

[Chapter 39]

1 And it shall come to pass in those days that elect and holy children will descend from the high heaven, and their offspring will become one with the children of men.

(Author's note: Here we have a verse that can be interpreted in various ways. The holy children from the high heaven could be the spirits of the righteous dead. However, other verses seem to suggest those souls are being held until judgment. Enoch 38:1 mentions a judgment and this could be the one we seek to release the souls and make this verse mesh well.

Other theories regarding this verse have been put forward by those who believe God will give his consent to angels that they may finally freely mix with people. This seems unlikely given the previous reaction. Lastly, those involved with "UFO studies" point to this verse as an indication of contact.

1 Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth had passed away, and there was no longer any sea. 2 I saw the Holy City, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride beautifully dressed for her husband. 3 And I heard a loud voice from the throne saying, "Now the dwelling of God is with men, and he will live with them. They will be his people, and God himself will be with them and be their God. 4 He will wipe every tear from their eyes. There will be no more death or mourning or crying or pain, for the old order of things has passed away." 5 He who was seated on the throne said, "I am making everything new!" Then he said, "Write this down, for these words are trustworthy and true."

2 And in those days Enoch received books of indignation and wrath, and books of turmoil and confusion. There will be no mercy for them, says the Lord of spirits.

3 And in those days a whirlwind carried me off from the earth, And set me down at the end of heaven.

4 There I saw another vision, the dwelling-places of the holy, and the resting-places of the righteous.

5 Here my eyes saw the dwelling places of His righteous angels, and the resting-places of the Holy Ones. And they petitioned and interceded and prayed for the children of men, and righteousness flowed before them like water, and mercy fell like dew on the earth: Thus it is among them for ever and ever.

6 And in that place my eyes saw the Elect One of righteousness and of faith,

7 And I saw his dwelling-place under the wings of the Lord of spirits.

8 And righteousness shall prevail in his days, and the righteous and elect shall be innumerable and will be before Him for ever and ever.

9 And all the righteous and elect ones before Him shall be as bright as fiery lights, and their mouth shall be full of blessing, and their lips shall praise the name of the Lord of spirits. Righteousness and truth before Him shall never fail.

10 There I wished to dwell, and my spirit longed for that dwelling-place; and thus it was decided and my portion was assigned and established by the Lord of spirits.

11 In those days I praised and exalted the name of the Lord of spirits with blessings and praises, because He had destined me for blessing and glory according to the good pleasure of the Lord of spirits.

12 For a long time my eyes looked at that place, and I blessed Him and praised Him, saying: 'Blessed is He, and may He be blessed from the beginning and for evermore. And in His presence there is no end.

13 He knows before the world was created what is for ever and what will be from generation to generation.

14 Those who do not sleep bless you, they stand before your glory and bless, praise, and exalt you, saying: "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of spirits: He fills the earth with spirits."

15 And here my eyes saw all those who do not sleep: they stand before Him and bless Him saying: 'Blessed be you, and blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and ever.'

16 And my face was changed; for I could no longer see.

Exodus 34:29

When Moses came down from Mount Sinai with the two tablets of the Testimony in his hands, he was not aware that his face was radiant because he had spoken with the LORD.

[Chapter 40]

1 And after that I saw thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand,

2 I saw a multitude beyond number and reckoning, who stood before the Lord of spirits. And on the four sides of the Lord of spirits I saw four figures, different from those that did not sleep, and I learned their names; for the

angel that went with me told me their names, and showed me all the hidden things.

3 And I heard the voices of those four presences as they uttered praises before the Lord of glory.

4 The first voice blessed the Lord of spirits for ever and ever.

5 The second voice I heard blessing the Elect One and the elect ones who depend on the Lord of spirits.

6 And the third voice I heard pray and intercede for those who live on the earth and pray earnestly in the name of the Lord of spirits.

7 And I heard the fourth voice fending off the Satans (adversary or accusers) and forbidding them to come before the Lord of spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth.

8 After that I asked the angel of peace who went with me, who showed me everything that is hidden: 'Who are these four figures which I have seen and whose words I have heard and written down?'

9 And he said to me: 'This first is Michael, the merciful and long-suffering; and the second, who is set over all the diseases and all the wounds of the children of men, is Raphael; and the third, who is set over all the powers, is Gabriel' and the fourth, who is set over the repentance and those who hope to inherit eternal life, is named Phanuel.'

10 And these are the four angels of the Lord of spirits and the four voices I heard in those days.

[Chapter 41]

1 And after that I saw all the secrets of heavens, and how the kingdom is divided, and how the actions of men are weighed in the balance.

Daniel 5:27 Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting.

2 And there I saw the mansions of the elect and the mansions of the holy, and my eyes saw all the sinners being driven from there which deny the name of the Lord of spirits, and they were being dragged off; and they could not live because of the punishment which proceeds from the Lord of spirits.

JOH 14:2 In my Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you. 3 And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also.

3 And there my eyes saw the secrets of the lightning and of the thunder, and the secrets of the winds, how they are divided to blow over the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and dew,

4 And there I saw where they came from and how they saturate the dusty earth.

5 And there I saw closed storehouses out of which the winds are divided, the storehouse of the hail and winds, the storehouse of the mist, and of the clouds, and the cloud thereof hovers over the earth from the beginning of the world.

6 And I saw the storehouses of the sun and moon, where they go and where they come, and their glorious return, and how one is superior to the other, and their stately orbit, and how they do not leave their orbit, and they add nothing to their orbit and they take nothing from it, and they keep faith with each other, in accordance with the oath by which they are bound together.

7 And first the sun goes out and traverses his path according to the commandment of the Lord of spirits, and mighty is His name for ever and ever. And after that I saw the invisible and the visible path of the moon, and she accomplishes the course of her path in that place by day and by night - the one holding a position opposite to the other before the Lord of spirits. And they give thanks and praise and rest not; but their thanksgiving is for ever and ever.

8 For the sun makes many revolutions for a blessing or a curse, and the course of the path of the moon is light to the righteous and darkness to the sinners in the name of the Lord, who made a separation between the light

and the darkness, and divided the spirits of men and strengthened the spirits of the righteous, in the name of His righteousness.

Matthew 5:44 But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you; 45 That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.

9 For no angel hinders and no power is able to hinder; for He appoints a judge for them all and He judges them all Himself.

[Chapter 42]

1 Wisdom found no place where she might dwell; then a dwelling-place was assigned her in heavens.

2 Wisdom went out to make her dwelling among the children of men, and found no dwelling-place. Wisdom returned to her place, and took her seat among the angels.

3 And unrighteousness went out from her storehouses. She found those she did not seek, and dwelt with them, (she sought no one in particular but found a place[...]); as rain in a desert and dew on a thirsty land.

[Chapter 43]

1 And I saw other lightning and the stars of heaven, and I saw how He called them all by their names and they obeyed Him.

2 And I saw how they are weighed in a righteous balance according to their proportions of light: I saw the width of their spaces and the day of their appearing, and how their revolution produces lightning:

3 And I saw their revolution according to the number of the angels, and how they keep faith with each other. And I asked the angel who went with me who showed me what was hidden:

4 'What are these?' And he said to me: 'The Lord of spirits has shown you their parable: these are the names of the holy who dwell on the earth and believe in the name of the Lord of spirits for ever and ever.'

[Chapter 44]

1 Also another phenomenon I saw in regard to the lightning: how some of the stars arise and become lightning and cannot part with their new form.

[Chapter 45]

1 And this is the second Parable: concerning those who deny the name of the dwelling of the holy ones and the Lord of spirits.

2 They shall not ascend to heaven, and they shall not come on the earth: Such shall be the lot of the sinners who have denied the name of the Lord of spirits, who are preserved for the day of suffering and tribulation.

3 On that day My Elect One shall sit on the throne of glory and shall try the works of the righteous, and their places of rest shall be innumerable. And their souls shall grow strong within them when they see My Elect One, And those who have called on My glorious name:

4 Then will I cause My Elect One to dwell among them. I will transform heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light,

5 And I will transform the earth and make it a blessing, and I will cause My elect ones to dwell on it. But the sinners and evil-doers shall not set foot on it.

6 For I have seen and satisfied My righteous ones with peace and have caused them to dwell before Me, but for the sinners there is judgment impending with Me, so that I shall destroy them from the face of the earth.

[Chapter 46]

1 And there I saw One whose face looked ancient. His head was white like wool, and with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man, and his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels.

2 And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, concerning that Son of Man, who he was, and where came from, and why he went with the Ancient One? And he answered and said to me:

3 “This is the son of Man who hath righteousness, with whom dwells righteousness, and who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden, because the Lord of spirits hath chosen him, and whose lot has preeminence before the Lord of spirits in righteousness and is for ever.

4 And this Son of Man whom you have seen shall raise up the kings and the mighty from their seats, and the strong from their thrones and shall loosen the reins of the strong, and break the teeth of the sinners.

Matthew 13:41 The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity;

5 And he shall put down the kings from their thrones and kingdoms because they do not exalt and praise Him, nor humbly acknowledge who bestowed their kingdom on them.

Matthew 19:28 And Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, That ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

6 And he shall make the strong hang their heads, and shall fill them with shame. And darkness shall be their dwelling, and worms shall be their bed, and they shall have no hope of rising from their beds, because they do not exalt the name of the Lord of spirits.”

7 They raise their hands against the Most High and tread on the earth and dwell on it and all their deeds manifest unrighteousness. Their power rests on

their riches, and their faith is in the gods which they have made with their hands. They deny the name of the Lord of spirits,

8 And they persecute the houses of His congregations, and the faithful who depend on the name of the Lord of Spirits.

[Chapter 47]

1 In those days the prayer of the righteous shall have ascended, and the blood of the righteous from the earth shall be before the Lord of spirits.

2 In those days the holy ones who dwell above in heavens shall unite with one voice and supplicate and pray and praise, and give thanks and bless the name of the Lord of spirits on behalf of the blood of the righteous which has been shed, that the prayer of the righteous may not be in vain before the Lord of spirits, that they may have justice, and that they may not have to wait for ever.

3 In those days I saw the "Head of Days" when He seated himself on the throne of His glory, and the books of the living were opened before Him; and all His host which is in heaven above and His counselors stood before Him,

4 And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy because the number of the righteous had been offered, and the prayer of the righteous had been heard, and the blood of the righteous not been required before the Lord of spirits.

Revelation 20:11Then I saw a great white throne and him who was seated on it. Earth and sky fled from his presence, and there was no place for them. 12And I saw the dead, great and small, standing before the throne, and books were opened. Another book was opened, which is the book of life. The dead were judged according to what they had done as recorded in the books. 13The sea gave up the dead that were in it, and death and Hades gave up the dead that were in them, and each person was judged according to what he had done. 14Then death and Hades were thrown into the lake of fire. The lake of fire is the second death. 15If anyone's name was not found written in the book of life, he was thrown into the lake of fire.

[Chapter 48]

1 And in that place I saw the spring of righteousness which was inexhaustible. And around it were many springs of wisdom. And all the thirsty drank of them, and were filled with wisdom, and their dwellings were with the righteous and holy and elect.

2 And at that hour that Son of Man was named in the presence of the Lord of spirits, And his name was brought before the Head of Days.

3 Even before the sun and the signs were created, before the stars of heaven were made, His name was named before the Lord of spirits.

4 He shall be a staff to the righteous and they shall steady themselves and not fall. And he shall be the light of the Gentiles, and the hope of those who are troubled of heart.

Romans 11: 11 I say then, Have they stumbled that they should fall? God forbid: but rather through their fall salvation is come unto the Gentiles, for to provoke them to jealousy.

12 Now if the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles; how much more their fulness?

13 For I speak to you Gentiles, inasmuch as I am the apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify mine office:

14 If by any means I may provoke to emulation them which are my flesh, and might save some of them.

15 For if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead?

16 For if the firstfruit be holy, the lump is also holy: and if the root be holy, so are the branches.

17 And if some of the branches be broken off, and thou, being a wild olive tree, wert grafted in among them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive tree;

18 Boast not against the branches. But if thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee.

19 Thou wilt say then, The branches were broken off, that I might be grafted in.

20 Well; because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith. Be not highminded, but fear:

21 For if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee.

5 All who dwell on earth shall fall down and worship before him, and will praise and bless and sing and celebrate the Lord of spirits.

6 And for this reason he has been chosen and hidden in front of (kept safe by) Him, before the creation of the world and for evermore.

7 And the wisdom of the Lord of spirits has revealed him to the holy and righteous; For he hath preserved the lot of the righteous, because they have hated and rejected this world of unrighteousness, and have hated all its works and ways in the name of the Lord of spirits. For in his name they are saved, and according to his good pleasure and it is He who has regard to their life.

8 In these days the kings of the earth and the strong who possess the land because of the works of their hands will be shamed, because on the day of their anguish and affliction they shall not be able to save themselves. And I will give them over into the hands of My elect.

9 As straw in the fire so shall they burn before the face of the holy; as lead in the water shall they sink before the face of the righteous, and no trace of them shall be found anymore.

Malachi 4

1For, behold, the day cometh, that shall burn as an oven; and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly, shall be stubble: and the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith the LORD of hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch.

10 And on the day of their affliction there shall be rest on the earth (because the evil ones will be destroyed), and before Him they shall fall down and not rise again, and there shall be no one to take them with his hands and raise them up; for they have denied the Lord of spirits and His Anointed. The name of the Lord of spirits be blessed.

[Chapter 49]

1 For wisdom is poured out like water, and glory will not fail before him ever.

2 For he is mighty in all the secrets of righteousness, and unrighteousness shall disappear like a shadow, and will no longer exist; because the Elect One stands before the Lord of spirits, and his glory is for ever and ever, and his might for all generations.

3 In him dwells the spirit of wisdom, and the spirit which gives insight, and the spirit of understanding and of might, and the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in righteousness.

4 And he shall judge the secret things, and no one shall be able to utter a lying or idle word before him, for he is the Elect One before the Lord of spirits according to His good pleasure.

[Chapter 50]

1 And in those days a change shall take place for the holy and elect, and the light of days shall abide on them, and glory and honor shall turn to the Holy.

2 On the day of trouble, affliction will be heaped on the evil. And the righteous shall be victorious in the name of the Lord of spirits. For He will this to others that they may repent and turn away from the works of their hands.

3 They shall have no honor through the name of the Lord of spirits, but through His name they shall be saved, and the Lord of spirits will have compassion on them, for His mercy is great.

4 He is righteous also in His judgment, and in the presence of His glory unrighteousness also shall not stand: At His judgment the unrepentant shall perish before Him.

5 And from now on I will have no mercy on them, says the Lord of spirits.

[Chapter 51]

1 And in those days shall the earth also give back that which has been entrusted to it, and Sheol (the grave) also shall give back that which it has

received, and hell shall give back that which it owes. For in those days the Elect One shall arise,

2 And he shall choose the righteous and holy from among them. For the day has drawn near that they should be saved.

Revelation 20:12 And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is the book of life: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works. 13 And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man according to their works. 14 And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire. This is the second death. 15 And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire.

3 And in those days the Elect One shall sit on His throne, and all the secrets of wisdom and counsel shall pour from His mouth, for the Lord of spirits hath given them to Him and has glorified Him.

4 In those days shall the mountains leap like rams, and the hills shall skip like lambs satisfied with milk, and the faces of all the angels in heaven shall be lighted up with joy.

5 And the earth shall rejoice, and the righteous shall dwell on it, and the elect shall walk on it.

[Chapter 52]

1 And after those days in that place where I had seen all the visions of that which is hidden, for I had been carried off in a whirlwind and they had borne me towards the west.

2 There my eyes saw all the secret things of heaven that shall be, a mountain of iron, and a mountain of copper, and a mountain of silver, and a mountain of gold, and a mountain of soft metal, and a mountain of lead.

3 And I asked the angel who went with me, saying, 'What things are these which I have seen in secret?'

4 And he said to me: 'All these things which you have seen shall serve the authority of His Messiah that he may be powerful and mighty on the earth.'

5 The angel of peace answered me saying: 'Wait a little while, and all secret things shall be revealed to you, things which surround the Lord of spirits.'

6 And these mountains which your eyes have seen, the mountain of iron, and the mountain of copper, and the mountain of silver, and the mountain of gold, and the mountain of soft metal, and the mountain of lead, all of these shall be like wax before a fire in the presence of the Elect One. Like the water which streams down from above on those mountains, and they shall be weak under his feet.

7 And it shall come to pass in those days that none shall be saved, either by gold or by silver, and none will be able to save themselves or escape.

8 And there shall be no iron for war, nor materials for breastplates. Bronze shall be of no use, tin shall be worthless, and lead shall not be desired.

9 All these things shall be destroyed from the face of the earth, when the Elect One appears before the Lord of spirits.'

[Chapter 53]

1 There my eyes saw a deep valley with its mouth open, and all who dwell on the earth and sea and islands shall bring gifts and presents and tokens of homage to Him, but that deep valley shall not become full.

2 And their hands commit lawless deeds, and everything the righteous work at the sinners devour. The sinners shall be destroyed in front of the face of the Lord of spirits, and they shall be banished from off the face of His earth, and they shall perish for ever and ever.

3 For I saw all the angels of punishment abiding there and preparing all the instruments of Satan.

4 And I asked the angel of peace who went with me: 'For whom are they preparing these instruments?'

5 And he said to me: 'They prepare these for the kings and the powerful of this earth, that they may with them they be destroyed.

6 After this the Righteous and Elect One shall cause the house of His congregation to appear and from then on they shall hinder no more, in the name of the Lord of spirits.

7 And these mountains shall not stand as solid ground before His righteousness, but the hills shall be like springs of water, and the righteous shall have rest from the oppression of sinners.'

[Chapter 54]

1 And I looked and turned to another part of the earth, and saw there a deep valley with burning fire.

2 And they brought the kings and the powerful, and began to cast them into this deep valley.

Revelation 6:15 And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bondman, and every free man, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains;

16 And said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb:

17 For the great day of his wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand?

3 And there my eyes saw how they made their instruments for them, iron chains of immeasurable weight.

4 And I asked the angel of peace who was with me, saying: 'For whom are these chains being prepared ?'

5 And he said to me: 'These are being prepared for the hosts of Azazel, so that they may take them and throw them into the bottom of the pit of hell, and they shall cover their jaws with rough stones as the Lord of spirits commanded.

6 And Michael, and Gabriel, and Raphael, and Phanuel shall take hold of them on that great day, and throw them into the burning furnace on that day,

that the Lord of spirits may take vengeance on them for their unrighteousness in becoming servants to Satan and for leading astray those who live on the earth.'

7 And in those days punishment will come from the Lord of spirits, and he will open all the storehouses of waters above heavens, and of the fountains which are under the surface of the earth.

8 And all the waters shall be come together (flow into or be joined) with the waters of heaven (above the sky), that which is above heavens is the masculine, and the water which is beneath the earth is the feminine.

9 And they shall destroy all who live on the dry land and those who live under the ends of heaven.

(Author's note: The previous verse refers to Noah's flood).

10 And when they have acknowledged the unrighteousness which they have done on the earth, by these they shall perish.

[Chapter 55]

1 And after that the Head of Days repented and said: 'I have destroyed all who dwell on the earth to no avail.'

2 And He swore by His great name: 'From now on I will not do this to all who dwell on the earth again, and I will set a sign in heaven: and this shall be a covenant of good faith between Me and them for ever, so long as heaven is above the earth. And this is in accordance with My command.

(Author's note: The previous verse refers to the rainbow).

3 When I have desired to take hold of them by the hand of the angels on the day of tribulation, anger, and pain because of this, I will cause My punishment and anger to abide on them, says God, the Lord of spirits.

4 You mighty kings who live on the earth, you shall have to watch My Elect One, sit on the throne of glory and judge Azazel, and all his associates, and all his hosts in the name of the Lord of spirits.'

[Chapter 56]

1 And I saw there the hosts of the angels of punishment going, and they held scourges and chains of iron and bronze.

2 And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: 'To whom are these who hold the scourges going?'

3 And he said to me: 'Each one to the ones they have chosen and to their loved ones, that they may be cast into the chasm of the abyss in the valley.

4 And then that valley shall be filled with ones they chose and their loved ones, and the days of their lives shall be at an end, and the days of their leading astray shall no longer be remembered (counted).

5 In those days the angels shall return and gather together and throw themselves to the east on the Parthians and Medes. They shall stir up the kings, so that a spirit of unrest and disturbance will come on them, and they shall drive them from their thrones, that they may rush out like lions from their lairs, and as hungry wolves among their flocks.

(Author's note: The names of certain countries help set the date of the manuscript. Scholars believe, based on the names of the countries mentioned in Enoch, that the book could not have been written prior to 250 B.C. since some countries did not exist before that date. One could add that the particular part of Enoch is the only section dated, since the book consists of several disjointed parts.)

6 And they shall go up and trample the lands of My elect ones, and the land of His elect ones shall be before them a threshing-floor (trampled, barren ground and a highway).

7 But the city of my righteous ones shall be a hindrance to their horses, and they shall begin to fight among themselves, and their own right hand shall be strong against themselves, and a man shall not know his brother, nor a son his father or his mother, until there will be innumerable corpses because of their slaughter, and their punishment shall be not in vain.

8 In those days hell (Sheol) shall open its jaws, and they shall be swallowed up. Their destruction shall be final. Hell (Sheol) shall devour the sinners in

the presence of the elect.'

REV 20:1 And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand. 2 And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years.

[Chapter 57]

1 And it came to pass after this that I saw another host of chariots, and men riding on them. They were coming on the winds from the east, and from the west to the south.

2 The noise of their chariots was heard, and when this turmoil took place the holy ones from heaven watched it, and the pillars of the earth were shaken and moved, and the sound of it was heard from the one end of heaven to the other, in one day.

3 And all shall fall down and worship the Lord of spirits. This is the end of the second Parable.

[Chapter 58]

1 And I began to speak the third Parable concerning the righteous and elect.

2 Blessed are you, you righteous and elect, for glorious shall be your lot.

3 And the righteous shall be in the light of the sun, and the elect will be in the light of eternal life. The days of their life shall be unending, and the days of the holy will be without number.

4 And they shall seek the light and find righteousness with the Lord of spirits. Peace to the righteous in the name of the Eternal Lord!

5 And after this it shall be said to the holy in heaven that they should seek secrets of righteousness, and the destiny of faith. For it has become bright as the sun on earth, and the darkness is passed away.

6 And there shall be a light that never ends, and to a number of days they shall not come, for the darkness shall first have been destroyed, [And the

light established before the Lord of spirits] and the light of righteousness established for ever before the Lord of spirits.

[Chapter 59]

1 In those days my eyes saw the secrets of the lightning, and of the lights, and they judge and execute their judgment, and they illuminate for a blessing or a curse as the Lord of spirits wills.

2 And there I saw the secrets of the thunder, and how when it resounds above in heaven, the sound thereof is heard, and he caused me to see the judgments executed on the earth, whether they are for well-being and blessing, or for a curse according to the word of the Lord of spirits.

3 And after that all the secrets of the lights and lightning were shown to me, and they lighten for blessing and for satisfying.

[Chapter 60] - Noah's Vision

1 In the year 500, in the seventh month, on the fourteenth day of the month in the life of Enoch, in that parable I saw how a mighty quaking made the heaven of heavens to quake, and the host of the Most High, and the angels, a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, were disquieted with great foreboding.

2 And the Head of Days sat on the throne of His glory, and the angels and the righteous stood around Him.

3 And a great trembling seized me, and fear took hold of me, and my legs gave way, and I melted with weakness and fell on my face.

4 And Michael sent another angel from among the holy ones and he raised me up, and when he had raised me up my spirit returned; for I had not been able to endure the look of this host, and the disturbance and the shaking of heaven.

5 And Michael said to me: 'Why are you upset with such a vision? Until this day, His mercy and long-suffering has lasted toward those who dwell on the

earth.'

6 And when the day, and the power, and the punishment, and the judgment come, which the Lord of spirits hath prepared for those who worship not the righteous law, and for those who deny the righteous judgment, and for those who take His name in vain, that day is prepared. It will be a covenant for the elect, but for sinners an inquisition. When the punishment of the Lord of spirits shall rest on them, it will not come in vain, and it shall slay the children with their mothers and the children with their fathers.

7 And on that day two monsters were separated from one another, a female monster named Leviathan, to dwell in the abyss of the ocean over the fountains of the waters;

8 And the male is named Behemoth, who occupied with his breast a wasted wilderness named Duidain, on the east of the garden where the elect and righteous dwell, where my (great) grandfather was taken up, the seventh from Adam, the first man whom the Lord of spirits created.

9 And I asked the other angel to show me the might of those monsters, how they were separated on one day and thrown, the one into the abyss of the sea, and the other to the earth's desert.

10 And he said to me: ' Son of man, you wish to know what is kept secret.'

11 And the other angel who went with me and showed me what was kept secret; told me what is first and last in heaven in the sky, and beneath the earth in the depth, and at the ends of heaven, and on the foundation of heaven.

12 And the storehouse of the winds, and how the winds are divided, and how they are weighed, and how the doors of the winds are calculated for each according to the power of the wind, and the power of the lights of the moon according to the power that is fitting; and the divisions of the stars according to their names, and how all the divisions are divided.

13 And the thunder according to the places where they fall, and all the divisions that are made among the lightning that it may light, and their host that they may at once obey.

14 For the thunder has places of rest which are assigned while it is waiting for its peal; and the thunder and lightning are inseparable, and although not

one and undivided, they both go together in spirit and are not separate.

15 For when the lightning flashes, the thunder utters its voice, and the spirit enforces a pause during the peal, and divides equally between them; for the treasury of their peals is like the sand (of an hourglass), and each one of them as it peals is held in with a bridle, and turned back by the power of the spirit, and pushed forward according to the many parts of the earth.

16 And the spirit of the sea is masculine and strong, and according to the might of His strength He draws it back with a rein, and in like manner it is driven forward and disperses in the midst of all the mountains of the earth.

17 And the spirit of the hoar-frost is his own angel, and the spirit of the hail is a good angel. And the spirit of the snow has forsaken his storehouse because of his strength.

18 There is a special spirit there, and that which ascends from it is like smoke, and its name is frost. And the spirit of the mist is not united with them in their storehouse, but it has a special storehouse; for its course is glorious both in light and in darkness, and in winter and in summer, and in its storehouse is an angel.

19 And the spirit of the dew has its dwelling at the ends of heaven, and is connected with the storehouse of the rain, and its course is in winter and summer; and its clouds and the clouds of the mist are connected, and the one gives to the other.

20 And when the spirit of the rain goes out from its storehouse, the angels come and open the storehouse and lead it out, and when it is diffused over the whole earth it unites with the water on the earth.

21 And whenever it unites with the water on the earth, (for the waters are for those who live on the earth), they are (become) nourishment for the earth from the Most High who is in heaven.

22 Therefore there is a measurement for the rain, and the angels are in charge of it. And these things I saw towards the Garden of the Righteous.

23 And the Angel of Peace who was with me, said to me:

24 "These two monsters, prepared in accordance with the greatness of the Lord, will feed them the punishment of the Lord. And children will be killed with their mothers, and sons with their fathers.

Job 3: 8 May those who curse days curse that day, those who are ready to rouse Leviathan.

*Isaiah 27: 1 In that day,
the LORD will punish with his sword,
his fierce, great and powerful sword,
Leviathan the gliding serpent,
Leviathan the coiling serpent;
he will slay the monster of the sea.*

[Chapter 61]

1 And I saw in those days that long cords were given to those angels, and they took to themselves wings and flew, and they went towards the north.

2 I asked the angel, saying to him: 'Why have those angels who have cords taken flight?' And he said to me: 'They have gone to take measurements.'

(Author's note: There were no tape measures in those days. Measurements were taken by a simple rope or stick. The rope may have knots placed in it. Usual measurement were based on a man's forearm, the length of an arm, or the span of the arms.) In this case, the measurements, based those of the Lord or his appointed angel, encoded secret knowledge.)

3 And the angel who went with me said to me: 'These shall bring the measurements of the righteous, and the cords of the righteous to the righteous, that they may rely on the name of the Lord of spirits for ever and ever.

4 The elect shall begin to dwell with the elect, and those are the measurements which shall be given to faith and which shall strengthen righteousness.

5 And these measurements shall reveal all the secrets of the depths of the earth, and those who have been destroyed by the desert, and those who have been devoured by the beasts, and those who have been devoured by the fish of the sea, that they may return and rely on the day of the Elect One. For none shall be destroyed before the Lord of spirits, and none can be destroyed.

6 And all who dwell in heaven received a command and power and one voice and one light like to fire.

7 And they blessed Him with their first words and exalted and praised Him in their wisdom. And they were wise in utterance and in the spirit of life.

8 And the Lord of spirits placed the Elect One on the throne of glory. And he shall judge all the works of the holy above in heaven, and in the balance their deeds shall be weighed.

2 Timothy 4:1 I charge thee therefore before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing and his kingdom;

9 And when he shall lift up his face to judge their secret ways according to the word of the name of the Lord of spirits, and their path according to the way of the righteous judgment of the Lord of spirits; then they shall all speak with one voice and bless and glorify and exalt the name of the Lord of spirits.

10 And He will summon all the host of heavens, and all the holy ones above, and the host of God, the cherubim, seraphim and ophannim, and all the angels of power, and all the angels of principalities (angels that rule over other angels), and the Elect One, and the other powers on the earth and over the water. On that day shall raise one voice, and bless and glorify and exalt in the spirit of faith, and in the spirit of wisdom, and in the spirit of patience, and in the spirit of mercy, and in the spirit of judgment and of peace, and in the spirit of goodness, and shall all say with one voice: "Blessed is He, and may the name of the Lord of spirits be blessed for ever and ever."

11 All who do not sleep above in heaven shall bless Him. All the holy ones who are in heaven shall bless Him; and all the elect who dwell in the garden of life, and every spirit who is able to bless, and glorify, and exalt, and praise Your blessed name, and to the extent of its ability all flesh shall glorify and bless Your name for ever and ever.

12 For great is the mercy of the Lord of spirits. He is long-suffering, and all His works and all that He has created He has revealed to the righteous and elect, in the name of the Lord of spirits.

Numbers 14:18 The LORD is longsuffering, and of great mercy, forgiving iniquity and transgression, and by no means clearing the guilty, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation.

[Chapter 62]

1 Thus the Lord commanded the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, and said: 'Open your eyes and lift up your horns if you are able to recognize the Elect One.'

Psalms 24: 7 Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in.

2 And the Lord of spirits seated Him on the throne of His glory, and the spirit of righteousness was poured out on Him, and the word of His mouth slays all the sinners, and all the unrighteous are destroyed from in front of His face.

REV 19:15 And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron: and he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God. 16 And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.

3 And in that day all the kings and the mighty, and the exalted and those who hold the earth shall stand up and shall see and recognize that He sits on the throne of His glory, and that righteousness is judged before Him, and no lying word is spoken before Him.

4 Then pain will come on them as on a woman in labor, and she has pain in giving birth when her child enters the mouth of the womb, and she has pain in childbirth.

Micah 4: 10 Be in pain, and labour to bring forth, O daughter of Zion, like a woman in travail: for now shalt thou go forth out of the city, and thou shalt dwell

in the field, and thou shalt go even to Babylon; there shalt thou be delivered; there the LORD shall redeem thee from the hand of thine enemies.

5 And one portion of them shall look at the other, and they shall be terrified, and they shall look downcast, and pain shall seize them, when they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of His glory.

Matt 25:31 When the Son of Man shall come in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the throne of His glory:

6 And the kings and the mighty and all who possess the earth shall bless and glorify and exalt Him who rules over all, who was hidden.

7 For from the beginning the Son of Man was hidden, and the Most High preserved Him in the presence of His might, and revealed Him to the elect.

8 And the congregation of the elect and holy shall be sown, and all the elect shall stand before Him on that day.

9 And all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who rule the earth shall fall down before Him on their faces, and worship and set their hope on that Son of Man, and petition Him and supplicate for mercy at His hands.

10 Nevertheless that Lord of spirits will so press them that they shall heavily go out from His presence, and their faces shall be filled with shame, and the darkness grows deeper on their faces.

11 And He will deliver them to the angels for punishment, to execute vengeance on them because they have oppressed His children and His elect.

12 And they shall be a spectacle for the righteous and for His elect. They shall rejoice over them, because the wrath of the Lord of spirits rests on them, and His sword is drunk with their blood.

13 The righteous and elect shall be saved on that day, and they shall never again see the face of the sinners and unrighteous.

14 And the Lord of spirits will abide over them, and they shall eat, lie down and rise up with the Son of Man for ever and ever.

Revelation 21:3 "Now the dwelling of God is with men, and he will live with them. They will be his people, and God himself will be with them and be their God. 4He will wipe every tear from their eyes. There will be no more death or mourning or crying or pain, for the old order of things has passed away."

15 The righteous and elect shall have risen from the earth, and ceased to be downcast and they will have been clothed with garments of life.

16 And these shall be the garments of life from the Lord of spirits; they shall not wear out nor will your glory pass away from before the Lord of spirits.

[Chapter 63]

1 In those days shall the mighty and the kings who possess the earth beg Him to grant them a little respite from His angels of punishment to whom they were delivered, that they might fall down and worship before the Lord of spirits, and confess their sins before Him.

Romans 14:11 For it is written, As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God.

12So then every one of us shall give account of himself to God.

2 And they shall bless and glorify the Lord of spirits, and say: 'Blessed is the Lord of spirits and the Lord of kings, and the Lord of the mighty and the Lord of the rich, and the Lord of glory and the Lord of wisdom,

3 And every secret is revealed in front of you. Your power is from generation to generation, and your glory for ever and ever. Deep and innumerable are all your secrets, and your righteousness is beyond reckoning.

4 We have now learned that we should glorify and bless the Lord of kings and Him who is King over all kings.'

5 And they shall say: 'Would that we had a respite to glorify and give thanks and confess our faith before His glory!

6 And now we long for a little respite but find it not. We are driven away and obtain it not: And light has vanished from before us, and darkness is our

dwelling-place for ever and ever;

7 Because we have not believed in Him nor glorified the name of the Lord of spirits, but our hope was in the scepter of our kingdom, and in our own glory.

8 In the day of our suffering and tribulation He does not save and we find no respite for confession that our Lord is true in all His works, and in His judgments and His justice, and His judgments have no respect of persons.

Romans 2: 7To them who by patient continuance in well doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life:

8But unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath,

9Tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile;

10But glory, honour, and peace, to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile:

11For there is no respect of persons with God.

12For as many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law: and as many as have sinned in the law shall be judged by the law;

13 For not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified.

9 We pass away from before His face on account of our works, and all our sins are judged in (in comparison to) righteousness.'

10 Now they shall say to themselves: 'Our souls are full of unrighteous gain, but what we have gained does not prevent us from descending from the midst of our worldly gain into the torment (burden) of Hell (Sheol).'

11 And after that their faces shall be filled with darkness and shame before that Son of Man, and they shall be driven from His presence, and the sword shall abide before His face in their midst.

12 Thus spoke the Lord of spirits: 'This is the ordinance and judgment with respect to the mighty and the kings and the exalted and those who possess the earth before the Lord of spirits.'

[Chapter 64]

1 And other forms I saw hidden in that place.

2 I heard the voice of the angel saying: 'These are the angels who descended to the earth, and revealed what was hidden to the children of men and seduced the children of men into committing sin.'

Jude 1:6 And the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day.

[Chapter 65]

1 And in those days Noah saw the earth that it had sunk down and its destruction was near.

2 And he arose from there and went to the ends of the earth, and cried aloud to his grandfather, Enoch.

3 And Noah said three times with an embittered voice: “Hear me, hear me, hear me.” And I said to him: 'Tell me what it is that is falling out on the earth that the earth is in such evil plight and shaken, lest perchance I shall perish with it?'

4 And there was a great disturbance on the earth, and a voice was heard from heaven, and I fell on my face. And Enoch my grandfather came and stood by me, and said to me: 'Why have you cried to me with a bitter cry and weeping?'

5 A command has gone out from the presence of the Lord concerning those who dwell on the earth that their ruin is accomplished because they have learned all the secrets of the angels, and all the violence of the Satans (deceivers, accusers);

(Author's note: There are many meanings of the word “satan” but all indicate great negativity. It can mean one who opposes, accuses, or deceives. In this case there is some confusion as to who the satans are. We are told the fallen angels

taught men to war, but we are also told that it was the children of the angels that were so destructive. We are told that the angels taught men sorcery and spells, but it was the spirits of the nephilim that went out from their bodies to destroy.)

6 And all their powers - the most secret ones - and all the power of those who practice sorcery, and the power of witchcraft, and the power of those who make molten images for the whole earth.

7 And how silver is produced from the dust of the earth, and how soft metal originates in the earth.

8 For lead and tin are not produced from the earth like the first; it is a fountain that produces them;

9 And an angel stands in it, and that angel is preeminent.' And after that my grandfather Enoch took hold of me by my hand and lifted me up, and said to me:

10 'Go, for I have asked the Lord of spirits about this disturbance on the earth. And He said to me: "Because of their unrighteousness their judgment has been determined and shall not be withheld by Me for ever. Because of the sorceries which they have searched out and learned, the earth and those who dwell on it shall be destroyed."

(Author's note: Flesh and blood will be drowned under the waters of the flood. All those who knew the fallen angels and all those who had given birth to their children would be killed, but the angels cannot die and the spirits of the nephilim do not need a body to survive. The text indicates the spirits need no food or water and go about unseen.)

11 And from these, they have no place of repentance for ever, because they have shown them what was hidden, and they are the damned. But as for you, my son, the Lord of spirits knows that you are pure and guiltless of this reproach concerning the secrets.

12 And He has destined your name to be among the holy, and will preserve you among those who dwell on the earth; and has destined your righteous seed both for kingship and for great honors, and from your seed shall proceed a fountain of the righteous and holy without number for ever.

[Chapter 66]

1 And after that he showed me the angels of punishment who are prepared to come and let loose all the powers of the waters which are beneath in the earth in order to bring judgment and destruction on all who dwell on the earth.

2 Kings 19:35 And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the LORD went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand: and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses.

Revelation 14: 15 And another angel came out of the temple, crying with a loud voice to him that sat on the cloud, Thrust in thy sickle, and reap: for the time is come for thee to reap; for the harvest of the earth is ripe. 16 And he that sat on the cloud thrust in his sickle on the earth; and the earth was reaped. 17 And another angel came out of the temple which is in heaven, he also having a sharp sickle.

18 And another angel came out from the altar, which had power over fire; and cried with a loud cry to him that had the sharp sickle, saying, Thrust in thy sharp sickle, and gather the clusters of the vine of the earth; for her grapes are fully ripe.

19 And the angel thrust in his sickle into the earth, and gathered the vine of the earth, and cast it into the great winepress of the wrath of God.

2 And the Lord of spirits gave commandment to the angels who were going out, that they should not cause the waters to rise but should hold them in check; for those angels were in charge of the forces of the waters.

3 And I went away from the presence of Enoch.

[Chapter 67]

1 And in those days the word of God came to me, and He said to me: 'Noah, your lot has come up before Me, a lot without blame, a lot of love and righteousness.

2 And now the angels are making a wooden structure, and when they have completed that task I will place My hand on it and preserve it (keep it safe), and there shall come out of it the seed of life, and a change shall set in so that the earth will not remain without inhabitants.

3 And I will establish your seed before me for ever and ever, and I will spread abroad those who dwell with you; and the face of the earth will be fruitful. They shall be blessed and multiply on the earth in the name of the Lord.'

4 And He will imprison those angels, who have shown unrighteousness, in that burning valley which my grandfather Enoch had formerly shown to me in the west among the mountains of gold and silver and iron and soft metal and tin.

5 And I saw that valley in which there was a great earth quake and a tidal waves of the waters.

6 And when all this took place, from that fiery molten metal and from the convulsion thereof in that place, there was a smell of sulfur produced, and it was connected with those waters, and that valley of the angels who had led mankind astray burned beneath that ground.

7 And there were streams of fire throughout the valley, where these angels are punished who had led astray those who dwell on the earth.

8 But those waters shall in those days serve for the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, for the healing of the body, but for the punishment of the spirit. Their spirit is full of lust, that they will be punished in their body, for they have denied the Lord of spirits. They will see their punishment daily, and yet, they believe not in His name.

9 There will be a relationship between the punishment and change. As their bodies burn, a change will take place in their spirit for ever and ever; for before the Lord of spirits none shall utter an idle word.

10 For the judgment shall come on them, because they believe in the lust of their body and deny the Spirit of the Lord.

1 John 2:16 (New International Version)

16For everything in the world—the cravings of sinful man, the lust of his eyes and the boasting of what he has and does—comes not from the Father but from the world. 17And the world passeth away, and the lust thereof; but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever.

11 And the waters will change in those days; for when those angels are punished in these waters, the springs shall change, and when the angels ascend, this water of the springs shall change their temperature and become cold.

12 And I heard Michael answering and saying: 'This judgment in which the angels are judged is a testimony for the kings and the mighty who possess the earth.'

13 Because these waters of judgment minister to the healing of the body of the kings and the lust of their bodies; therefore they will not see and will not believe that those waters will change and become a fire which burns for ever.

[Chapter 68]

1 And after that my grandfather Enoch gave me the explanations of all the secrets in the book of the Parables which had been given to him, and he put them together for me in the words of the book of the Parables.

2 And on that day Michael answered Raphael and said: 'The power of the spirit grips me and makes me tremble because of the severity of the judgment of the secrets, and the judgment of the angels. Who can endure the severe judgment which has been executed, and before which they melt away?'

3 And Michael answered again, and said to Raphael: 'Who would not have a softened heart concerning it, and whose mind would not be troubled by this judgment against them because of those who have led them out?'

4 And it came to pass when he stood before the Lord of spirits, Michael said thus to Raphael: 'I will not defend them under the eye of the Lord; for the Lord of spirits has been angry with them because they act as if they were the Lord.

5 Therefore all that is hidden shall come on them for ever and ever; for no other angel or man shall have his portion in this judgment, but they alone have received their judgment for ever and ever.

Psalm 82

1 God standeth in the congregation of the mighty; he judgeth among the gods.

*2How long will ye judge unjustly, and accept the persons of the wicked? Selah.
3Defend the poor and fatherless: do justice to the afflicted and needy.
4Deliver the poor and needy: rid them out of the hand of the wicked.
5They know not, neither will they understand; they walk on in darkness: all the foundations of the earth are out of course.
6I have said, Ye are gods; and all of you are children of the most High.
7But ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes.
8Arise, O God, judge the earth: for thou shalt inherit all nations.*

(Author's note: The above Bible verse is in bold because it may play one of the pivotal roles in understanding the connections between the book of Enoch and the Bible.

God stands in the congregation of the mighty; He judgeth among the gods. KJV

Another version reads:

God has taken His place in the divine council. In the Midst of the gods He holds judgment. RSV

The Septuagint reads:

God stands in the assembly of gods; and in the midst of them will judge gods. How long will ye judge unrighteous, and accept the persons of sinners?

In verse one we read that God (Elohiym) is standing in the congregation of the mighty; that He ("El" or God) is judging (Shaphat: governing) the gods (elohiym). One way to easily understand this is to look at a supreme God (capital "G") judging and governing a group of "godlings."

In an early study on Psalm 82, J. A. Emerton argued that in the Targum (Aramaic translation of the Old Testament) to the Psalms, as well as in the the Peshitta (Syriac Bible), and according to the Fathers, elohim (gods) in Psalm 82 was understood by all to refer to "angels." Emerton suggests that elohim refers to superhuman beings to whom the nations were allotted, whom the Jews regarded as angels but whom the Gentiles called gods (see 1 Cor 10:20). Jesus quotes the verse in John 10:34-36.

To stand in a court setting and judge indicates there was some transgression. This adds weight to the fact that some angels committed transgressions while others did not. Thus, it is this verse that points to the fall of some angels and the

judgment handed down. It also articulates the position of angels as gods. It is assumed the point of view is that of men and not God.

In our mythology we see some “gods” were evil and violent, while other “gods” were kind and gentle. There were giants, Cyclops, monsters, and those, such as Hercules, Achilles who fought alongside men. These could be various angels, but it could point back to the three types of beings coming from the union of angels and women; Giants, Nephilim, and Eljo.

With their great height and six fingers per hand, it has been speculated that Goliath, his mother (the giant of Gath), and their family were descendants of the angel – woman union. We have also speculated that the Eljo could be the “men of renown” mentioned in Genesis.

Genesis 6:4 There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown.

The term, “eljo or elyo” indicates a type of godlike being. The term indicates these were humanoids with special powers or abilities, to the extent they would be remembered and placed in mythic stories so that they should not be forgotten. This leaves the Nephilim, which could be the monsters such as Cyclops, Medusa, and other creatures memorialized in mythology.

It is not suggested that these stories are totally accurate, but only that they indicate the existence of some vastly unusual being with powers or abilities that spawned stories of monsters. Together these three types of angelic offspring make up the corpus of mythology, containing gods, giants, and monsters.)

To add additional fuel to the fire of controversy over Psalm 82, Jesus quotes the verse in John 10:34-36.

John 10:31 Again the Jews picked up stones to stone him, 32 but Jesus said to them, "I have shown you many great miracles from the Father. For which of these do you stone me?" 33 "We are not stoning you for any of these," replied the Jews, "but for blasphemy, because you, a mere man, claim to be God." 34 Jesus answered them, "Is it not written in your Law, 'I have said you are gods'? 35 If he called them 'gods,' to whom the word of God came—and the Scripture cannot be broken— NIV

Does the word of God, if we accept and understand it, makes us gods? What power or authority does the knowledge, secrets, and words brought to us from heaven by fallen angels give us?

[Chapter 69]

1 And after this judgment I will terrify and make them tremble because they have shown this to those who dwell on the earth.

2 And behold the names of those angels: the first of them is Samjaza; the second Artaqifa; and the third Armen, the fourth Kokabe, the fifth Turael; the sixth Rumjal; the seventh Danjal; the eighth Neqaël; the ninth Baraël; the tenth Azazel; the eleventh Armaros; the twelfth Batarjal; the thirteenth Busasejal; the fourteenth Hananel; the fifteenth Turel; and the sixteenth Simapesiel; the seventeenth Jetrel; the eighteenth Tumaël; the nineteenth Turel; the twentieth Rumaël; the twenty-first Azazyel;

(Author's note: For more information on the heavenly names, such as the various names of the "Presence of the Lord," see the Third Book of Enoch, also called the "Hebrew Book of Enoch.")

The leader of the Watchers was Samjaza; also pronounced Shemhazai. Two hundred angels made the descent to Earth, at Mount Hermon. Two hundred angels were divided into group of ten, each under the leadership of chieftain or captain.

They defiled themselves with women, producing children. Their children were giants of three-thousand ells tall, which some sources say is approximately 3420 metres in height (11,250 feet tall).

According to the Haggada (book 1, chapter 4 Punishment of the Fallen Angels), the angel Shemhazai lusted after a maiden named Istehar, however, she tricked him into revealing the Ineffable Name of God. Istehar used the name to ascend to heaven and escaped her violation by Shemhazai. God rewarded Istehar by commemorating her as the seven-star constellation Pleides.

In Genesis 4:22, Naamah was a daughter of Lamech and Zillah, and sister of Tubal-cain. She was a descendant of Cain, hence a Cainite. According to the Haggada, Naamah was the opposite of Istehar, because the angel Shamdon had

succeeded in sexual union with Naamah. Naamah's offspring was Asmodeus, a demon, instead of a giant. Asmodeus appeared in the apocrypha Tobit.

According to the introduction of the Zohar, it was Naamah who first deceived and seduced the angels, rather than the angel seducing Naamah. Zohar 3 mentioned the angels, Aza and Azael, instead of Shamdon, they were victims of her beauty. She became mother of unknown number of demons.

Our vampire lore may have begun with the Book of Enoch since it states the giants consumed all the food men could produce and then began devouring people, and sucking their blood, like vampires.)

3 And these are the chiefs of their angels and their names, and their leaders over hundreds, and leaders over fifties, and leaders over tens.

4 The name of the first Jejon, that is, the one who led astray the sons of God, and brought them down to the earth, and led them astray through the daughters of men.

5 And the second was named Asbeel; he imparted to the holy sons of God evil counsel, and led them astray so that they defiled their bodies with the daughters of men.

6 And the third was named Gadreel; it is he who showed the children of men all the blows of death, and he led astray Eve, and showed the weapons of death to the sons of men; the shield and the coat of mail, and the sword for battle, and all the weapons of death to the children of men.

7 And from his hand they have proceeded against those who dwell on the earth from that day and for evermore.

8 And the fourth was named Penemue; he taught the children of men the bitter and the sweet, and he taught them all the secrets of their wisdom.

9 And he instructed mankind in writing with ink and paper, and thereby many sinned from eternity to eternity and until this day.

10 For men were not created for the purpose of confirming their good faith with pen and ink.

Author's note: Reading and writing are considered grievous sins because they allow knowledge, and thus sin, to be propagated from generation to generation. It

should be pointed out that God himself wrote the Ten Commandments on stone. It is possible that this verse may refer to the Enochian Alphabet, thought to convey the original teachings of the fallen angels.

The Enochian alphabet was thought to be lost with the flood, but “re-discovered” by John Dees.

John Dee (13 July 1527–1608 or 1609) was a noted mathematician, astrologer, navigator, occultist, and a consultant to Queen Elizabeth I.

According to Tobias Churton in his book *The Golden Builders*, the concept of an Angelic or pre-deluge language was common during Dee's time. If one could speak with angels, it was believed one could directly interact with them.

In 1581, Dee mentioned in his personal journals that God had sent "good angels" to communicate directly with prophets. In 1582, Dee teamed up with the seer Edward Kelley, although Dee had used several other seers previously. With Kelley's help as a scryer, Dee set out to establish lasting contact with the angels, which resulted, among other things, in the reception of the Enochian or Angelical language.

According to Dee's journals, Angelical was supposed to have been the language God used to create the world, and which was later used by Adam to speak with God and the angels, and to name all things into existence.

The alphabet codified the phonetics of the language Dees claimed could be used to summon various angels, who would dispatch knowledge or assistance. The chants used complex phonetic streams named “Angelic Calls” to name and call forth angels.

THE ENOCHIAN ALPHABET								
Family of Pn			Family of Tal			Family of Bp		
name	print	script	name	print	script	name	print	script
1. Pn b	V	W	8. Tal m	E	U	15. Pal r	T	T
2. Veh c/k	B	K	9. Gon i/y	L	L	16. Med o	J	J
3. Ged g/j	G	G	10. Nü h	M	M	17. Don r	E	C
4. Gal d	Z	Z	11. Ulr l	L	L	18. Ceph z	P	P
5. Or f	F	F	12. Mals p	Q	Q	19. Van u/v/w	A	A
6. Uln a	X	X	13. Ger g	U	U	20. Fam s	T	T
7. Graph z	T	T	14. Druz n	E	E	21. Gigg t	V	U

Table of Enochian Letters, Print, and Script

11 For men were created exactly like the angels, to the intent that they should continue pure and righteous; and death, which destroys everything, should not have taken hold of them, but through this their knowledge they are perishing, and through this power consumes them.

Romans 5:12 (King James Version)

12Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned:

12 And the fifth was named Kasdeja; this is he who showed the children of men all the wicked smitings (blows) of spirits and demons, and the smitings (blows) of the embryo in the womb, that it may pass away, and the smitings (blows) of the soul the bites of the serpent, and the smitings (blows) which befall through the midday heat, the son of the serpent named Taba'et.

13 And this is the task of Kasbeel, the chief of the oath which he showed to the holy ones when he dwelt high above in glory, and its name is Biqa.

14 This (angel) requested Michael to show him the hidden name, that he might enunciate it in the oath,

15 So that those might quake before that name and oath who revealed all that was in secret to the children of men. And this is the power of this oath, for it is powerful and strong, and he placed this oath Akae in the hand of (under the control of) Michael.

(Author's note: The ineffable name of God holds the power to create, bind, and destroy. In the Lillith myth, it is said she spoke this name when she argued against God and Adam. By speaking the name she flew off and became a demon.)

16 And these are the secrets of this oath (God's promise, word) that heaven was suspended before the world was created, and for ever, and they are strong through his oath (word, promise).

17 And through it the earth was founded on the water, and from the secret recesses of the mountains come beautiful waters, from the creation of the world and to eternity.

18 And through that oath the sea was created, and as its foundation He set for it the sand against the time of its anger (rage) that it dare not pass beyond it from the creation of the world to eternity.

19 And through that oath are the depths made fast (strong), and abide and stir not from their place from eternity to eternity.

20 And through that oath the sun and moon complete their course, and deviate not from their ordinance from eternity to eternity.

21 And through that oath the stars complete their course, and He calls them by their names, and they answer Him from eternity to eternity.

22 [And in like manner the spirits of the water, and of the winds, and of all kinds of spirits, and (their) paths from all the quarters of the winds respond to His command.]

(Author's note: Verse 22 is not complete in some translations.)

23 And there are preserved the voices of the thunder and the light of the lightning: and there are preserved the storehouses of the hail and the storehouses of the hoarfrost,

24 And the storehouses of the mist, and the storehouses of the rain and the dew. And all these believe and give thanks before the Lord of spirits, and glorify (Him) with all their power, and their food is in every act of thanksgiving; they thank and glorify and exalt the name of the Lord of spirits for ever and ever.

25 And this oath is mighty over them and through it they are preserved and their paths are preserved, and their course is not destroyed.

26 And there was great joy among them, and they blessed and glorified and exalted because the name of that Son of Man had been revealed to them.

(Author's note: The name of a person reveals their personality and power. There remains a ceremony to this day that if a person is on their deathbed a rabbi may change the person's name to trick the Angel of Death so the person might escape his reaping, suggesting the Angel seeks by name.)

27 And he sat on the throne of his glory, and the sum of judgment was given to the Son of Man. And he caused the sinners and all those who led the world astray to pass away and be destroyed from off the face of the earth.

28 They shall be bound with chains, and shut up and imprisoned in their place of assembly, and all their works vanish from the face of the earth.

29 And from that time forward, there shall be nothing corruptible; for that Son of Man has appeared, and has seated himself on the throne of his glory. And all evil shall pass away before his face, and the word of that Son of Man shall go out and be strong before the Lord of spirits.

[Chapter 70]

1 And it came to pass after this that during His lifetime His name was raised up to the Son of Man, and to the Lord of spirits from among those who dwell

on the earth.

2 And He was raised aloft on the chariots of the spirit and His name vanished among them. And from that day I was no longer numbered among them; and He placed me between the two winds, between the North and the West, where the angels took the cords to measure the place for the elect and righteous for me.

3 And there I saw the first fathers and the righteous who dwell in that place from the beginning.

[Chapter 71]

1 And it came to pass after this that my spirit was translated (carried off) and it ascended into heaven; and I saw the sons of the holy angels (sons) of God. They were walking on flames of fire; their garments were white, and their faces shone like snow.

2 And I saw two rivers of fire, and the light of that fire shone like hyacinth, and I fell on my face before the Lord of spirits.

3 And the angel Michael, one of the archangels, seized me by my right hand, and lifted me up and led me out into all the secrets, and he showed me all the secrets of righteousness.

4 And he showed me all the secrets of the ends of heaven, and all the storehouses of all the stars, and all the lights, from where they proceed before the face of the holy ones.

5 And he translated (carried) my spirit into heaven of heavens, and I saw there as it were built of crystals, and between those crystals tongues of living fire.

REV 21:10 And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and shewed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from

God, 11 Having the glory of God: and her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal.

6 My spirit saw circle of fire binding around the house of fire, and on its four sides were rivers full of living fire, and they encircled that house.

7 And round about were seraphim, cherubim, and ophannim; and these are they who never sleep and they guard the throne of His glory.

8 And I saw angels who could not be counted, a thousand thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand, encircling that house. And Michael, and Raphael, and Gabriel, and Phanuel, and the holy angels who are in heaven above, go in and out of that house.

9 And they came out from that house, and Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel, and many holy angels without number.

10 And with them the Head of Days, His head white and pure as wool, and His raiment indescribable.

11 And I fell on my face, and my whole body melted, and my spirit was (transformed) transfigured. And I cried with a loud voice in the spirit of power, and I blessed and glorified and exalted.

Psalm 22:14 I am poured out like water, and all my bones are out of joint: my heart is like wax; it is melted in the midst of my bowels.

15 My strength is dried up like a potsherd; and my tongue cleaveth to my jaws; and thou hast brought me into the dust of death.

12 And these blessings which came from my mouth were very pleasing before that Head of Days.

13 And the Head of Days came with Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel, and thousands and ten thousands of angels without number.

14 And the angel came to me and greeted me with his voice, and said to me 'This is the Son of Man who is born to righteousness, and righteousness

abides over him, and the righteousness of the Head of Days forsakes him not.'

15 And he said to me: 'He proclaims to you peace in the name of the world to come; for from there peace has proceeded since the creation of the world, and it shall be with you for ever and for ever and ever.

JOH 17:24 Father, I will that they also, whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am; that they may behold my glory, which thou hast given me: for thou lovest me before the foundation of the world.

16 And all shall walk in His ways since righteousness never forsook Him. Their dwelling-place shall be with Him and it will be their heritage, and they shall not be separated from Him for ever and ever and ever.

17 And so there shall be length of days with the Son of Man, and the righteous shall have peace and an upright way in the name of the Lord of spirits for ever and ever.'

HEB 4:3 For we which have believed do enter into rest, as he said, As I have sworn in my wrath, if they shall enter into my rest: although the works were finished from the foundation of the world.

[Chapter 72]

-1. The Book of Astronomy and Calendar (Chapters 72-82):

-1.

(Author's note: Full description of the calendar and its application in prophecy are discussed in Appendix "A".)

1 The book of the courses of the luminaries of heaven, the relations of each, according to their name, origin, and months (dominion and seasons) which Uriel, the holy angel who was with me, who is their guide, showed me; and he showed me all their laws (regulations) exactly as they are, and how it is with each of the years of the world and to eternity, until the new creation is accomplished which endures until eternity.

2 And this is the first law of the luminaries: the luminary the Sun has its rising in the eastern doors of heaven, and its setting in the western doors of heaven.

3 And I saw six doors in which the sun rises, and six doors in which the sun sets and the moon rises and sets in these doors, and the leaders of the stars and those whom they lead: six in the east and six in the west, and all following each other in accurately corresponding order.

4 There were also many windows to the right and left of these doors. And first there goes out the great luminary, named the Sun, and his sphere (orbit, disc) is like the sphere (orbit, disc) of heaven, and he is quite filled with illuminating and heating fire.

5 The chariot on which he ascends, the wind drives, and the sun goes down from heaven and returns through the north in order to reach the east, and is so guided that he comes to the appropriate door and shines in the face of heaven.

6 In this way he rises in the first month in the great door, which is the fourth.

7 And in that fourth door from which the sun rises in the first month are twelve windows, from which proceed a flame when they are opened in their season.

8 When the sun rises in heaven, he comes out through that fourth door, thirty mornings in succession, and sets accurately in the fourth door in the west of the heaven.

9 And during this period the day becomes daily longer and nights grow shorter to the thirtieth morning.

10 On that day the day is longer than the night by a ninth part, and the day amounts exactly to ten parts and the night to eight parts.

11 And the sun rises from that fourth door, and sets in the fourth and returns to the fifth door of the east thirty mornings, and rises from it and sets in the fifth door.

12 And then the day becomes longer by two parts and amounts to eleven parts, and the night becomes shorter and amounts to seven parts.

13 And it returns to the east and enters into the sixth door, and rises and sets in the sixth door one-and-thirty mornings on account of its sign.

14 On that day the day becomes longer than the night, and the day becomes double the night, and the day becomes twelve parts, and the night is shortened and becomes six parts.

15 And the sun mounts up to make the day shorter and the night longer, and the sun returns to the east and enters into the sixth door, and rises from it and sets thirty mornings.

16 And when thirty mornings are accomplished, the day decreases by exactly one part, and becomes eleven parts, and the night seven.

17 And the sun goes out from that sixth door in the west, and goes to the east and rises in the fifth door for thirty mornings, and sets in the west again in the fifth western door.

18 On that day the day decreases by two parts, and amounts to ten parts and the night to eight parts.

19 And the sun goes out from that fifth door and sets in the fifth door of the west, and rises in the fourth door for one-and-thirty mornings on account of its sign, and sets in the west.

20 On that day the day becomes equal with the night in length, and the night amounts to nine parts and the day to nine parts.

21 And the sun rises from that door and sets in the west, and returns to the east and rises thirty mornings in the third door and sets in the west in the third door.

22 And on that day the night becomes longer than the day, and night becomes longer than night, and day shorter than day until the thirtieth morning, and the night amounts exactly to ten parts and the day to eight parts.

23 And the sun rises from that third door and sets in the third door in the west and returns to the east, and for thirty mornings rises in the second door in the east, and in like manner sets in the second door in the west of heaven.

24 And on that day the night amounts to eleven parts and the day to seven parts.

25 And the sun rises on that day from that second door and sets in the west in the second door, and returns to the east into the first door for one-and-thirty mornings, and sets in the first door in the west of heaven.

26 And on that day the night becomes longer and amounts to the double of the day: and the night amounts exactly to twelve parts and the day to six.

(Author's note: If the night is 12 parts and the day is six parts, the entire 24 hour day is divided into 18 sections of 80 minutes each.)

27 And the sun has traversed the divisions of his orbit and turns again on those divisions of his orbit, and enters that door thirty mornings and sets also in the west opposite to it.

28 And on that night has the night decreased in length by a ninth part, and the night has become eleven parts and the day seven parts.

29 And the sun has returned and entered into the second door in the east, and returns on those his divisions of his orbit for thirty mornings, rising and setting.

30 And on that day the night decreases in length, and the night amounts to ten parts and the day to eight.

31 And on that day the sun rises from that door, and sets in the west, and returns to the east, and rises in the third door for one-and-thirty mornings, and sets in the west of heaven.

32 On that day the night decreases and amounts to nine parts, and the day to nine parts, and the night is equal to the day and the year is exactly as to its days three hundred and sixty-four.

33 And the length of the day and of the night, and the shortness of the day and of the night arise through the course of the sun these distinctions are separated'.

34 So it comes that its course becomes daily longer, and its course nightly shorter.

35 And this is the law and the course of the great luminary which is named the sun, and his return as often as he returns sixty times and rises, for ever and ever.

36 And that which rises is the great luminary, and is so named according to its appearance, according as the Lord commanded.

37 As he rises, so he sets and decreases not, and rests not, but runs day and night, and his light is sevenfold brighter than that of the moon; but in regard to size, they are both equal.

[Chapter 73]

1 And after this law I saw another law dealing with the smaller luminary, which is named the Moon.

2 And her orbit is like the sphere (orbit, disc) of heaven, and her chariot in which she rides is driven by the wind, and light is given to her in measurement.

3 And her rising and setting change every month and her days are like the days of the sun, and when her light is uniformly (completely) full it amounts to the seventh part of the light of the sun.

4 And thus she rises. And her first phase in the east comes out on the thirtieth morning and on that day she becomes visible, and constitutes for you the first phase of the moon on the thirtieth day together with the sun in the door where the sun rises.

5 And the one half of her goes out by a seventh part, and her whole disc is empty, without light, with the exception of one-seventh part of it, and the fourteenth part of her light.

6 And when she receives one-seventh part of the half of her light, her light amounts to one-seventh part and the half thereof.

7 And she sets with the sun, and when the sun rises the moon rises with him and receives the half of one part of light, and in that night in the beginning of her morning in the beginning of the lunar day the moon sets with the sun, and is invisible that night with the fourteen parts and the half of one of them.

8 And she rises on that day with exactly a seventh part, and comes out and recedes from the rising of the sun, and in her remaining days she becomes bright in the remaining thirteen parts.

[Chapter 74]

1 And I saw another course, a law for her, and how according to that law she performs her monthly revolution.

2 And all these Uriel, the holy angel who is the leader of them all, showed to me, and their positions, and I wrote down their positions as he showed them to me, and I wrote down their months as they were, and the appearance of their lights until fifteen days were accomplished.

3 In single seventh parts she accomplishes all her light in the east, and in single seventh parts accomplishes all her darkness in the west.

4 And in certain months she alters her settings, and in certain months she pursues her own peculiar course.

5 In two months the moon sets with the sun: in those two middle doors the third and the fourth.

6 She goes out for seven days, and turns about and returns again through the door where the sun rises, and all her light is full; and she recedes from the sun, and in eight days enters the sixth door from which the sun goes out.

7 And when the sun goes out from the fourth door she goes out seven days, until she goes out from the fifth and turns back again in seven days into the fourth door and accomplishes all her light; and she recedes and enters into the first door in eight days.

8 And she returns again in seven days into the fourth door from which the sun goes out.

9 Thus I saw their positions, how the moons rose and the sun set in those days.

10 And if five years are added together the sun has an excess of thirty days, and all the days which accrue to it for one of those five years, when they are full, amount to 364 days.

11 And an excess of the sun and of the stars amounts to six days; in five years six days every year come to 30 days, and the moon falls behind the sun and stars to the number of 30 days.

12 And the sun and the stars bring in all the years exactly, so that they do not advance or delay their position by a single day to eternity; but complete the years with perfect justice in 364 days.

13 In three years there are 1,092 days, and in five years 1,820 days, so that in eight years there are 2,912 days.

(Author's note: At the end of five years a week may be added to bring the year back in line. Compare 1826.25 days of the solar year in five years to 1820 days of the Enochian calendar after five years. This leaves 6.25 days difference. Adding a week to the Enochian calendar leaves a difference of only .75 of a day. The years is adjusted in this way so that the alignment is kept very close.)

14 For the moon alone the days amount in three years to 1,062 days, and in five years she falls 50 days behind to the sum of 1,770 there is five to be added 1,000 and 62 days.

15 And in five years there are 1,770 days, so that for the moon the days six in eight years amount to 21,832 days.

16 For in eight years she falls behind to the amount of 80 days, all the days she falls behind in eight years are 80.

17 And the year is accurately completed in conformity with their world-stations and the stations of the sun, which rise from the doors through which the sun rises and sets 30 days.

[Chapter 75]

1 And the leaders of the heads of the (ten) thousands, who are in charge of the whole creation and over all the stars, have also to do with the four days of the year which are not counted in the yearly calendar, being not separated from their office, according to the reckoning of the year, and these render service on the four days which are not counted in the reckoning of the year.

2 And because of them men go wrong in them, for those luminaries truly render service to the stations of the world, one in the first door, one on the third door of heaven, one in the fourth door, and one in the sixth door, and the exactness of the year is accomplished through its separate three hundred and sixty-four stations.

3 For the signs and the times and the years and the days the angel Uriel showed to me, whom the Lord of glory hath set for ever over all the luminaries of heaven, in heaven and in the world, that they should rule on the face of heaven and be seen on the earth, and be leaders for the day via the sun and the night via the moon, and stars, and all the ministering creatures which make their revolution in all the chariots of heaven.

4 In like manner, twelve doors Uriel showed me, open in the sphere (disc) of the sun's chariot in heaven, through which the rays of the sun break out; and from them is warmth diffused over the earth, when they are opened at their appointed seasons.

5 And there are openings for the wind and the spirit of dew that when they are opened, stand open in heaven at the ends of the earth.

6 As for the twelve doors in the heaven, at the ends of the earth, out of which go out the sun, moon, and stars, and all the works of heaven in the east and in the west; there are many windows open to the left and right of them,

7 And one window at its appointed season produces warmth, corresponding to the doors from which the stars come out as He has commanded them; and in which they are set, corresponding to their number.

8 And I saw chariots in heaven, running in the world, above those doors in which the stars that never set.

9 And one is larger than all the rest, and it is that that makes its course through the entire world.

[Chapter 76]

1 At the ends of the earth I saw twelve doors open to all quarters of heaven, from which the winds go out and blow over the earth.

2 Three of them are open on the face of heaven, and three in the west; and three on the right of heaven, and three on the left.

3 And the three first are those of the east, and three are of the north, and three, after those on the left, of the south, and three of the west.

4 Through four of these come winds of blessing and prosperity (peace), and from those eight come hurtful winds; when they are sent, they bring destruction on all the earth and the water on it, and on all who dwell on it, and on everything which is in the water and on the land.

5 And the first wind from those doors, called the east wind, comes out through the first door which is in the east, inclining towards the south; from it desolation, drought, heat, and destruction come out .

6 And through the second door in the middle comes what is fitting (right, correct), and there come rain and fruitfulness and prosperity and dew. And through the third door which lies toward the north comes cold and drought.

7 And after these, comes out the south winds through three doors; through the first door of them inclining to the east comes out a hot wind.

8 And through the middle door next to it there comes out fragrant smells, and dew and rain, and prosperity and health.

9 And through the third door which lies to the west dew comes out and also rain, locusts and desolation.

10 And from the seventh door in the east comes the north winds, and dew, rain, locusts and desolation.

11 And from the center door come health and rain and dew and prosperity; and through the third door in the west come cloud and hoar-frost, and snow

and rain, and dew and locusts.

12 And after these came the four west winds; through the first door adjoining the north come out dew and hoar-frost, and cold and snow and frost.

13 And from the center door come out dew and rain, and prosperity and blessing.

14 And through the last door which adjoins the south, come drought and desolation, and burning and destruction. And the twelve doors of the four quarters of heaven are therewith completed, and all their laws and all their plagues and all their benefactions have I shown to you, my son Methuselah.

[Chapter 77]

1 And the first quarter is called the east, because it is the first; and the second, the south, because the Most High will descend there. From there will He who is blessed for ever descend.

2 And the west quarter is named the diminished, because there all the luminaries of the heaven wane and go down.

3 And the fourth quarter, named the north, is divided into three parts: the first of them is for the dwelling of men; and the second contains seas of water, and the abyss (deep) and forests and rivers, and darkness and clouds; and the third part contains the garden of righteousness.

4 I saw seven high mountains, higher than all the mountains which are on the earth: and from here comes hoar-frost, and days, seasons, and years pass away.

5 I saw seven rivers on the earth larger than all the rivers. One of them coming from the west pours its waters into the Great Sea.

6 And these two come from the north to the sea and pour their waters into the Erythraean Sea in the east.

7 And the remaining four come out on the side of the north to their own sea, two of them to the Erythraean Sea, and two into the Great Sea and some say

they discharge themselves there into the desert.

8 I saw seven great islands in the sea and in the mainland, two in the mainland and five in the Great Sea.

[Chapter 78]

1 And the names of the sun are the following: the first Orjares, and the second Tomas.

2 And the moon has four names: the first name is Asonja, the second Ebla, the third Benase, and the fourth Erae.

3 These are the two great luminaries; their spheres (disc) are like the sphere (disc) of the heaven, and the size of the spheres (disc) of both is alike.

4 In the sphere (disc) of the sun there are seven portions of light which are added to it more than to the moon, and in fixed measurements it is transferred until the seventh portion of the sun is exhausted.

5 And they set and enter the doors of the west, and make their revolution by the north, and come out through the eastern doors on the face of heaven.

6 And when the moon rises one-fourteenth part appears in heaven, and on the fourteenth day the moon's light becomes full.

7 And fifteen parts of light are transferred to her until the fifteenth day when her light is full, according to the sign of the year, and she becomes fifteen parts, and the moon grows by an additional fourteenth parts.

8 And as the moon's waning decreases on the first day to fourteen parts of her light, on the second to thirteen parts of light, on the third to twelve, on the fourth to eleven, on the fifth to ten, on the sixth to nine, on the seventh to eight, on the eighth to seven, on the ninth to six, on the tenth to five, on the eleventh to four, on the twelfth to three, on the thirteenth to two, on the fourteenth to the half of a seventh, and all her remaining light disappears wholly on the fifteenth.

9 And in certain months the month has twenty-nine days and once twenty-eight.

10 And Uriel showed me another law: when light is transferred to the moon, and on which side it is transferred to her by the sun.

11 During all the period during which the moon is growing in her light, she is transferring it to herself when opposite to the sun during fourteen days her light is full in heaven, and when she is ablaze throughout, her light is full in heaven.

12 And on the first day she is called the new moon, for on that day the light rises on her.

13 She becomes full moon exactly on the day when the sun sets in the west, and from the east she rises at night, and the moon shines the whole night through until the sun rises over against her and the moon is seen over against the sun.

14 On the side whence the light of the moon comes out, there again she wanes until all the light vanishes and all the days of the month are at an end, and her sphere (disc) is empty, void of light.

15 And three months she makes of thirty days, and at her time she makes three months of twenty-nine days each, in which she accomplishes her waning in the first period of time, and in the first door for one hundred and seventy-seven days.

16 And in the time of her going out she appears for three months consisting of thirty days each, and she appears for three months consisting of twenty-nine each.

17 By night she looks like a man for twenty days each time, and by day she appears like heaven, and there is nothing else in her save her light.

[Chapter 79]

1 And now, my son Methuselah, I have shown you everything, and the law of all the stars of heaven is completed.

2 And he showed me all the laws of these for every day, and for every season of every rule, and for every year, and for its going out, and for the order prescribed to it every month and every week.

3 And the waning of the moon which takes place in the sixth door, for in this sixth door her light is accomplished, and after that there is the beginning of the waning.

4 And the waning which takes place in the first door in its season, until one hundred and seventy-seven days are accomplished, calculated according to weeks, twenty-five weeks and two days.

5 She falls behind the sun and the order of the stars exactly five days in the course of one period, and when this place which you see has been traversed.

6 Such is the picture and sketch of every luminary which Uriel the archangel, who is their leader, showed to me.

(Author's note: For more information on the storehouses of heaven, the starts, gates, and luminaries, see The Second Book of Enoch.)

[Chapter 80]

1 And in those days the angel Uriel answered and said to me: 'Behold, I have shown you everything, Enoch, and I have revealed everything to you that you should see this sun and this moon, and the leaders of the stars of heaven and all those who turn them, their tasks and times and departures.

2 And in the days of the sinners the years shall be shortened, and their seed shall be tardy on their lands and fields, and all things on the earth shall alter, and shall not appear in their time. And the rain shall be kept back, and heaven shall withhold it.

3 And in those times the fruits of the earth shall be backward, and shall not grow in their time, and the fruits of the trees shall be withheld in their time.

4 And the moon shall alter her customs, and not appear at her time.

5 And in those days the sun shall be seen and he shall journey in the evening on the extremity of the great chariot in the west and shall shine more brightly than accords with the order of light.

6 And many rulers of the stars shall transgress their customary order. And these shall alter their orbits and tasks, and not appear at the seasons prescribed to them.

7 And the whole order of the stars shall be concealed from the sinners, and the thoughts of those on the earth shall err concerning them, and they shall be altered from all their ways, they shall err and take them to be gods.

Romans 1:18 The wrath of God is being revealed from heaven against all the godlessness and wickedness of men who suppress the truth by their wickedness, 19since what may be known about God is plain to them, because God has made it plain to them. 20For since the creation of the world God's invisible qualities—his eternal power and divine nature—have been clearly seen, being understood from what has been made, so that men are without excuse.

21For although they knew God, they neither glorified him as God nor gave thanks to him, but their thinking became futile and their foolish hearts were darkened. 22Although they claimed to be wise, they became fools 23and exchanged the glory of the immortal God for images made to look like mortal man and birds and animals and reptiles.

24Therefore God gave them over in the sinful desires of their hearts to sexual impurity for the degrading of their bodies with one another. 25They exchanged the truth of God for a lie, and worshiped and served created things rather than the Creator—who is forever praised. Amen.

26Because of this, God gave them over to shameful lusts. Even their women exchanged natural relations for unnatural ones. 27In the same way the men also abandoned natural relations with women and were inflamed with lust for one another. Men committed indecent acts with other men, and received in themselves the due penalty for their perversion.

(Author's note: Recall that many people of the time believed the stars to be angels. They worshipped the stars, believing them to have power to control fate. The scripture above tells us that God was angry because men had taken to the worship of the things God created and had forsaken the worship of He who created those things. As an added note, we are told in other ancient texts that

angels had begun taking men as lovers as well as females. Angels are always considered males in these texts.)

8 And evil shall be multiplied on them, and punishment shall come on them so as to destroy all.'

[Chapter 81]

1 And he said to me: 'Enoch, look at these heavenly tablets and read what is written on them, and mark every individual fact.'

2 And I looked at the heavenly tablets, and read everything which was written on it and understood everything, and read the book of all the deeds of mankind, and of all the children of flesh; that shall be on the earth to the end of generations.

3 And I blessed the great Lord the King of glory for ever, in that He has made all the works of the world, and I exalted the Lord because of His patience, and blessed Him because of the children of men (sons of Abraham).

4 And then I said: 'Blessed is the man who dies in righteousness and goodness, concerning whom there is no book of unrighteousness written, and against whom no day of judgment shall be found.'

5 And the seven holy ones brought me and placed me on the earth before the door of my house, and said to me: 'Declare everything to your son Methuselah, and show to all your children that no flesh is righteous in the sight of the Lord, for He is their Creator.

6 For one year we will leave you with your son, until you give your last commands, that you may teach your children and record it for them, and testify to all your children; and in the second year they shall take you from their midst.

7 Let your heart be strong, for the good shall proclaim righteousness to the good; the righteous shall rejoice with the righteous, and shall wish one another well.

8 But the sinners shall die with the sinners, and the apostate shall go down with the apostate.

9 And those who practice righteousness shall die on account of the deeds of men, and be taken away on account of the deeds of the godless.'

10 And in those days they finished speaking to me, and I came to my people, blessing the Lord of the world.

[Chapter 82]

1 And now, my son Methuselah, all these things I am recounting to you and writing down for you! And I have revealed to you everything, and given you books concerning all these; so, my son Methuselah, preserve the books from your father's hand, and see that you deliver them to the generations of the world.

2 I have given wisdom to you and to your children, and those children to come, that they may give it to their children for generations. This wisdom namely that passes their understanding.

3 And those who understand it shall not sleep, but shall listen that they may learn this wisdom, and it shall please those that eat thereof better than good food.

4 Blessed are all the righteous, blessed are all those who walk in the way of righteousness and sin not as the sinners, in the numbering of all their days in which the sun traverses heaven, entering into and departing from the doors for thirty days with the heads of thousands of the order of the stars, together with the four which are within the calendar which divide the four portions of the year, which lead them and enter with them four days.

(Author's note: It is verse 4 that leads some to believe the week should begin on a Wednesday, the fourth day of the week.. The verse is unclear and seems to point more to the fact that there are four seasons and the divisions of time was created on the fourth day. All Hebrew calendars had the same week and began on Sunday, the first day of the week, no matter what the name of the day was at that time in that tongue.)

Genesis 1:14 And God said, "Let there be lights in the expanse of the sky to separate the day from the night, and let them serve as signs to mark seasons and days and years, 15 and let them be lights in the expanse of the sky to give light on the earth." And it was so. 16 God made two great lights—the greater light to govern the day and the lesser light to govern the night. He also made the stars. 17 God set them in the expanse of the sky to give light on the earth, 18 to govern the day and the night, and to separate light from darkness. And God saw that it was good. 19 And there was evening, and there was morning—the fourth day.

5 Owing to them men shall be at fault and not count them in the whole number of days of the year. Men shall be at fault, and not recognize them accurately.

6 For they belong to the calculations of the year and are truly recorded therein for ever, one in the first door and one in the third, and one in the fourth and one in the sixth, and the year is completed in three hundred and sixty-four days.

7 And the account of it is accurate and the recorded counting thereof is exact; for the luminaries, and months and festivals, and years and days, has Uriel shown and revealed to me, to whom the Lord of the whole creation of the world hath subjected the host of heaven.

8 And he has power over night and day in heaven to cause the light to shine on men via the sun, moon, and stars, and all the powers of the heaven which revolve in their circular chariots. And these are the orders of the stars, which set in their places, and in their seasons and festivals and months.

9 And these are the names of those who lead them, who watch that they enter at their times, in their orders, in their seasons, in their months, in their periods of dominion, and in their positions.

10 Their four leaders who divide the four parts of the year enter first; and after them the twelve leaders of the orders who divide the months; and for the three hundred and sixty days there are heads over thousands who divide the days; and for the four days in the calendar there are the leaders which divide the four parts of the year.

11 And these heads over thousands are interspersed between leader and leader, each behind a station, but their leaders make the division.

12 And these are the names of the leaders who divide the four parts of the year which are ordained:

13 Milki'el, Hel'emmelek, and Mel'ejal, and Narel. And the names of those who lead them: Adnar'el, and Ijasusa'el, and 'Elome'el.

14 These three follow the leaders of the orders, and there is one that follows the three leaders of the orders which follow those leaders of stations that divide the four parts of the year. In the beginning of the year Melkejal rises first and rules, who is named Tam'aini and sun, and all the days of his dominion while he bears rule are ninety-one days.

15 And these are the signs of the days which are to be seen on earth in the days of his dominion: sweat, and heat; and calms; and all the trees bear fruit, and leaves are produced on all the trees, and the harvest of wheat, and the rose-flowers, and all the flowers which come out in the field, but the trees of the winter season become withered.

16 And these are the names of the leaders which are under them: Berka'el, Zelebs'el, and another who is added a head of a thousand, called Hilujaseph: and the days of the dominion of this leader are at an end.

17 The next leader after him is Hel'emmelek, whom one names the shining sun, and all the days of his light are ninety-one days.

18 And these are the signs of his days on the earth: glowing heat and dryness, and the trees ripen their fruits and produce all their fruits ripe and ready, and the sheep pair and become pregnant, and all the fruits of the earth are gathered in, and everything that is in the fields, and the winepress: these things take place in the days of his dominion.

19 These are the names, and the orders, and the leaders of those heads of thousands: Gida'ljal, Ke'el, and He'el, and the name of the head of a thousand which is added to them, Asfa'el: and the days of his dominion are at an end.

Author's note: The seasons are 91 days each. There are four seasons. The year is 91 x 4 or 364 days. We are warned to calculate the years correctly in order to celebrate the holy days on the days they were meant to be honored. Descriptions of the seasons are given along with the angels that control them.

[Chapter 83]

-1. The *Book of Visions* (Chapters 83-90):

1 And now, my son Methuselah, I will show you all my visions which I have seen, recounting them before you.

2 I saw two visions before I got married (took a wife), and the one was quite unlike the other: the first when I was learning to write: the second before I married (took) your mother, was when I saw a terrible vision.

3 And regarding them I prayed to the Lord. I had laid down in the house of my grandfather Mahalalel, when I saw in a vision how heaven collapsed and was carried off (removed, torn down) and fell to the earth.

4 And when it fell to the earth I saw how the earth was swallowed up in a great abyss, and mountains were suspended on mountains, and hills sank down on hills, and high trees were ripped from their stems, and hurled down and sunk in the abyss.

5 And then a word fell into my mouth, and I lifted up my voice to cry aloud, and said:

6 'The earth is destroyed.' And my grandfather Mahalalel woke me as I lay near him, and said to me: 'Why do you cry so, my son, and why do you make such moaning (lamentation)?'

7 And I recounted to him the whole vision which I had seen, and he said to me: 'You have seen a terrible thing, my son. Your dream (vision) is of a grave time and concerns the secrets of all the sin of the earth: it must sink into the abyss and be totally destroyed.'

8 And now, my son, arise and pray to the Lord of glory, since you are a believer, that a remnant may remain on the earth, and that He may not destroy the whole earth.

9 My son, from heaven all this will come on the earth, and on the earth there will be great destruction.

10 After that I arose and prayed and implored and besought (God), and wrote down my prayer for the generations of the world, and I will show everything to you, my son Methuselah.

11 And when I had gone out below and seen the heaven, and the sun rising in the east, and the moon setting in the west, and a few stars, and the whole earth, and everything as He had known it in the beginning, then I blessed the Lord of judgment and exalted Him because He had made the sun to go out from the windows of the east, and he ascended and rose on the face of heaven, and set out and kept traversing the path shown to it.

(Author's note: This first vision would seem to foreshadow the flood, but since the vision was of a piece of heaven breaking off and falling to earth with destructive force, it may be an end time prophecy of a meteor strike. Another, more timely interpretation is that of Satan falling to earth, which is the beginnings of sorrow.)

[Chapter 84]

1 And I lifted up my hands in righteousness and blessed the Holy and Great One, and spoke with the breath of my mouth, and with the tongue of flesh, which God has made for the children of the flesh of men, that they should speak therewith, and He gave them breath and a tongue and a mouth that they should speak therewith:

2 Blessed be you, O Lord, King, Great and mighty in your greatness, Lord of the whole creation of heaven, King of kings and God of the whole world. And your power and kingship and greatness abide for ever and ever, and throughout all generations your dominion and all heavens are your throne for ever, and the whole earth your footstool for ever and ever.

3 For you have made and you rule all things, and nothing is too hard for you, wisdom never departs from the place of your throne, nor turns away from your presence. You know and see and hear everything, and there is nothing hidden from you for you see everything.

4 And now the angels of your heavens are guilty of trespass, and on the flesh of men abide your wrath until the great day of judgment.

5 And now, O God and Lord and Great King, I implore and beseech you to fulfill my prayer, to leave me a posterity on earth, and not destroy all the flesh of man, and make the earth without inhabitant, so that there should be an eternal destruction.

6 And now, my Lord, destroy from the earth the flesh which has aroused your wrath, but the flesh of righteousness and uprightness establish as an eternal plant bearing seed forever, and hide not your face from the prayer of your servant, O Lord.'

Author's note: In chapter 85 and following, a series of animals is mentioned. These seem to refer to nations or ethnicities. For example, the eagles may refer to the Roman empire, the Islamic nation is represented by the asses, Egyptians are wolves, the Assyrians are lions, and so on. See Daniel Chapter 10 for other like imagery.

Other writers have attempted to be more specific. Starting with Adam and Eve, the story begins. Abraham may be a white bull, Ishmael, the wild ass; Isaac the white bull, Jacob is a white sheep, Esau the wild boar. There is the concept that Noah's three sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth, give rise to all various the animals or nations. The small lambs with open eyes are the Essenes; Jesus is the "sheep with the big horn"; and in 90.17, the final twelve shepherds represent the Christian era and the twelve apostles.

Notes are included within the chapters and at the end of the section. They suggest possible interpretations. As with any prophecy written in such imagery, it is impossible to know exactly what the author was trying to convey. Prophecy tends to be interpreted according to one's viewpoint. When one looks at the prophecies from a purely Jewish viewpoint it is likely that the savior of the people, represented by the sheep with a large horn, is not the messiah at all, but a historical military figure such as Judas Maccabaeus, who led the great Maccabean revolt of 167 B.C. – 160 B.C. against Rome.

Judas Maccabeus is also described as a great horn among six others on the head of a lamb. This possibly pertains to his five brothers and Mattathias. If you take this in context of the history from Maccabeus time the explanation of the verse may

be found in 1 Maccabees 3: 7 and 6: 52;; 2 Maccabees 6: 8-14; and 1 Maccabees 7: 41, 42

[Chapter 85]

1 And after this I saw another dream, and I will show the whole dream to you, my son.

2 And Enoch lifted up his voice and spoke to his son Methuselah: 'I will speak to you, my son, hear my words. Incline your ear to the dream (vision) of your father.

3 Before I married (took) your mother Edna, I saw in a vision on my bed, and behold a bull came out from the earth, and that bull was white.

4 And after it came out a heifer, and along with this later came out two bulls, one of them black and the other red.

5 And that black bull gored the red one and pursued him over the earth, and then I could no longer see that red bull. But that black bull grew and that heifer went with him, and I saw that many oxen proceeded from him which resembled and followed him.

6 And that cow, that first one, went from the presence of that first bull in order to seek that red one, but found him not, and mourned with a great lamentation and sought him.

7 And I looked until that first bull came to her and quieted (calmed) her, and from that time onward she cried no more.

8 And after that she bore another white bull, and after him she bore many bulls and black cows.

9 And I saw in my sleep that white bull likewise grew and became a great white bull, and from him proceeded many white bulls, and they resembled him. And they began to father many white bulls, which resembled them, one following another.

(Author's note: Many believe verses 1 – 9 represent the story of Adam, Eve, Cain, and Abel. The first white bull mentioned is Adam. The heifer is Eve. The two bulls born to them are a black one (Cain) and a red one (Abel.) Eve leaves to seek Abel and finds him. She laments his death. Adam comforts her. Cain goes on to produce many oxen. Eve produces another son and thus produces many more bulls and cows.)

[Chapter 86]

1 And again I looked with my eyes as I slept, and I saw the heaven above, and behold a star fell from heaven, and it arose and ate and pastured among those oxen (bulls).

2 And after that I saw the large and the black oxen (bulls), and behold they all changed their stalls and pastures and their heifers (cattle) , and began to live with each other.

(Author's note: The first star to fall was Satan, The falling stars that followed were the watchers. They caused the heifers, who are the women, to begin living with and having sex with the angels. Based on the previous verses it would appear that Satan and the fallen angels picked the descendents of Cain to have sex.

Second Book of Adam and Eve, Chapter 20

29 Enoch was already grown up at that time, and in his zeal for God, he stood and said, "Hear me, you large and small (young and old) sons of Seth! When you transgress the commandment of our fathers and go down from this holy mountain, you shall not come up here again for ever."

30 But they rose up against Enoch and would not listen to his words, but they went down from the Holy Mountain.

31 And when they looked at the daughters of Cain, at their beautiful figures, and at their hands and feet dyed with color, and the tattoos on their faces that ornamented them, the fire of sin was set ablaze in them.

32 Then Satan made them look most beautiful before the sons of Seth, as he also made the sons of Seth appear the most handsome in the eyes of the daughters of Cain, so that the daughters of Cain lusted after the sons of Seth like ravenous beasts, and the sons of Seth lusted after the daughters of Cain until they committed disgusting and disgraceful acts with them.)

3 And again I saw in the vision, and looked towards heaven, and behold I saw many stars descend and cast themselves down from heaven to that first star, and they became bulls among those cattle and pastured with them.

4 And I looked at them and saw they all let out their private (sexual) members, like horses, and began to mount the cows of the bulls (oxen), and they all became pregnant and bore elephants, camels, and asses.

Author's note: Book of Jubilees indicates that the offspring of the angels and women were somehow different and they are divided into categories of the Naphidim (or Naphilim, depending on the transliteration), the Giants, and the Eljo. (Naphil are mentioned but this is the singular of Naphilim.) The word "Naphil" means "The Fallen." There is no indication as to the meaning of "Eljo (Elyo)" but the word would indicate these are "godlings" and are likely those referred to in the Book of Genesis as "men of renown."

5 And all the bulls (oxen) feared them and were frightened of them, and began to bite with their teeth and to devour, and to gore with their horns.

6 And, moreover, they began to devour those oxen; and behold all the children of the earth began to tremble and shake before them and to flee from them.

[Chapter 87]

1 And again I saw how they began to gore each other and to devour each other, and the earth began to cry aloud.

2 And I raised my eyes again to heaven, and I saw in the vision, and behold there came out from heaven beings who were like white men, and four went out from that place and three others with them.

3 And those three that had come out last grasped me by my hand and took me up, away from the generations of the earth, and raised me up to a high place, and showed me a tower raised high above the earth, and all the hills were lower.

4 And one said to me: 'Remain here until you see everything that befalls those elephants, camels, and asses, and the stars and the oxen, and all of them.'

[Chapter 88]

1 And I saw one of those four who had come out first, and he seized that first star which had fallen from heaven, and bound it hand and foot and cast it into an abyss; now that abyss was narrow and deep, and horrible and dark.

2PE 2:4 For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment.

2 And one of them drew a sword, and gave it to those elephants and camels and asses then they began to smite each other, and the whole earth shook because of them.

3 And as I was beholding in the vision one of those four who had come out stoned them from heaven, and gathered and took all the great stars whose private (sexual) members were like those of horses, and bound them all hand and foot, and threw them in an abyss of the earth.

(Author's note: One must smile at the idea of the angels having penises the size of horses. In the ancient mind, this was one reason some of the women gave in so easily. If a spiritual creature is determined to become corporeal, why not create a body that will fulfill the lust that drives one to incarnate in the first place?)

[Chapter 89]

1 And one of those four went to that white bull and instructed him in a secret, and he was terrified: he was born a bull and became a man, and built for himself a great vessel and dwelt on it.

2 And three bulls dwelt with him in the vessel and they were covered over. And again I raised my eyes towards heaven and saw a high roof, with seven water torrents on it, and those torrents flowed with much water into an enclosure. And I looked again, and behold fountains were opened on the surface of that great enclosure, and the water began to bubble and swell and rise on the surface, and I saw that enclosure until all its surface was covered with water.

3 And the water, the darkness, and mist increased on it; and as I looked at the height of that water, the water had risen above the height of the enclosure, and was streaming over the enclosure, and it stood on the earth.

4 And all the cattle of the enclosure were gathered together until I saw how they sank and were swallowed up and perished in that water.

5 But that vessel floated on the water, while all the oxen (bulls) and elephants and camels and asses sank to the bottom with all the animals, so that I could no longer see them, and they were not able to escape, but perished and sank into the depths.

6 And again I watched in the vision until those water torrents were removed from that high roof, and the chasms of the earth were leveled up and other abysses were opened.

7 Then the water began to run down into these abysses, until the earth became visible; but that vessel settled on the earth, and the darkness retired and light appeared.

8 But that white bull which had become a man came out of that vessel, and the three bulls with him, and one of those three was white like that bull, and one of them was red as blood, and one black; and that white bull departed from them.

(Author's note: Here we have the story of Noah and the flood. The flood came because of the sins of the watchers and their offspring, who began killing everything. The flood cleansed the earth and left only the sons of Noah and their wives to repopulate. The story seems to indicate that the various races of the world (white, red, and black, began with the sons of Noah.)

9 And they began to bring out beasts of the field and birds, so that there arose different genera: lions, tigers, wolves, dogs, hyenas, wild boars, foxes, squirrels, swine, falcons, vultures, kites, eagles, and ravens; and among them was born a white bull.

10 And they began to bite one another; but that white bull which was born among them fathered a wild ass and a white bull with it, and the wild asses multiplied.

11 But that bull which was born from him fathered a black wild boar and a white sheep; and the former fathered many boars, but the sheep gave birth to twelve sheep.

(Author's note: Abraham fathered Ishmael (the wild ass) and Isaac (the white bull.) Isaac fathers a boar (Esau) and a sheep (Jacob.) Jacob has twelve sheep, who are the twelve patriarchs and the beginning of the twelve tribes.)

12 And when those twelve sheep had grown, they gave up one of them to the asses, and the asses again gave up that sheep to the wolves, and that sheep grew up among the wolves.

(Author's note: Joseph was sold to the Midianites or Ishmaelites as a slave. They, in turn, sold him to the Egyptians. See Genesis 37:25-39.2)

13 And the Lord brought the eleven sheep to live with it and to pasture with it among the wolves and they multiplied and became many flocks of sheep.

(Author's note: This begins the story of Moses and how the Egyptians oppressed the Israelites until he led them out of captivity.)

14 And the wolves began to fear them, and they oppressed them until they destroyed their little ones, and they threw their young into a deep river, but those sheep began to cry aloud on account of their little ones, and to complain to their Lord.

15 And a sheep which had been saved from the wolves fled and escaped to the wild asses; and I saw the sheep how they lamented and cried, and besought their Lord with all their might, until that Lord of the sheep descended at the voice of the sheep from a high abode, and came to them and pastured them.

16 And He called that sheep which had escaped the wolves, and spoke with it concerning the wolves that it should admonish them not to touch the sheep.

17 And the sheep went to the wolves according to the word of the Lord, and another sheep met it and went with it, and the two went and entered together into the assembly of those wolves, and spoke with them and admonished them not to touch the sheep from then on.

18 And on it I saw the wolves, and how they more harshly oppressed the sheep with all their power; and the sheep cried aloud.

19 And the Lord came to the sheep and they began to beat those wolves, and the wolves began to make lamentation; but the sheep became quiet and ceased to cry out.

20 And I saw the sheep until they departed from among the wolves; but the eyes of the wolves were blinded, and the wolves departed in pursuit of the sheep with all their power.

21 And the Lord of the sheep went with them, as their leader, and all His sheep followed Him.

22 And his face was dazzling and glorious and terrible to behold. But the wolves began to pursue those sheep until they reached a sea of water.

23 And that sea was divided, and the water stood on this side and on that before their face, and their Lord led them and placed Himself between them and the wolves.

24 And as those wolves had not yet seen the sheep, they proceeded into the midst of that sea, and the wolves followed the sheep, and those wolves ran after them into that sea.

25 And when they saw the Lord of the sheep, they turned to flee before His face, but that sea gathered itself together, and became as it had been created, and the water swelled and rose until it covered the wolves.

26 And I watched until all the wolves who pursued those sheep perished and were drowned.

27 But the sheep escaped from that water and went out into a wilderness, where there was no water and no grass; and they began to open their eyes and to see;

28 And I saw the Lord of the sheep pasturing them and giving them water and grass, and that sheep going and leading them.

(Author's note: The Israelites escaped. They passed through the divided sea, but the Egyptians were covered by the water and drowned. Now, we begin the story of Moses and the ascent up the mountain, where God gave him the Ten Commandments.)

29 And the sheep ascended to the summit of that high rock, and the Lord of the sheep sent it to them. And after that I saw the Lord of the sheep who stood before them, and His appearance was great and terrible and majestic, and all those sheep saw Him and were afraid before His face.

30 And they all feared and trembled because of Him, and they cried to that sheep which was among them:

31 'We are not able to stand before our Lord or to behold Him.' And that sheep which led them again ascended to the summit of that rock, but the sheep began to be blinded and to wander from the way which he had showed them, but that sheep did not realize it.

(Author's note: When Moses came down from the mountain he discovered a large group of the Israelites had made a golden calf idol and were worshipping it.)

32 And the Lord of the sheep was very angry with them, and that sheep discovered it, and went down from the summit of the rock, and came to the sheep, and found the greatest part of them blinded and fallen away.

33 And when they saw it they feared and trembled at its presence, and desired to return to their folds. And that sheep took other sheep with it, and came to those sheep which had fallen away, and began to slay them; and the sheep feared its presence, and thus that sheep brought back those sheep that had fallen away, and they returned to their folds.

34 And I saw in this vision until that sheep became a man and built a house for the Lord of the sheep, and placed all the sheep in that house.

35 And I saw until this sheep which had met that sheep which led them fell asleep (died); and I saw until all the great sheep perished and little ones arose in their place, and they came to a pasture, and approached a stream of water.

36 Then that sheep, their leader which had become a man, withdrew from them and fell asleep (died), and all the sheep looked for it (sought it) and cried over it with a great crying.

37 And I saw until they left off crying for that sheep and crossed that stream of water, and there arose the two sheep as leaders in the place of those which had led them and fallen asleep.

38 And I saw until the sheep came to a good place, and a pleasant and glorious land, and I saw until those sheep were satisfied; and that house stood among them in the (green) pleasant land.

(Author's note: After Moses died and the two spies were sent into the promised land to bring back a report, Joshua took over and led the Israelites into the promised land.)

39 And sometimes their eyes were opened, and sometimes blinded, until another sheep arose and led them and brought them all back, and their eyes were opened.

40 And the dogs and the foxes and the wild boars began to devour those sheep until the Lord of the sheep raised up another sheep, a ram from their midst, which led them.

41 And that ram began to butt on either side those dogs, foxes, and wild boars until he had destroyed them all.

(Author's note: This is the succession of kings leading up to David. All of them had to fight the surrounding nations.)

42 And that sheep whose eyes were opened saw that ram, which was among the sheep, until it forsook its glory and began to butt those sheep, and trampled on them, and behaved itself unseemly.

43 And the Lord of the sheep sent the lamb to another lamb and raised it to being a ram and leader of the sheep instead of that ram which had forsaken its glory.

44 And it went to it and spoke to it alone, and raised it to being a ram, and made it the prince and leader of the sheep; but during all these things those dogs oppressed the sheep.

45 And the first ram pursued the second ram, and the second ram arose and fled before it; and I saw until those dogs pulled down the first ram.

46 And that second ram arose and led the little sheep. And those sheep grew and multiplied; but all the dogs, and foxes, and wild boars feared and fled before it, and that ram butted and killed the wild beasts, and those wild beasts had no longer any power among the sheep and robbed them no more of anything.

47 And that ram fathered many sheep and fell asleep; and a little sheep became ram in its place, and became prince and leader of those sheep.

48 And that house became great and broad, and it was built for those sheep: and a high and great tower was built on the house for the Lord of the sheep, and that house was low, but the tower was elevated and high, and the Lord of the sheep stood on that tower and they offered a full table before him.

49 And again I saw those sheep that they again erred and went many ways, and forsook that their house, and the Lord of the sheep called some from among the sheep and sent them to the sheep, but the sheep began to slay them.

50 And one of them was saved and was not slain, and it sped away and cried aloud over the sheep; and they sought to slay it, but the Lord of the sheep saved it from the sheep, and brought it up to me, and caused it to live there.

(Author's note: Verse 50 could be a reference to Elijah.)

51 And many other sheep He sent to those sheep to testify to them and lament over them.

52 And after that I saw that when they forsook the house of the Lord and His tower they fell away entirely, and their eyes were blinded; and I saw the Lord of the sheep how He worked much slaughter among them in their herds until those sheep invited that slaughter and betrayed His place.

53 And He gave them over into the hands of the lions and tigers, and wolves and hyenas, and into the hand of the foxes, and to all the wild beasts, and those wild beasts began to tear in pieces those sheep.

54 And I saw that He forsook their house and their tower and gave them all into the hand of the lions, to tear and devour them, into the hand of all the wild beasts.

55 And I began to cry aloud with all my power, and to appeal to the Lord of the sheep, because the sheep were being devoured by all the wild beasts.

56 But He remained unmoved, though He saw it, and rejoiced that they were devoured and swallowed and robbed, and left them to be devoured in the hand of all the beasts.

57 And He called seventy shepherds, and gave those sheep to them that they might pasture them, and He spoke to the shepherds and their companions: 'Let each individual of you pasture the sheep from now on, and everything that I shall command you that do you.

(Author's note: The 70 are religious leaders of that time frame. In the Third Book of Enoch God mentions 70 nations, leading one to believe that from God's viewpoint there are only 70 true nations. All other divisions are man made and false.)

58 And I will deliver them over to you duly numbered, and tell you which of them are to be destroyed-and them you will destroy.' And He gave over to them those sheep.

59 And He called another and spoke to him: 'Observe and mark everything that the shepherds will do to those sheep; for they will destroy more of them than I have commanded them.

60 And every excess and the destruction which will be done through the shepherds, record how many they destroy according to my command, and

how many according to their own caprice; record against every individual shepherd all the destruction he effects.

61 And read out before me by number how many they destroy, and how many they deliver over for destruction, that I may have this as a testimony against them, and know every deed of the shepherds, that I may comprehend and see what they do, whether or not they abide by my command which I have commanded them.

62 But they shall not know it, and you shall not declare it to them, nor admonish them, but only record against each individual all the destruction which the shepherds effect each in his time and lay it all before me.'

63 And I saw until those shepherds pastured in their season, and they began to slay and to destroy more than they were bidden, and they delivered those sheep into the hand of the lions.

64 And the lions and tigers ate and devoured the greater part of those sheep, and the wild boars ate along with them; and they burned that tower and demolished that house.

65 And I became very sorrowful over that tower because that house of the sheep was demolished, and afterwards I was unable to see if those sheep entered that house.

66 And the shepherds and their associates delivered over those sheep to all the wild beasts, to devour them, and each one of them received in his time a definite number, it was written by the other in a book how many each one of them destroyed of them.

67 And each one slew and destroyed many more than was prescribed; and I began to weep and lament on account of those sheep.

68 And thus in the vision I saw that one who wrote, how he wrote down every one that was destroyed by those shepherds, day by day, and carried up and laid down and showed actually the whole book to the Lord of the sheep - everything that they had done, and all that each one of them had made away with, and all that they had given over to destruction.

69 And the book was read before the Lord of the sheep, and He took the book from his hand and read it and sealed it and laid it down.

(Author's note: Verses 65 – 69 Refers to the first temple being destroyed. Verse 72 and 73 begins the story of Ezra and the return to Jerusalem to rebuild the city and temple.)

70 And I saw how the shepherds pastured for twelve hours, and behold three of those sheep turned back and came and entered and began to build up all that had fallen down of that house; but the wild boars tried to hinder them, but they were not able.

71 And they began again to build as before, and they raised up that tower, and it was named the high tower; and they began again to place a table before the tower, but all the bread on it was polluted and not pure.

72 And as touching all this the eyes of those sheep were blinded so that they saw not, and the eyes of their shepherds likewise were blinded; and they delivered them in large numbers to their shepherds for destruction, and they trampled the sheep with their feet and devoured them.

73 And the Lord of the sheep remained unmoved until all the sheep were dispersed over the field and mingled with the beasts, and the shepherds did not save them out of the hand of the beasts.

74 And this one who wrote the book carried it up, and showed it and read it before the Lord of the sheep, and implored Him on their account, and besought Him on their account as he showed Him all the doings of the shepherds, and gave testimony before Him against all the shepherds.

(Author's note: Ezra, Haggai, and Zechariah return and wrote books of the Old Testament.)

75 And he took the actual book and laid it down beside Him and departed.

[Chapter 90]

1 And I saw until that in this manner thirty-five shepherds undertook the pasturing of the sheep, and they completed their periods as did the first; and

others received them into their hands, to pasture them for their period, each shepherd in his own period.

2 And after that I saw in my vision all the birds of heaven coming, the eagles, the vultures, the kites, the ravens; but the eagles led all the birds; and they began to devour those sheep, and to pick out their eyes and to devour their flesh.

(Author's note: Now the Eagle, which is Roman empire, appears from among the nations.)

3 And the sheep cried out because their flesh was being devoured by the birds, and as for me I looked and lamented in my sleep over that shepherd who pastured the sheep.

4 And I saw until those sheep were devoured by the dogs and eagles and kites, and they left neither flesh nor skin nor sinew remaining on them until only their bones stood there; and their bones too fell to the earth and the sheep became few.

5 And I saw until that twenty-three had undertaken the pasturing and completed in their many periods fifty-eight times.

(Author's note: Of the 70 appointed religious leaders throughout time, fifty-eight have passed. Verse 6 introduces the Essenes. Verse 8 probably refers to John The Baptist.)

6 But behold lambs were borne by those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes and to see, and to cry to the sheep.

7 They cried to them, but they did not hearken to what they said to them, but were very deaf, and their eyes were very blinded.

8 And I saw in the vision how the ravens flew on those lambs and took one of those lambs, and dashed the sheep in pieces and devoured them.

9 And I saw until horns grew on those lambs, and the ravens cast down their horns; and I saw until there sprouted a great horn of one of those sheep, and their eyes were opened.

(Author's note: According to the way in which Verse 9 is interpreted, it begins the story of Jesus. The story seems to end at verse 16. The Sheep with the great horn is never said to be killed. It only states that he was stopped. Another interpretation points to Judas Maccabaeus.)

10 And it looked at them and their eyes opened, and it cried to the sheep, and the rams saw it and all ran to it.

11 And notwithstanding all this, those eagles and vultures and ravens and kites kept on tearing the sheep and swooping down on them and devouring them until the sheep remained silent, but the rams lamented and cried out.

12 And those ravens fought and battled with it and sought to lay low its horn, but they had no power over it.

13 All the eagles and vultures and ravens and kites were gathered together, and there came with them all the sheep of the field, they all came together, and helped each other to break that horn of the ram.

14 And I saw that man, who wrote down the names of the shepherds and brought them up before the Lord of the sheep, came, and he helped that ram and showed it everything; its help was coming down.

15 And I looked until that Lord of the sheep came to them angry, all those who saw him ran, and they all fell into the shadow in front of Him.

16 All the eagles and vultures and ravens and kites, gathered together and brought with them all the wild sheep, and they all came together and helped one another in order to dash that horn of the ram in pieces.

17 And I looked at that man, who wrote the book at the command of the Lord, until he opened that book of the destruction that those last twelve shepherds had done. And he showed, in front of the Lord of the sheep, that they had destroyed even more than those before them had.

(Author's note: The twelve shepherds are either the apostles, if one interprets the sheep with the large horn as Jesus, or the twelve shepherds are the leaders of the Jews joining themselves in the revolt led by Judas Maccabeus. If one goes with the apostle theory, the books refer to the New Testament, but more specifically it refers to the path of "enlightenment." I use this word since the text itself uses the

terms “to be blinded” and “to have the eyes opened.” It should be noted that there are books attributed to most of the apostles, but many are not included in the Bible. This ends past events. What remains from verse 17 on is prophetic. Following the idea that Enoch is one of the first apocalyptic books, we will see in figurative language a great battle and the judgment. The stars are judged. This is the judgment of the fallen angels. The seventy Jewish religious leaders, representing the Pharisee mind set and the religious oppression of the Jewish people are judged. Then the eyes of the faithful are opened and they are brought into the Lord’s house. The number of believers is so great the house overflows.)

18 And I looked and the Lord of the sheep came to them and took the Staff of His Anger and struck the Earth. And the Earth was split. And all the animals, and the birds of the sky, fell from those sheep and sank in the earth, and it closed over them.

19 And I saw until a great sword was given to the sheep, and the sheep proceeded against all the beasts of the field to slay them, and all the beasts and the birds of the heaven fled before their face. And I saw that man, who wrote the book according to the command of the Lord, until he opened that book concerning the destruction which those twelve last shepherds had wrought, and showed that they had destroyed much more than their predecessors, before the Lord of the sheep. And I saw until the Lord of the sheep came to them and took in His hand the staff of His wrath, and smote the earth, and the earth clave asunder, and all the beasts and all the birds of heaven fell from among those sheep, and were swallowed up in the earth and it covered them.

20 And I saw until a throne was erected in the pleasant land, and the Lord of the sheep sat Himself on it, and the other took the sealed books and opened those books before the Lord of the sheep.

21 And the Lord called those men, the seven first white ones, and commanded that they should bring before Him, beginning with the first star which led the way, all the stars whose private members were like those of horses, and they brought them all before Him.

22 And He said to that man who wrote before Him, being one of those seven white ones, and said to him: 'Take those seventy shepherds to whom I delivered the sheep, and who taking them on their own authority slew more than I commanded them.'

23 And behold they were all bound, I saw, and they all stood before Him.

24 And the judgment was held first over the stars, and they were judged and found guilty, and went to the place of condemnation, and they were cast into an abyss, full of fire and flaming, and full of pillars of fire.

25 And those seventy shepherds were judged and found guilty, and they were cast into that fiery abyss.

26 And I saw at that time how a like abyss was opened in the midst of the earth, full of fire, and they brought those blinded sheep, and they were all judged and found guilty and cast into this fiery abyss, and they burned; now this abyss was to the right of that house.

27 And I saw those sheep burning and their bones burning.

28 And I stood up to see until they folded up that old house; and carried off all the pillars, and all the beams and ornaments of the house were at the same time folded up with it, and they carried it off and laid it in a place in the south of the land.

29 And I saw until the Lord of the sheep brought a new house greater and loftier than that first, and set it up in the place of the first which had been folded up; all its pillars were new, and its ornaments were new and larger than those of the first, the old one which He had taken away, and all the sheep were within it.

HEB 13:14 For here have we no continuing city, but we seek one to come.

30 And I saw all the sheep which had been left, and all the beasts on the earth, and all the birds of heaven, falling down and doing homage to those sheep and making petition to and obeying them in every thing.

31 And thereafter those three who were clothed in white and had seized me by my hand [who had taken me up before], and the hand of that ram also seizing hold of me, they took me up and set me down in the midst of those sheep before the judgment took place.

32 And those sheep were all white, and their wool was abundant and clean.

33 And all that had been destroyed and dispersed, and all the beasts of the field, and all the birds of heaven, assembled in that house, and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced with great joy because they were all good and had returned to His house.

34 And I saw until they laid down that sword, which had been given to the sheep, and they brought it back into the house, and it was sealed before the presence of the Lord, and all the sheep were invited into that house, but it held them not.

35 And the eyes of them all were opened, and they saw the good, and there was not one among them that did not see.

36 And I saw that the house was large and broad and very full.

37 And I saw that a white bull was born, with large horns and all the beasts of the field and all the birds of the air feared him and made petition to him all the time.

(Author's note: If one assumes the previous "sheep with a large horn" was Judas Maccabaeus, then verse 37 is the birth of the Messiah.)

38 And I saw until all their generations were transformed, and they all became white bulls; and the first among them became a lamb, and that lamb became a great animal and had great black horns on its head; and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced over it and over all the oxen.

39 And I slept in their midst: And I awoke and saw everything.

40 This is the vision which I saw while I slept, and I awoke and blessed the Lord of righteousness and gave Him glory.

41 Then I wept greatly and my tears ceased not until I could no longer endure it; when I saw, they flowed on account of what I had seen; for everything shall come and be fulfilled, and all the deeds of men in their order were shown to me.

42 On that night I remembered the first dream, and because of it I wept and was troubled-because I had seen that vision.

Note from editor: at this point, the time frame and text flow becomes non sequitur. It appears the codex was not kept in sequence here. Thus, the translated pages are out of sequence. The flow of time and occurrences seems to follow the pattern listed:

91:6 to 92:1 through 92:5 then jumps to 93:1. The flow then continues from 93:1 to 93:10 and then jumps to 91:7. From 91:7 the text continues to 91:19. It then picks up again at 93:11 and continues.

If one were to attempt to put this section into a time line, the interval would link together in some fashion resembling the following:

Ten Weeks of Judgment

WEEK 1	<i>Judgment & righteousness</i>	
93.3	<i>Enoch's time Antediluvian</i>	
	<i>(Ice-age - 16,000 B.C.)</i>	
WEEK 2	Judgment & cleansing	93.4 Noah's
time and the great flood		
	The first judgment of the world	(16,000
– 10,000 B.C)		
WEEK 3	Righteousness is planted	93.5
Abraham's time		
	(10,000 – 2000 B.C.)	
WEEK 4	Law for all generations	93.6 Moses'
time		
WEEK 4	2000 – 1400 B.C.	
WEEK 5	House of Glory	93.7 Solomon's time
	1400 – 900 B.C.	
WEEK 6	Jesus ascends, temple burned, elect	
scattered	93.8 Jesus' time	
	900 B.C – 100 A.D.	
WEEK 7	Apostate generation	Judgment of Fire
93.9 - 91.11	Our time	
	The second judgment of earth.	100
A.D. - ?		
WEEK 8	A sword	91.12–13 New house, new
heaven & earth	Future time	
WEEK 9	The righteous judgment revealed	

91.14	The judgment time	
WEEK 10	God's power is forever	91.15-16
Eternal time		

When reading the text from this point to the end of chapter 93 one should keep this flow in mind.]

[Chapter 91]

-1. The *Book of Warnings and Blessings of Enoch* (Chapters 91-104):

1 And now, my son Methuselah, call to me all your brothers and gather together to me all the sons of your mother; for the word calls me, and the spirit is poured out on me, that I may show you everything that shall befall you for ever.'

2 And thereon Methuselah went and summoned to him all his brothers and assembled his relatives.

3 And he spoke to all the children of righteousness and said: 'Hear, you sons of Enoch, all the words of your father, and hearken, as you should, to the voice of my mouth; for I exhort you and say to you, beloved:

4 Love righteousness and walk in it, and draw near to righteousness without a double heart, and do not associate with those of a double heart, but walk in righteousness, my sons. And it shall guide you on good paths. And righteousness shall be your companion.'

JAM 1:6 But let him ask in faith, nothing wavering. For he that wavereth is like a wave of the sea driven with the wind and tossed. 7 For let not that man think that he shall receive any thing of the Lord. 8 A double minded man is unstable in all his ways.

5 'For I know that violence must increase on the earth, and a great punishment will be executed on the earth, it shall be cut off from its roots, and its whole construct will be destroyed.

6 And unrighteousness shall again be complete on the earth, and all the deeds of unrighteousness and of violence and sin shall prevail a second time.

7 And when sin and unrighteousness and blasphemy and violence in all kinds of deeds increase, and apostasy and transgression and uncleanness increase; a great chastisement shall come from heaven on all these, and the holy Lord will come out with wrath and chastisement to execute judgment on earth.

2TH 2:3 Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition.

8 In those days violence shall be cut off from its roots, and the roots of unrighteousness together with deceit, and they shall be destroyed from under heaven.

9 And all the idols of the heathen shall be abandoned. And the temples burned with fire, and they shall remove them from the whole earth; and the heathen shall be cast into the judgment of fire, and shall perish in wrath and in grievous judgment for ever.

10 And the righteous shall arise from their sleep, and wisdom shall arise and be given to them.

11 And after that the roots of unrighteousness and those who plan violence and those who commit blasphemy shall be cut off, and the sinners shall be destroyed by the sword.

12 And after this there will be another week; the eighth, that of righteousness, and a sword will be given to it so that the Righteous Judgment may be executed on those who do wrong, and the sinners will be handed over into the hands of the righteous.

13 And, at its end, they will acquire Houses because of their righteousness, and a House will be built for the Great King in Glory, forever.

14 And after this, in the ninth week, the Righteous Judgment will be revealed to the whole world. And all the deeds of the impious will vanish from the whole Earth. And the world will be written down for destruction and all men will look to the Path of Uprightness.

15 And, after this, in the tenth week, in the seventh part, there will be an Eternal Judgment that will be executed on the Watchers and the Great Eternal Heaven that will spring from the midst of the Angels.

16 And the First Heaven will vanish and pass away and a New Heaven will appear, and all the Powers of Heaven will shine forever, with light seven times as bright.

17 And after this, there will be many weeks without number, forever, in goodness and in righteousness. And from then on sin will never again be mentioned.

18 And now I tell you, my sons, and show you, the paths of righteousness and the paths of violence. I will show them to you again that you may know what will come to pass.

19 And now, hearken to me, my sons, and walk in the paths of righteousness, and walk not in the paths of violence; for all who walk in the paths of unrighteousness shall perish for ever.'

[Chapter 92]

1 The book written by Enoch {Enoch indeed wrote this complete doctrine of wisdom, (which is) praised of all men and a judge of all the earth} for all my children who shall live on the earth. And for the future generations who shall observe righteousness and peace.

2 Let not your spirit be troubled on account of the times; for the Holy and Great One has appointed days for all things.

3 And the righteous one shall arise from sleep, [Shall arise] and walk in the paths of righteousness, and all his path and conversation shall be in eternal goodness and grace.

4 He will be gracious to the righteous and give him eternal righteousness, and He will give him power so that he shall be (endowed) with goodness and righteousness. And he shall walk in eternal light.

5 And sin shall perish in darkness for ever, and shall no more be seen from that day for evermore.

[Chapter 93]

(Author's note: Chapters 91 – 93 recount and expand on the events listed in the following weeks of prophecy. The explanation of the event are scattered in chapters 91 – 93, however, the list of events are stated clearly in the following list of weeks in chapter 93).

1 And after that Enoch both gave and began to recount from the books. And Enoch said:

2 'Concerning the children of righteousness and concerning the elect of the world, and concerning the plant of righteousness, I will speak these things. I Enoch will declare (them) to you, my sons, according to that which appeared to me in heavenly vision, and which I have known through the word of the holy angels, and have learned from heavenly tablets.'

3 And Enoch began to recount from the books and said: 'I was born the seventh in the first week, able judgment and righteousness still endured.

(Author's note: Enoch was the seventh son. He was born in the beginning of the time line he is laying out.)

4 And after me there shall arise in the second week great wickedness, and deceit shall have sprung up; and in it there shall be the first end.

(Author's note: This is the rise of evil. The angels have fallen.)

5 And in it a man shall be saved; and after it is ended unrighteousness shall grow up, and a law shall be made for the sinners. And after that in the third week at its close a man shall be elected as the plant of righteous judgment, and his posterity shall become the plant of righteousness for evermore.

(Author's note: The time of Moses and the establishment of the Ten Commandments. The beginning of the law.)

6 And after that in the fourth week, at its close, visions of the holy and righteous shall be seen, and a law for all generations and an enclosure shall be made for them.

(Author's note: The time of David and the wars that defined the holy land.)

7 And after that in the fifth week, at its close, the house of glory and dominion shall be built for ever.

(Author's note: The time of Solomon and the first temple.)

8 And after that in the sixth week, all who live in it shall be blinded, and the hearts of all of them shall godlessly forsake wisdom. And in it a man shall ascend; and at its close the house of dominion shall be burned with fire, and the whole race of the chosen root shall be dispersed.

(Author's note: In the sixth week Christ came to the chosen ones, but they were blinded. He ascended and the Jewish nation was scattered. In the holocaust innumerable Jews were killed. The Diaspora remains scattered but has begun to gather into the new nation of Israel. The word "holocaust" was coined in part due to its use in the Latin Vulgate, where it means "an offering, and usually refers to a "burnt offering".)

9 And after that in the seventh week shall an apostate generation arise, and many shall be its deeds, and all its deeds shall be apostate.

(Author's note: It is assumed that we are in the seventh week of Enoch's prophecy. This aligns in a very general way to the prophecies of the churches in Revelation. At the end of the seventh week there will be a "great falling away.")

2 Thessalonians 2:3 Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition;

Revelation 2

1 Unto the angel of the church of Ephesus write; These things saith he that holdeth the seven stars in his right hand, who walketh in the midst of the seven

golden candlesticks;

2I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil: and thou hast tried them which say they are apostles, and are not, and hast found them liars:

3And hast borne, and hast patience, and for my name's sake hast laboured, and hast not fainted.

4Nevertheless I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love.

5Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent.

6But this thou hast, that thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitanes, which I also hate.

7He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches; To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God.

8And unto the angel of the church in Smyrna write; These things saith the first and the last, which was dead, and is alive;

9I know thy works, and tribulation, and poverty, (but thou art rich) and I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan.

10Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer: behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days: be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.

11He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches; He that overcometh shall not be hurt of the second death.

12And to the angel of the church in Pergamos write; These things saith he which hath the sharp sword with two edges;

13I know thy works, and where thou dwellest, even where Satan's seat is: and thou holdest fast my name, and hast not denied my faith, even in those days wherein Antipas was my faithful martyr, who was slain among you, where Satan dwelleth.

14But I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balac to cast a stumblingblock before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication.

15So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes, which thing I hate.

16Repent; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth.

17He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches; To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a

white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it.

18And unto the angel of the church in Thyatira write; These things saith the Son of God, who hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire, and his feet are like fine brass;

19I know thy works, and charity, and service, and faith, and thy patience, and thy works; and the last to be more than the first.

20Notwithstanding I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols.

21And I gave her space to repent of her fornication; and she repented not.

22Behold, I will cast her into a bed, and them that commit adultery with her into great tribulation, except they repent of their deeds.

23And I will kill her children with death; and all the churches shall know that I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts: and I will give unto every one of you according to your works.

24But unto you I say, and unto the rest in Thyatira, as many as have not this doctrine, and which have not known the depths of Satan, as they speak; I will put upon you none other burden.

25But that which ye have already hold fast till I come.

26And he that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations:

27And he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers: even as I received of my Father.

28And I will give him the morning star.

29He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

Revelation 3

1And unto the angel of the church in Sardis write; These things saith he that hath the seven Spirits of God, and the seven stars; I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead.

2Be watchful, and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die: for I have not found thy works perfect before God.

3Remember therefore how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast, and repent. If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee.

4Thou hast a few names even in Sardis which have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with me in white: for they are worthy.

5He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father, and before his angels.

6He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

7And to the angel of the church in Philadelphia write; These things saith he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth;

8I know thy works: behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it: for thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name.

9Behold, I will make them of the synagogue of Satan, which say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie; behold, I will make them to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee.

10Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth.

11Behold, I come quickly: hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown.

12Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God: and I will write upon him my new name.

(Author's note: Most scholars agree that we are in the age of Laodicea)

13He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

14And unto the angel of the church of the Laodiceans write; These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God;

15I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot.

16So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth.

17Because thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked:

18I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eyesalve, that thou mayest see.

19As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten: be zealous therefore, and repent.

20Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me.

21To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne.

22He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

10 And at its end shall be elected, the elect righteous of the eternal plant of righteousness shall be chosen to receive sevenfold instruction concerning all His creation.

11 For who is there of all the children of men that is able to hear the voice of the Holy One without being troubled? And who can think His thoughts? Who is there that can behold all the works of heaven?

12 And how should there be one who could behold heaven, and who is there that could understand the things of heaven and see a soul or a spirit and could tell of it, or ascend and see all their ends and think them or do like them?

13 And who is there of all men that could know what is the breadth and the length of the earth, and to whom has the measurement been shown of all of them?

14 Or is there any one who could discern the length of the heaven and how great is its height, and on what it is founded, and how great is the number of the stars, and where all the luminaries rest?

(Author's note: In this age of space travel, we have indeed beheld the heavens and measured and numbered the stars. These are the end times.)

[Chapter 94]

1 And now I say to you, my sons, love righteousness and walk in it; because the paths of righteousness are worthy of acceptation, but the paths of unrighteousness shall suddenly be destroyed and vanish.

2 And to certain men of a generation shall the paths of violence and of death be revealed, and they shall hold themselves afar from them, and shall not follow them.

3 And now I say to you, the righteous, walk not in the paths of wickedness, nor in the paths of death, and draw not near to them, lest you be destroyed.

4 But seek and choose for yourselves righteousness and an elect life, and walk in the paths of peace, and you shall live and prosper.

5 And hold (keep) my words in the thoughts of your hearts, and permit them not to be erased from your hearts; for I know that sinners will tempt men to evilly entreat wisdom, so that no place may be found for her, and temptation will increase.

Ecclesiastes 12:13 Now all has been heard; here is the conclusion of the matter: Fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man. 14 For God will bring every deed into judgment, including every hidden thing, whether it is good or evil.

6 Woe to those who build unrighteousness and oppression and lay deceit as a foundation; for they shall be suddenly overthrown, and they shall have no peace.

7 Woe to those who build their houses with sin; for from all their foundations shall they be overthrown, and by the sword shall they fall. And those who acquire gold and silver shall suddenly perish in the judgment.

8 Woe to you, you rich, for you have trusted in your riches, and from your riches shall you depart, because you have not remembered the Most High in the days of your riches.

Isaiah 5:11 Woe to those who rise early in the morning to run after their drinks, who stay up late at night till they are inflamed with wine. 20 Woe to those who call evil good and good evil, who put darkness for light and light for darkness, who put bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter.

21 Woe to those who are wise in their own eyes and clever in their own sight.

22 Woe to those who are heroes at drinking wine and champions at mixing drinks,

23 who acquit the guilty for a bribe, but deny justice to the innocent.

9 You have committed blasphemy and unrighteousness, and have become ready for the day of slaughter, and the day of darkness and the day of the great judgment.

10 Thus I speak and tell you: He who hath created you will overthrow you, and for your fall there shall be no compassion, and your Creator will rejoice at your destruction.

11 And your righteousness shall be a reproach to the sinners and the godless in those days.

JAM 5:1 Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. 2 Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. 3 Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days. 4 Behold, the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of sabaoth. 5 Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts, as in a day of slaughter. 6 Ye have condemned and killed the just; and he doth not resist you.

(Author's note: in the above biblical verses from James, "sabaoth" is from the Hebrew, plural form of "host" or "army". The word is used almost exclusively in conjunction with the Divine name as a title of majesty: "the Lord of Hosts", or "the Lord God of Hosts".)

[Chapter 95]

1 Would that my eyes were rain clouds of water that I might weep over you, and pour down my tears as a cloud of water, that I might rest from my trouble of heart!

2 Who has permitted you to practice reproaches and wickedness? And so judgment shall overtake you, sinners.

3 You, righteous! Fear not the sinners, for again the Lord will deliver them into your hands, that you may execute judgment on them according to your desires.

4 Woe to you who speak against God (fulminate anathemas) which cannot be removed (reversed) - healing shall be far from you because of your sins.

5 Woe to you who repay your neighbor with evil; for you shall be repaid according to your works.

6 Woe to you, lying witnesses, and to those who weigh out injustice, for you shall suddenly perish.

7 Woe to you, sinners, for you persecute the righteous; for you shall be delivered up and persecuted because of injustice, and your yoke shall be heavy on you.

Luke 6:24"But woe to you who are rich, for you have already received your comfort. 25Woe to you who are well fed now, for you will go hungry. Woe to you who laugh now, for you will mourn and weep. 26Woe to you when all men speak well of you, for that is how their fathers treated the false prophets. 27"But I tell you who hear me: Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you, 28bless those who curse you, pray for those who mistreat you. 29If someone strikes you on one cheek, turn to him the other also. If someone takes your cloak, do not stop him from taking your tunic. 30Give to everyone who asks you, and if anyone takes what belongs to you, do not demand it back. 31Do to others as you would have them do to you.

[Chapter 96]

1 Be hopeful, you righteous; for suddenly shall the sinners perish before you, and you shall have lordship over them, according to your desires.

2 And in the day of the tribulation of the sinners, your children shall mount and rise as eagles, and your nests shall be higher than the vultures'. You shall ascend as badgers and enter the crevices of the earth, and the clefts of the rock for ever before the unrighteous. And the satyrs (sirens) shall sigh and weep because of you.

3 Wherefore fear not, you that have suffered, for healing shall be your portion, and a bright light shall enlighten you, and the voice of rest you shall hear from heaven.

4 Woe to you, you sinners, for your riches make you appear like the righteous, but your hearts convict you of being sinners, and this fact shall be a testimony against you for a memorial of your evil deeds.

5 Woe to you who devour the finest of the wheat, and drink wine in large bowls (the best of waters), and tread under foot the lowly (humble) with your might.

6 Woe to you who drink water from every fountain (drink water all the time), for suddenly shall you be consumed and wither away, because you have forsaken the fountain of life.

(Author's note: the above reference is a euphemism for promiscuity.)

7 Woe to you who work unrighteousness and deceit and blasphemy; it shall be a memorial against you for evil.

8 Woe to you, you mighty, who with might oppress the righteous; for the day of your destruction is coming. Many and good days shall come to the righteous in those days - in the day of your judgment.

[Chapter 97]

1 Believe, you righteous, that the sinners will become a shame and perish in the day of unrighteousness.

2 Be it known to you, you sinners, that the Most High is mindful of your destruction, and the angels of heaven rejoice over your destruction.

3 What will you do, you sinners, and where shall you flee on that day of judgment, when you hear the voice of the prayer of the righteous?

4 You shall fare like to them, against whom these words shall be a testimony: "You have been companions of sinners."

5 And in those days the prayer of the righteous shall reach to the Lord, and for you the days of your judgment shall come.

6 And all the words of your unrighteousness shall be read out before the Great Holy One, and your faces shall be covered with shame, and He will reject every work which is grounded on unrighteousness.

7 Woe to you, you sinners, who live on the middle of the ocean and on the dry land, whose remembrance is evil against you.

8 Woe to you who acquire silver and gold in unrighteousness and say: "We have become rich with riches and have possessions; and have acquired everything we have desired.

9 And now let us do what we purposed, for we have gathered silver, and many are the servants in our houses and our granaries are full to the brim as if with water."

10 Yea, and like water your lies shall flow away; for your riches shall not abide but quickly depart (go up) from you, for you have acquired it all in unrighteousness, and you shall be given over to a great curse.

[Chapter 98]

1 And now I swear to you, to the wise and to the foolish, that you shall see (have) many experiences on the earth.

2 For you men shall put on more adornments than a woman, and colored garments more than a young woman, like royalty and in grandeur and in power, and in silver and in gold and in purple, and in splendor and in food they shall be poured out as water.

3 Therefore they shall have neither knowledge nor wisdom, and because of this they shall die together with their possessions; and with all their glory and their splendor, and in shame and in slaughter and in great destitution, their spirits shall be thrown into the furnace of fire.

4 I have sworn to you, you sinners, as a mountain has not become a slave, and a hill does not become the servant of a woman, even so sin has not been sent on the earth, but man of himself has created it, and they that commit it shall fall under a great curse.

5 And barrenness has not been given to the woman, but on account of the deeds of her own hands she dies without children.

6 I have sworn to you, you sinners, by the Holy Great One, that all your evil deeds are revealed in heaven, and that none of your wrong deeds (of oppression) are covered and hidden.

7 And do not think in your spirit nor say in your heart that you do not know and that you do not see that every sin is recorded every day in heaven in the presence of the Most High.

8 From now on, you know that all your wrongdoing that you do will be written down every day, until the day of your judgment.

9 Woe to you, you fools, for through your folly you shall perish; and you do not listen to the wise so no good will come to you against the wise,

10 And so and now, know you that you are prepared for the day of destruction. Therefore do not hope to live, you sinners, but you shall depart and die; for there will be no ransom for you; because you are prepared for the day of the great judgment, for the day of tribulation and great shame for your spirits.

11 Woe to you, you obstinate of heart, who work wickedness and eat blood. Where do you have good things to eat and to drink and to be filled? From all the good things which the Lord the Most High has placed in abundance on the earth; therefore you shall have no peace.

(Author's note: The above reference to eating blood may indicate cannibalism. As a side note, The Book of Jubilees tells us that the offspring of the fallen angels drank blood. Life is in the blood, according to the Old Testament, and one should not eat or drink blood.)

GEN 9:3 Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; even as the green herb have I given you all things. 4 But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat. 5 And surely your blood of your lives will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of man; at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man. 6 Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made he man.

12 Woe to you who love the deeds of unrighteousness; wherefore do you hope for good for yourselves? You know that you shall be delivered into the hands

of the righteous, and they shall cut off your necks and slay you, and have no mercy on you.

13 Woe to you who rejoice in the distress of the righteous; for no grave shall be dug for you.

14 Woe to you who say the words of the wise are empty; for you shall have no hope of life.

15 Woe to you who write down lying and godless words; for they write down their lies so that men may hear them and act godlessly towards their neighbor. Therefore they shall have no peace but die a sudden death.

[Chapter 99]

1 Woe to you who do godless acts, and praise and honor lies; you shall perish, and no happy life shall be yours.

2 Woe to them who pervert the words of righteousness, and transgress the eternal law, and count themselves as sinless. They shall be trodden under foot on the earth.

3 In those days make ready, you righteous, to raise your prayers as a memorial, and place them as a testimony before the angels, that they may place the sin of the sinners for a reminder before the Most High.

4 In those days the nations shall be stirred up, and the families of the nations shall arise on the day of destruction.

5 And in those days the destitute shall go and throw their children out, and they shall abandon them, so that their children shall perish because of them. They shall abandon their children that are still babies (sucklings), and not return to them, and shall have no pity on their loved ones.

6 Again, I swear to you, you sinners, that sin is prepared for a day of unceasing bloodshed.

MAT 24:6 And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars: see that ye be not troubled: for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet. 7 For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in diverse places. 8 All these are the beginning of sorrows.

7 And they who worship stones, and carved images of gold and silver and wood and stone and clay, and those who worship impure spirits and demons, and all kinds of idols not according to knowledge, shall get no manner of help from them.

8 And they shall become godless by reason of the folly of their hearts, and their eyes shall be blinded through the fear of their hearts and through visions in their ambitions (dreams).

Colossians 2:16 Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holyday, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days:

17Which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ.

18Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind,

19And not holding the Head, from which all the body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered, and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God.

9 Through these they shall become godless and fearful; for they shall have done all their work with lies, and shall have worshiped a stone, therefore in an instant shall they perish.

Revelation 9:19For their power is in their mouth, and in their tails: for their tails were like unto serpents, and had heads, and with them they do hurt.

20And the rest of the men which were not killed by these plagues yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood: which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk: 21Neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts.

10 But in those days blessed are all they who accept the words of wisdom, and understand them, and observe the paths of the Most High, and walk in

the path of His righteousness, and become not godless with the godless, for they shall be saved.

11 Woe to you who spread evil to your neighbors, for you shall be slain in Hell.

12 Woe to you who make your foundation that of deceitful (sin) and lies, and who cause bitterness on the earth; for they shall thereby be utterly consumed.

13 Woe to you who build your houses through the hard labor of others, and all their building materials are the bricks and stones of sin; I tell you, you shall have no peace.

14 Woe to them who reject the measure and eternal inheritance of their fathers and whose souls follow after idols; for they shall have no rest.

15 Woe to them who do unrighteous acts and help oppression, and kill their neighbors until the day of the great judgment, for He will throw down your glory.

16 For He shall throw down your glory, and bring affliction on your hearts, and shall arouse His fierce anger, and destroy you all with the sword; and all the holy and righteous shall remember your sins.

[Chapter 100]

1 And in those days in one place the fathers together with their sons shall kill one another and brothers shall fall in death together until the streams flow with their blood.

2 For a man shall not withhold his hand from killing his sons and his sons' sons, and the sinner shall not withhold his hand from his honored brother, from dawn until sunset they shall kill one another.

MAR 13:12 Now the brother shall betray the brother to death, and the father the son; and children shall rise up against their parents, and shall cause them to be put to death.

3 And the horse shall walk up to the breast in the blood of sinners, and the chariot shall be submerged to its height.

REV 14:20 And the winepress was trodden without the city, and blood came out of the winepress, even unto the horse bridles, by the space of a thousand and six hundred furlongs.

4 In those days the angels shall descend into the secret places and gather together into one place all those who brought down sin and the Most High will arise on that day of judgment to execute great judgment among sinners.

5 And over all the righteous and holy He will appoint guardians from among the holy angels to guard them as the apple of an eye, until He makes an end of all wickedness and all sin, and even if the righteous sleep a long sleep, they have nothing to fear.

6 And the wise men will seek the truth and they and their sons will understand the words of this book, and recognize that their riches shall not be able to save them or overcome their sins.

7 Woe to you sinners, on the day of strong anguish, you who afflict the righteous and burn them with fire; you shall be requited according to your works.

8 Woe to you, you obstinate of heart, who watch in order to devise wickedness; therefore shall fear come on you and there shall be none to help you.

9 Woe to you, you sinners, on account of the words of your mouth, and on account of the deeds of your hands which your godlessness as caused, in blazing flames burning worse than fire shall you burn.

2TH 1:7 And to you who are troubled rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, 8 In flaming fire taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ:9 Who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power?

10 And now, know that the angels will ask Him in heaven about your deeds and from the sun and from the moon and from the stars they will ask about your sins because on the earth you execute judgment on the righteous.

11 And He will summon to testify against you every cloud and mist and dew and rain; for they shall all be withheld from falling on you, and they shall be mindful of your sins.

12 And now give gifts to the rain that it cease not from falling on you, nor the dew, when it has received gold and silver from you that it may fall. When the hoar-frost and snow with their chilliness, and all the snow storms with all their plagues fall on you, in those days you shall not be able to stand before them.

[Chapter 101]

1 Observe heaven, you children of heaven, and every work of the Most High, and fear Him and work no evil in His presence.

2 If He closes the windows of heaven, and withholds the rain and the dew from falling on the earth on your account, what will you do then?

3 And if He sends His anger on you because of your deeds, you cannot petition Him; for you spoke proud and arrogant words against His righteousness, therefore you shall have no peace.

4 Don't you see the sailors of the ships, how their ships are tossed back and forth by the waves, and are shaken by the winds, and are in great trouble?

5 And therefore they are afraid because all their nice possessions go on the sea with them, and they have bad feelings in their heart that the sea will swallow them and they will perish therein.

6 Are not the entire sea and all its waters, and all its movements, the work of the Most High, and has He not set limits to its actions, and confined it throughout by the sand?

7 And at His reproof it fears and dries up, and all its fish die and all that is in it; but you sinners that are on the earth fear Him not.

8 Has He not made heaven and the earth, and all that is in it ? Who has given understanding and wisdom to everything that moves on the earth and in the sea?

9 Do not the sailors of the ships fear the sea? Yet you sinners do not fear the Most High.

[Chapter 102]

1 In those days if He sent a horrible fire on you, where will you flee, and where will you find deliverance? And when He launches out His Word against you will you not be shaken and afraid?

2 And all the luminaries shall be shaken with great fear, and all the earth shall be afraid and tremble and be alarmed.

3 And all the angels shall execute their commands and shall seek to hide themselves from the presence of He who is Great in Glory, and the children of earth shall tremble and shake; and you sinners shall be cursed for ever, and you shall have no peace.

2 Peter 3:8 But, beloved, be not ignorant of this one thing, that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.

9 The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness; but is longsuffering to us-ward, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance.

10 But the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up.

11 Seeing then that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness,

12 Looking for and hasting unto the coming of the day of God, wherein the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat?

13 Nevertheless we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.

4 Fear you not, you souls of the righteous, and fear not you who have died in righteousness.

5 And don't grieve if your soul has descended in to the grave in grief, and that in your life you were not rewarded according to your goodness, but wait for the day of the judgment of sinners and for the day of cursing and chastisement.

6 And when you die the sinners will say about you: "As we die, so die the righteous, and what benefit do they reap for their deeds?"

7 See, even as we, so do they die in grief and darkness, and what have they more than we? From now on we are equal.

8 And what will they receive and what will they see for ever? Look, they too have died, and from now on for ever shall they see no light."

9 I tell you, you sinners, you are content to eat and drink, and rob and sin, and strip men naked, and acquire wealth and see good days.

10 Have you seen the righteous how their end was peace, that no violence is found in them until their death?

11 Nevertheless they died and became as though they had not been, and their spirits descended into Hell in tribulation.

Matthew 10:28 Do not be afraid of those who kill the body but cannot kill the soul. Rather, be afraid of the One who can destroy both soul and body in hell.

[Chapter 103]

1 Now, therefore, I swear to the righteous, by the glory of the Great and Honored and Mighty One who reigns, I swear to you, I know this mystery.

2 I have read the heavenly tablets, and have seen the holy books, and have found written in it and inscribed regarding them.

3 That all goodness and joy and glory are prepared for them, and written down for the spirits of those who have died in righteousness, and that much good shall be given to you in reward for your labors, and that your lot is abundant beyond the lot of the living.

4 And the spirits of you who have died in righteousness shall live and rejoice, and your spirits shall not perish, nor shall your memory from before the face of the Great One to all the generations of the world, therefore no longer fear their abuse.

5 Woe to you, you sinners, when you have died, if you die in the abundance of your sins, and woe to those who are like you and say regarding you: "Blessed are the sinners, they have seen all their days.

6 And how they have died in prosperity and in wealth, and have not seen tribulation or murder in their life; and they have died in honor, and judgment has not been executed on them during their life."

7 You know that their souls will be made to descend into Hell and they shall be wracked in great tribulation.

8 And into darkness and chains and a burning flame where there is harsh judgment your spirits shall enter, and the great judgment shall be for all the generations of the world. Woe to you, for you shall have no peace.

9 The righteous and good who are alive, do not say: "In our troubled days we have worked hard and experienced every trouble, and met with much evil and been afflicted, and have become few and our spirit small.

10 And we have been destroyed and have not found any to help us even with a word. We have been tortured and destroyed, and not expect to live from day to day.

11 We hoped to be the head and have become the tail. We have worked hard and had no satisfaction in our labor; and we have become the food of the sinners and the unrighteous, and they have laid their yoke heavily on us.

12 They have ruled over us and hated us and hit us, and to those that hated us we have bowed our necks but they pitied us not.

13 We desired to get away from them that we might escape and be at rest, but found no place where we should flee and be safe from them.

14 We complained to the rulers in our tribulation, and cried out against those who devoured us, but they did not pay attention to our cries and would not listen to our voice.

15 And they helped those who robbed us and devoured us and those who made us few; and they concealed their oppression (wrongdoing), and they did not remove from us the yoke of those that devoured us and dispersed us and murdered us, and they concealed their murder, and did not remember that they had lifted up their hands against us.”

Jeremiah 30:15 Why do you cry out over your wound, your pain that has no cure? Because of your great guilt and many sins I have done these things to you.

16 " 'But all who devour you will be devoured; all your enemies will go into exile. Those who plunder you will be plundered; all who make spoil of you I will despoil.

17 But I will restore you to health and heal your wounds,' declares the LORD, 'because you are called an outcast, Zion for whom no one cares.'

18 "This is what the LORD says:" 'I will restore the fortunes of Jacob's tents and have compassion on his dwellings; the city will be rebuilt on her ruins, and the palace will stand in its proper place.

19 From them will come songs of thanksgiving and the sound of rejoicing. I will add to their numbers, and they will not be decreased; I will bring them honor, and they will not be disdained.

[Chapter 104]

1 I swear to you, that in heaven the angels remember you for good before the glory of the Great One.

2 And your names are written before the glory of the Great One. Be hopeful; for before you were put to shame through sickness and affliction; but now you shall shine as the lights of heaven,

3 You shall shine and you shall be seen, and the doors of heaven shall be opened to you. And in your cry, cry for judgment, and it shall appear to you; for all your tribulation shall be visited on the rulers, and on all who helped those who plundered you.

4 Be hopeful, and do not throw away your hopes for you shall have great joy as the angels of heaven.

5 What will you have to do ? You shall not have to hide on the day of the great judgment and you shall not be found as sinners, and the eternal judgment shall not come to you for all the generations, eternally.

6 And now fear not, you righteous, when you see the sinners growing strong and prospering in their ways; do not be their companions, but keep away from their violence.

7 For you shall become companions of the hosts of heaven. And, although you sinners say: "All our sins shall not be found out and be written down," nevertheless they shall write down all your sins every day.

8 And now I show to you that light and darkness, day and night, see all your sins.

9 Do not be godless in your hearts, and do not lie and do not change the words of righteousness, nor say that the words of the Holy Great One are lies, nor praise or rely on your idols; for all your lying and all your godlessness (leads not to) come not from righteousness but (leads to) from great sin.

10 And now I know this mystery, that sinners will alter and pervert the words of righteousness in many ways, and will speak wicked words, and lie, and practice great deceits, and write books concerning their words.

11 But when they write down all my words truthfully in their languages, and do not change or omit any of my words but write them all down truthfully - all that I first testified concerning them.

12 Then, I know another mystery, that books will be given to the righteous and the wise to produce joy and righteousness and much wisdom.

13 And to them the books shall be given, and they shall believe them and rejoice over them, and then all the righteous who have learned from them all the paths of righteousness shall be paid back.'

[Chapter 105]

Later Additions to the Text – Book of Noah (Chapters 105-108):

1 In those days the Lord called them (the wise and righteous) to testify to the children of earth concerning their wisdom: Show it to them; for you are their guides, and a recompense over the whole earth.

2 For I and my son will be united with them for ever in the paths of righteousness in their lives; and you shall have peace: rejoice, you children of righteousness. Amen.

[Chapter 106]

This section of Enoch was not originally attached. It is a fragment from the Book of Noah.

Though this book has not come down to us independently, it has in large measure been incorporated in the Ethiopic Book of Enoch, and can in part be reconstructed from it.

The Book of Noah is mentioned several times in the book of Jubilees. The editor simply changed the name Noah in the context before him into Enoch, for the statement is based on Gen. 5: 32, and Enoch lived only 365 years. Chapters 6-11 are from the same source. They make no reference to Enoch, but bring forward Noah and mention the sin of the angels that led to the flood, and of their temporal and eternal punishment. This section is a repeat of the Semjaza and Azazel myths.

-1. Other pieces of the Book of Noah can be found scattered throughout Enoch in chapters 6-11; 39:1-2a; 54:7-55:2; 60; 65:1-69:25; and 106-107.

The fragments seem to have been written earlier than the book of Jubilees and thus were likely written around 200 B.C.

Fragment from the Book of Noah.

1 And after some days my son Methuselah took a wife for his son, Lamech, and she became pregnant by him and bore a son. And his body was white as snow and red as the blooming of a rose, and the hair of his head and his long curls were white as wool, and his eyes beautiful.

2 And when he opened his eyes, he lit up the whole house like the sun, and the whole house was very bright.

3 And on it he levitated (arose) in the hands of the midwife, opened his mouth, and conversed with the Lord of righteousness.

4 And his father, Lamech, was afraid of him and fled, and came to his father Methuselah. And he said to him: 'I have begotten a strange son, different and unlike man, and resembling the sons of the God of heaven; and his nature is different and he is not like us, and his eyes are as the rays of the sun, and his face is glorious.

5 And it seems to me that he did not spring from me but from the angels, and I fear that in his days a wonder may be performed on the earth.

6 And now, my father, I am here to ask you and beg you that you may go to Enoch, our father, and learn from him the truth, for his dwelling-place is among the angels."

7 And when Methuselah heard the words of his son, he came to me to the ends of the earth; for he had heard that I was there, and he cried aloud, and I heard his voice and I came to him. And I said to him: 'Behold, here am I, my son, why have you come to me? '

8 And he answered and said: 'Because of a great cause of anxiety have I come to you, and because of a disturbing vision have I approached.

9 And now, my father, hear me. To Lamech, my son, there has been born a son, the like of whom there is none other, and his nature is not like man's nature, and the color of his body is whiter than snow and redder than the bloom of a rose, and the hair of his head is whiter than white wool, and his eyes are like the rays of the sun, and he opened his eyes and the whole house lit up.

10 And he levitated (arose) in the hands of the midwife, and opened his mouth and blessed the Lord of heaven.

11 And his father Lamech became afraid and fled to me, and did not believe that he was sprung from him, but that he was in the likeness of the angels of

heaven; and now I have come to you that you may make known to me the truth.'

12 And I, Enoch, answered and said to him: 'The Lord will do a new thing on the earth, and this I have already seen in a vision, and make known to you that in the generation of my father Jared some of the angels of heaven violated the word of the Lord. And they commit sin and broke the law, and have had sex (united themselves) with women and committed sin with them, and have married some of them, and have had children by them.

13 And they shall produce on the earth giants not according to the spirit, but according to the flesh, and there shall be a great punishment on the earth, and the earth shall be cleansed from all impurity.

14 There shall come a great destruction over the whole earth, and there shall be a flood (deluge) and a great destruction for one year.

15 And this son who has been born to you shall be left on the earth, and his three children shall be saved with him: when all mankind that are on the earth shall die, he and his sons shall be saved.

16 And now make known to your son, Lamech, that he who has been born is in truth his son, and call his name Noah; for he shall be left to you, and he and his sons shall be saved from the destruction, which shall come on the earth on account of all the sin and all the unrighteousness, which shall be full (completed) on the earth in his days.

17 And after that (flood) there shall be more unrighteousness than that which was done before on the earth; for I know the mysteries of the holy ones; for He, the Lord, has showed me and informed me, and I have read (them) in heavenly tablets.

[Chapter 107]

1 And I saw written about them that generation after generation shall transgress, until a generation of righteousness arises, and transgression is

destroyed and sin passes away from the earth, and all manner of good comes on it.

2 And now, my son, go and make known to your son Lamech that this son, which has been born, is in truth his son, and this is no lie.

3 And when Methuselah had heard the words of his father Enoch, for he had shown to him everything in secret, he returned and showed those things to him and called the name of that son Noah; for he will comfort the earth after all the destruction.

[Chapter 108]

(Author's note: Chapter 108 was added later and was not part of the original text.)

1 Another book which Enoch wrote for his son Methuselah and for those who will come after him, and keep the law in the last days.

2 You who have done good shall wait for those days until an end is made of those who work evil; and an end of the power of the wrongdoers.

3 And wait until sin has passed away indeed, for their names shall be blotted out of the book of life and out of the holy books, and their (children) seed shall be destroyed for ever, and their spirits shall be killed, and they shall cry and lament in a place that is a chaotic desert, and they shall be burned in the fire; for there is no earth there.

4 I saw something there like an invisible cloud; because it was so deep I could not look over it, and I saw a flame of fire blazing brightly, and things like shining mountains circling and sweeping back and forth.

5 And I asked one of the holy angels who was with me and said to him: 'What is this bright thing (shining)? For it is not heaven but there was only the flame of a blazing fire, and the voice of weeping and crying and moaning, lamenting, and agony.'

6 And he said to me: 'This place which you see are where the spirits of sinners and blasphemers, and of those who work wickedness, are cast and the

spirits of those who pervert everything that the Lord hath spoken through the mouth of the prophets and even the prophecies (things that shall be).

7 For some of them are written and inscribed above in heaven, in order that the angels may read them and know that which shall befall the sinners, and the spirits of the humble, and of those who have afflicted their bodies, and been recompensed by God; and of those who have been abused (put to shame) by wicked men:

8 Who love God and loved neither gold nor silver nor any of the good things which are in the world, but gave over their bodies to torture.

9 Who, since they were born, longed not after earthly food, but regarded everything as a passing breath, and lived accordingly, and the Lord tried them much, and their spirits were found pure so that they should bless His name.

10 And all the blessings destined for them I have recounted in the books. And he has assigned them their reward, because they have been found to love heaven more than their life in the world, and though they were trodden under foot by wicked men, and experienced abuse and reviling from them and were put to shame, they blessed Me.

11 And now I will summon the spirits of the good who belong to the generation of light, and I will transform those who were born in darkness, who in the flesh were not rewarded with such honor as their faithfulness deserved.

12 And I will bring out in shining light those who have loved My holy name, and I will seat each on the throne of his honor.

MAT 19:28 And Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, That ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

13 And they shall shine for time without end; for righteousness is the judgment of God; because to the faithful He will give faithfulness in the habitation of upright paths.

14 And they shall see those who were born in darkness led into darkness, while the righteous shall shine. And the sinners shall cry aloud and see them shining, and they indeed will go where days and seasons are written down (prescribed) for them.

This ends the Book of Enoch.

Conclusion

From the beginning of religion, and before, mankind has looked up and imagined angels and demons. Religions call them by various names but the idea of unseen entities have existed since the awakening of the human imagination.

Spiritual beings or entities viewed as benevolent or malevolent appear in the ancient Indo-Iranian religion, from which evolved early Zoroastrianism and the early Hinduism reflected in the Vedas (ancient Aryan hymns). In Zoroastrianism the daevas were viewed as malevolent beings, but their counterparts, the devas in ancient Hinduism, were viewed as gods. The ahuras of Zoroastrianism were good “lords,” but in Hinduism their counterparts, the asuras, were transformed into evil lords.

In a similar manner, Satan, the prosecutor of men in the court of God in the Old Testament book of Job, became the chief antagonist of Christ in Christianity and of man in Islam, assuming a much more active and independent role. Similar transformations in other religions indicate that distinctions made between angels as benevolent and demons as malevolent may be too simplistic or may change over time. However, such designations may be used as indicators of the general functions of such spiritual beings.

Hinduism, one of the oldest religions in the world, dating back to 4000 BCE, proves the concept of spiritual or supernatural beings date back more than 6000 years. In Judaism and thus Christianity the earliest appearance of an angel is in the Book of Job, said to be the oldest book in the bible. Satan, an angel and agent of God, in that era of religious thought, tempts Job. Many conservative scholars assign the writing of the book of Job to the time of King Solomon, about 950 BC. Historical evidence favors this date, since this was the golden age of biblical Wisdom Literature. Ezekiel (who wrote around 600 BC) mentions Job in 14:14. Some scholars claim it is dated to BC 2000–1800. If the book of Job was written by Moses, it was probably written during his sojourn in Midian.

Book of Enoch, Jasher, Jubilee, and the Book of Giants address the topic of angels, demons, and their origins. The Book of Enoch seems to have informed the Judeo-Christian faith and is even quoted in the Book of Jude. This is because

Enoch was considered authentic by Jude and Peter. It is very likely it was considered authentic by the Jews in general in that time.

If the Book of Giants was part of Enoch it also would be considered of the same great value. If the Book of Giants is an addendum or sequel to the Book of Enoch it would reflect the beliefs regarding angels and demons at the time of writing and would be valuable as the history of evolution of religious thought.

Even though the texts of the Book of Giants were fragmented and at places indecipherable, the additional information, when added to the Book of Enoch makes for a very interesting and informative subject.

Angels and demons have been with mankind in his imagination, and in his hopes and fears for over six millennia. Mankind has held tenaciously to the beliefs of these entities. Most religions throughout the world have their versions of these good and evil entities. Such an old and universal idea should be closely examined with an open mind.

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The Books of Enoch: The Angels, The Watchers and The Nephilim

Lost Books of the Bible: The Great Rejected Texts

The Encyclopedia of Lost and Rejected Scriptures: The Pseudepigrapha and Apocrypha

Fallen Angels Watchers, and the Origins of Evil

The Book of Jubilees; The Little Genesis, The Apocalypse of Moses

The Book of Jasher - The J. H. Parry Text in Modern English



The Life of Adam and Eve

From The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament. (This important text based on the version made by R.H. Charles; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913, was modernised by Patrick Rogers in 2008)

Introduction

The Life of Adam and Eve is a significant Jewish pseudepigraphical writing, whose surviving manuscripts are Christian copies in Latin and Greek. It purports to explain in colourful detail the fate of the First Parents after their expulsion from Eden, in the style of an apocalypse, or heavenly revelation. As such, its genre reminds us strongly of that in the Book of Revelation. Along with its teaching about penitence and atonement for sin, it expresses a clear belief in the resurrection of dead to a future life. There is wide agreement that the original dates from the first

century A.D. and was composed in a Semitic language. It recounts the lives and words of Adam and Eve to their children, as they face their approaching deaths. It provides more detail than does Genesis 3, about their Fall from Grace, including Eve's version of the story. Satan explains that he rebelled when God commanded him to worship Adam. After Adam dies, he and all his descendants are promised a resurrection.

It begins immediately after their exile from the Garden of Eden and continues to their deaths. In the first chapters, Eve begins to do penance in the icy Tigris river, but Satan soon talks her out of it. When Adam complains about Satan persecuting them, he learns that Eve is the reason he was expelled from heaven. Satan and his followers had been cast out of heaven for refusing God's command to worship Adam, God's own image. Unaffected by the devil, Adam serves forty days of penance in the Jordan River.

Cain and Abel are then born, and Cain's killing of Abel is passed over quickly. Seth is born, along with thirty other sons and thirty daughters. As Adam is dying, Seth and Eve try to get healing oil for him but are prevented by the archangel Michael.

Eve then relates her version of the Fall of Man, where she had been put in charge of all the female animals and half the garden, from which she brought the forbidden fruit to Adam. The serpent is described as having hands and feet, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil is said to be a fig tree. Adam then dies at the age of 930, and after his soul is conveyed to the third heaven, God and some angels bury his body and Abel's. Adam and all his descendants are promised a resurrection. Six days later, Eve dies, and Michael tells Seth never to mourn more than six days, and to cease on the Sabbath.

The Life of Adam and Eve

I

When they were driven out from paradise, they made themselves a booth, and spent seven days mourning and lamenting in deep grief.

II

But after seven days, they began to be hungry and started to look for food to eat, and they found it not. Then Eve said to Adam: "My lord, I am hungry. Go, look for something for us to eat. Perhaps the Lord God will look back and pity us and recall us to the place where we were before."

III

Adam got up and walked seven days over all that land, and found no food of the kind they used to have in paradise. Then Eve said to Adam: "Will you kill me, that I may die, and perhaps the Lord God will bring thee into paradise, for on my account you were driven out from there?"

Adam answered: "Hush, Eve, from such words, or God may bring some other curse upon us. How could I stretch out my hand against my own flesh? No, let us arise and look for something for us to live on, so as not to die of hunger."

IV

And they walked about searching for nine days, but found nothing of the kind they used to have in paradise, for they found only animals' food. And Adam said to Eve: "This the Lord has provided for animals and brutes to eat; but we used to have angels' food. But it is just and right for us to lament before the sight of God who made us. Let us repent with a great penitence: perhaps the Lord will be gracious to us and will pity us and give us a share of something to keep us alive."

V

And Eve said to Adam: "What is penitence? Tell me, what sort of penitence am I to do? Let us not set too great a task for ourselves, one in which we cannot persevere, so that the Lord will not listen to our prayers and will turn away His face from us, because we have not fulfilled what we promised. My lord, how much penitence have you planned, for I have brought trouble and anguish upon you?"

VI

And Adam said to Eve: "You cannot do as much as I, but do only as much as you have strength for. For I will spend forty days fasting, but let you go off to the river Tigris and lift up a stone and stand on it in the water up to your neck in the deep of the river. And let no speech come from your mouth, since we are unworthy to address the Lord, for our lips are unclean from that unlawful and forbidden tree. And let you stand in the water of the river thirty-seven days. But I will spend forty days in the water of Jordan, perhaps the Lord God will take pity upon us."

VII

And Eve walked to the river Tigris and did as Adam had told her. Likewise, Adam walked to the river Jordan and stood on a stone up to his neck in water.

VIII

And Adam said: "Water of Jordan, I bid you grieve with me, and assemble to me all that swims in you, and let them surround me and mourn in company with me. Not for themselves let them lament, but for me; for it is not they that have sinned, but I." Immediately, all living things came and surrounded him, and from that hour the water of Jordan stood still and its current was stayed."

IX

And eighteen days passed by; then Satan was angry and transformed himself into the brightness of angels, and went away to the river Tigris to Eve, and found her weeping, and the devil himself pretended to grieve with her, and he began to weep and said to her "Come out of the river and lament no more. Cease now from sorrow and moaning. Why are you anxious and your husband Adam? The Lord God has heard your groaning and has accepted your penitence, and all we angels have entreated on your behalf, and interceded with the Lord; and he has sent me to bring you out of the water and give you the nourishment which you had in paradise, and for which you are crying out. Now come out of the water and I will conduct you to the place where your food has been made ready."

X

Now Eve heard and believed and went out of the water of the river, and her flesh was like grass, from the chill of the water. When she had come out, she fell to the ground and the devil raised her up and led her to Adam. But when Adam saw her and the devil with her, he wept and cried aloud and said: "O Eve, Eve, where is the labour of your penance? How have you been again ensnared by our enemy, through whom we have been estranged from our abode in paradise and spiritual joy?"

XI

When she heard this, Eve understood that it was the devil had persuaded her to leave the river; and she fell on her face on the ground and her sorrow and groaning and wailing was redoubled. And she cried out and said: "Woe to you, you devil. Why do you attack us for no cause? What have you to do with us? What have we done to you, for you to pursue us with craft? Or why does your malice attack us? Have we taken away your glory and caused you to be without honour? You enemy, why do you harry us to the death in wickedness and envy?"

XII

And with a heavy sigh, the devil said, "O Adam! all my hostility, envy, and sorrow is for you, since it is for you that I have been expelled from my glory, which I possessed in the heavens in the midst of the angels and for you was I cast out on the earth." Adam answered, "What do you tell me? What have I done to you or what is my fault against you? Seeing that you have received no harm or injury from us, why do you pursue us?"

XIII

The devil replied, "Adam, what are you saying? It is for your sake that I have been hurled from that place. When you were formed, I was hurled out of the presence of God and banished from the company of the angels. When God blew into you the breath of life and your face and likeness was made in the image of God, Michael also brought you and made us worship you in the sight of God; and the Lord God said, Here is Adam. I have made you in our image and likeness."

XIV

And Michael went out and called to all the angels, "Worship the image of God as the Lord God has commanded." And Michael himself worshipped first; then he called me and said, "Worship the image of the Lord God." And I answered, "It is not for me to worship Adam." And since Michael kept urging me to worship, I said to him, "Why do you urge me? I will not worship an inferior and younger being than I. I am his senior in the Creation, before he was made was I already made. It is his duty to worship me."

XIV

When the angels who were under me heard this, they refused to worship him. And Michael said, "Worship the image of God, but if you will not worship him, the Lord God will be angry with you." And I said, "If He be angry with me, I will set my seat above the stars of heaven and will be like the Highest."

XVI

And the Lord God was angry with me and banished me and my angels from our glory; and on your account we were expelled from our abodes into this world and hurled to the ground. Straight away we were overcome with grief, since we had been robbed of such great glory. And we were grieved when we saw you in such joy and luxury. And with guile I cheated your wife and through her action caused you to be expelled from your joy and luxury, as I have been driven out of my glory.

XVII

When Adam heard the devil say this, he cried out and wept and said, "O Lord my God, my life is in your hands. Banish this Enemy far from me, who seeks to destroy my soul, and give me his glory which he himself has lost." And at that moment, the devil vanished before him. But Adam persevered in his penance, standing for forty days on end in the water of Jordan.

XVIII

And Eve said to Adam: "Live you, my Lord, to you life is granted, since you have committed neither the first nor the second error. But I have erred and been led astray for I have not kept the commandment of God; and now banish me from the light of your life and I will go to the sunset, and there will I be, until I die." And she began to walk towards the western parts and to mourn and to weep bitterly and groan aloud. And she made there a booth, while she had in her womb offspring of three months old.

XIX

When the time of her bearing approached, she began to be distressed with pains, and she cried aloud to the Lord and said, "Pity me, O Lord, assist me." And she was not heard and the mercy

of God did not encircle her. And she said to herself: "Who shall tell my lord Adam? I implore you, ye luminaries of heaven, what time ye return to the east, bear a message to my lord adam."

XX

But in that hour, Adam said, "The complaint of Eve has come to me. Perhaps, once more has the serpent fought with her." And he went and found her in great distress. And Eve said, "From the moment I saw you, my lord, my grief-laden soul was refreshed. And now entreat the Lord God on my behalf to listen to you and look upon me and free me from my awful pains." And Adam entreated the Lord for Eve.

XXI

And there came twelve angels and two 'virtues', standing on the right and on the left of Eve; and Michael was standing on the right; and he stroked her on the face as far as to the breast and said to Eve: "Blessed are you, Eve, for Adam's sake. Since his prayers and intercessions are great, I have been sent that you mayst receive our help. Rise up now, and prepare you to bear. And she bore a son and he was shining; and at once the babe rose up and ran and bore a blade of grass in his hands, and gave it to his mother, and his name was called Cain.

XXII

And Adam carried Eve and the boy and led them to the East. And the Lord God sent various seeds by Michael the archangel and gave to Adam and showed him how to work and till the ground, that they might have fruit by which they and all their generations might live. For thereafter Eve conceived and bare a son, whose name was Abel; and Cain and Abel used to stay together. And Eve said to Adam: "My lord, while I slept, I saw a vision, as it were the blood of our son Abel in the hand of Cain, who was gulping it down in his mouth. Therefore I have sorrow." And Adam said, "Alas if Cain slew Abel. Yet let us separate them from each other mutually, and let us make for each of them separate dwellings."

XXIII

And they made Cain an husbandman, but Abel they made a shepherd; in order that in this wise they might be mutually separated. And thereafter, Cain slew Abel, but Adam was then one hundred and thirty years old, but Abel was slain when he was one hundred and twenty-two years. And thereafter Adam knew his wife and he begat a son and called his name Seth.

XXIV

And Adam said to Eve, "See, I have begotten a son, in place of Abel, whom Cain slew." And after Adam had begotten Seth, he lived eight hundred years and begat thirty sons and thirty daughters; in all sixty-three children. And they were increased over the face of the ground in their nations.

XXV

And Adam said to Seth, "Hear, my son Seth, that I may relate to you what I heard and saw after your mother and I had been driven out of paradise. When we were at prayer, there came to me Michael the archangel, a messenger of God. And I saw a chariot like the wind and its wheels were fiery and I was caught up into the Paradise of righteousness, and I saw the Lord sitting and his face was flaming fire that could not be endured. And many thousands of angels were on the right and the left of that chariot.

XXVI

When I saw this, I was confounded, and terror seized me and I bowed myself down before God with my face to the ground. And God said to me, "Behold you must die, since you have transgressed the commandment of God, for you listened rather to the voice of your wife, whom I gave into your power, that you might hold her to your will. Yet you listened to her and ignored My words."

XXVII

When I heard these words of God, I fell prone on the ground and worshipped the Lord and said, "My Lord, All powerful and merciful God, Holy and Righteous One, let not the name that is mindful of Your majesty be blotted out, but convert my soul, for I die and my breath will cease from my mouth. Do not cast me out from Your presence, whom You formed of the clay of the ground. Do not banish from Your favour the one whom You have nourished." Then a word concerning you came to me and the Lord said to me, "Since your days were fashioned, you have been created with a love of knowledge; therefore the right to serve Me shall not be taken from your seed for ever."

XXVIII

When I heard these words. I threw myself on the ground and adored the Lord God and said, "You are the eternal and supreme God; and all creatures give you honour and praise. You are the true Light gleaming above all lights, the Living Life, infinite mighty Power. To You, the spiritual powers give honour and praise. You pour out on the race of men the abundance of Your mercy." As soon as I had worshipped the Lord, Michael, God's archangel, seized my hand and cast me out of the paradise of vision and of God's command. And Michael held a rod in his hand, and touched the waters which were round about paradise, and they froze hard.

XXIX

And I went across, and Michael the archangel went across with me, and he led me back to the place from which he had caught me up. Listen, my son Seth, to the rest of the secrets that shall be, which were revealed to me, when I had eaten of the tree of the knowledge, and knew and saw what will happen in this age; what God intends to do to his creation of the race of men. The Lord will appear in a flame of fire and from the mouth of His majesty He will give commandments and statutes. From His mouth will proceed a two-edged sword and they will sanctify Him in the

house where His majesty dwells. And He will show them the marvellous place of His majesty. And then they will build a house to the Lord their God in the land which He shall prepare for them; but they will transgress His statutes there and their sanctuary will be burnt up and their land deserted and they themselves will be dispersed, because they have kindled the wrath of God. But again He will cause them to come back from their dispersion; and again they will build the house of God; and in the last time the house of God will be exalted greater than of old. And once more iniquity will exceed righteousness. And thereafter God will dwell with men on earth in visible form; and then, righteousness will begin to shine. And the house of God will be honoured in the age and their enemies will no more be able to hurt the men, who are believing in God; and God will stir up for Himself a faithful people, whom He shall save for eternity, and the impious shall be punished by God their king, the men who refused to love His law.

Heaven and earth, nights and days, and all creatures shall obey Him, and not overstep His commandment. Men shall not change their works, but they shall be changed from forsaking the law of the Lord. Therefore the Lord shall repel from Himself the wicked, and the just shall shine like the sun, in the sight of God. And in that time, shall men be purified by water from their sins. But those who are unwilling to be purified by water shall be condemned. And happy shall the man be, who has ruled his soul, when the Judgement shall happen and the greatness of God be seen among men and their deeds be inquired into by God the just judge.

XXX

After Adam was nine hundred and thirty years old, since he knew that his days were coming to an end, he said, "Let all my sons gather to me, that I may bless them before I die, and speak with them." And they were assembled in three parts before his sight, in the house of prayer, where they used to worship the Lord God. And they asked him "Why have you gathered us, Father, and why do you lie on your bed?" Then Adam answered, "My sons, I am sick and in pain." And all his sons said to him, "What does it mean, father, this illness and pain?"

XXXI

Then Seth his son said, "O my lord, perhaps you long for the fruit of paradise, which you were accustomed to eat, and therefore you lie in sadness? Tell me and I will go to the nearest gates of paradise and put dust on my head and throw myself down on the ground before the gates of paradise and lament and beg God with loud lamentation; perhaps he will listen to me and send his angel to bring me the fruit, for which you long." Adam answered, "No, my son, I do not long for this, but I feel weakness and great pain in my body." Seth answered, "What is pain, my lord father? I am ignorant; do not hide it from us, but tell us about it." And Adam answered, "Hear me, my sons. When God made us, me and your mother, and placed us in paradise and gave us every tree bearing fruit to eat, he laid on us a prohibition about the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which is in the midst of paradise; saying "Do not eat of it." But God gave a part of paradise to me and a part to your mother, the trees of the eastern part and the orch, which is over against Aquilo he gave to me, and to your mother he gave the part of the south and the western part.

XXXIII

Moreover the Lord God gave us two angels to guard us. The hour came when the angels had ascended to worship in the sight of God; immediately the enemy the devil found an opportunity while the angels were absent and the devil led your mother astray to eat of the unlawful and forbidden tree. And she ate and gave to me.

XXXIV

And immediately, the Lord God was angry with us, and the Lord said to me, "Since you have left behind my commandment and have not kept my word, which I confirmed to you; I will bring upon your body, seventy blows; with various griefs, shall you be tormented, beginning at your head and your eyes and your ears down to the nails on your toes, and in every separate limb. These has God appointed for chastisement. All these things has the Lord sent to me and to all our race."

XXXV

Thus said Adam to his sons, and he was seized with violent pains, and he cried out with a loud voice, "What shall I do? I am in distress. So cruel are the pains with which I am beset." When Eve had seen him weeping, she also began to weep herself, and said, "O Lord my God, hand over to me his pain, for it is I who sinned." And Eve said to Adam, "My lord, give me a part of your pains, for this has come to you from fault of mine."

XXXVI

And Adam said to Eve, "Rise up and go with my son Seth to the neighbourhood of paradise, and put dust on your heads and throw yourselves on the ground and lament in the sight of God. Perhaps He will have pity upon you and send His angel across to the tree of His mercy, from which flows the oil of life, and will give you a drop of it, to anoint me with it, that I may have rest from these pains, by which I am being consumed." Then Seth and his mother went off towards the gates of paradise. And while they were walking, suddenly there came a beast a serpent and attacked and bit Seth. And as soon as Eve saw it, she wept and said, "Alas, wretched woman that I am. I am accursed since I have not kept the commandment of God." And Eve said to the serpent in a loud voice, "Accursed beast! how is it that you have not feared to let yourself loose against the image of God, but have dared to fight with it?"

XXXVIII

The beast answered in the language of men, "Is it not against you, Eve, that our malice is directed? Are you not the objects of our rage? Tell me, Eve, how was your mouth opened to eat of the fruit? But now you can not bear it if I begin to reprove you."

XXXIX

Then Seth said to the beast, "the Lord God revile you. Be silent, be dumb, shut your mouth, accursed enemy of Truth, confounder and destroyer. Away from the image of God till the day when the Lord God orders you to be brought to the ordeal." And the beast said to Seth, "See, I leave the presence of the image of God, as you have said." Immediately he left Seth, wounded by his teeth.

XL

But Seth and his mother walked to the regions of paradise for the oil of mercy to anoint the sick Adam, and they arrived at the gates of paradise, and they took dust from the ground and placed it on their heads, and bowed down with their faces to the ground and began to lament with loud moaning, imploring the Lord God to pity Adam in his pains and to send His angel to give them the oil from the "tree of His mercy".

XLI

But when they had been praying and imploring for many hours, the angel Michael appeared to them and said, "I have been sent to you from the Lord - I am set by God over the bodies of men - I tell you, Seth, you man of God, do not weep or pray and entreat about the oil of the tree of mercy to anoint your father Adam for the pains of his body.

XLII

'For I tell you that you will be unable to receive it except in the last days." When five thousand five hundred years have been fulfilled, then will come upon earth the most beloved king Christ, the son of God, to revive the body of Adam and with him to revive the bodies of the dead. He Himself, the Son of God, when He comes will be baptized in the river Jordan, and when He has come out of the water of Jordan, then He will anoint from the oil of mercy all that believe in Him. And the oil of mercy shall be for generation to generation for those who are ready to be born again of water and the Holy Spirit to life eternal. Then the most beloved Son of God, Christ, descending on earth shall lead your father Adam to Paradise to the tree of mercy.

XLIII

'But let you, Seth, go to your father Adam, since the time of his life is fulfilled. Six days hence, his soul shall leave his body and when it has left, you shall see great marvels in the heaven and on the earth and the lights of heaven. With these words, Michael departed from Seth. And Eve and Seth returned bearing with them herbs of fragrance, nard and crocus and calamus and cinnamon.

XLIV

When Seth and his mother reached Adam, they told him how the serpent beast had bit Seth. And Adam said to Eve, "What have you done? You have brought a great plague upon us,

transgression and sin for all our generations, and tell your children after my death what you have done, for those who arise from us shall toil and fail but when they are lacking they shall curse us and say, All evils have our parents brought upon us, who were at the beginning." When Eve heard these words, she began to weep and moan.

XLV

And just as Michael the archangel had foretold, after six days came Adam's death. When Adam saw that the hour of his death was at hand, he said to all his sons, "See, I am nine hundred and thirty years old, and when I die, bury me towards the rising sun in the field beside that house." And when he had finished speaking, he gave up the ghost.

XLVI

Then was the sun darkened and the moon and the stars for seven days, and Seth in his mourning embraced from above the body of his father, and Eve was looking at the ground with her hands folded over her head, and all her children wept most bitterly. And there appeared Michael the angel and stood at the head of Adam and said to Seth, "Rise up from the body of your father and come to me and see what is the doom of the Lord God concerning him. He is His creature and God has pitied him." And all the angels blew their trumpets, and cried out,

XLVII

'Blessed are you, O Lord, for you have had pity on Your creature.'

XLVIII

Then Seth saw the hand of God stretched out holding Adam and he handed him over to Michael, saying, "Let him be in your charge in punishment till the day of Judgement, till the last years when I will convert his sorrow into joy. Then he shall sit on the throne of the one who supplanted him." And the Lord said again to the angels Michael and Uriel, "Bring me three linen clothes of byssus and spread them out over Adam and other linen clothes over Abel his son and bury Adam and Abel his son." And all the "powers" of angels marched before Adam, and the sleep of the dead was consecrated. And the angels Michael and Uriel buried Adam and Abel in the parts of Paradise, before the eyes of Seth and his mother and no one else, and Michael and Uriel said, "Just as ye have seen, bury your dead in like manner."

XLIX

Six days afterwards, Adam died; and Eve saw that she would die, so she gathered all her sons and daughters, Seth with thirty brothers and thirty sisters, and Eve said to all, "Listen to me, my children, and I will tell you what the archangel Michael said to us when I and your father transgressed the command of God. On account of your transgression, Our Lord will bring upon your race the anger of his judgement, first by water, the second time by fire; by these two, will the Lord judge the whole human race

L

But listen to me, my children. Make tablets of stone and others of clay, and write upon them about my life and your father's, all that ye have heard and seen from us. If the Lord judges our race by water, the tablets of clay will be dissolved and the tablets of stone will remain; but if by fire, the tablets of stone will be broken up and the tablets of clay will be baked hard." When Eve had said all this to her children, she spread out her hands to heaven in prayer, and bent her knees to the ground, and while she worshipped the Lord and gave him thanks, she gave up the ghost. Thereafter, all her children buried her with loud lamentation.

LI

When they had been mourning four days, then Michael the archangel appeared and said to Seth, "Man of God, do not mourn for your dead more than six days, for on the seventh day is the sign of the resurrection and the rest of the age to come; on the seventh day the Lord rested from all His works." Thereupon Seth made the tablets of clay and stone.

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Apocalypse Of Paul

From "The Apocryphal New Testament" M.R. James-Translation and Notes Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924

Introduction

Epiphanius tells us that the Caianites or Cainites had forged a book full of unspeakable matter in the name of Paul, which was also used by those who are called Gnostics, which they call the Anabaticon of Paul, Basing it on the words of the apostle -that he was taken up into the third heaven. This has left no trace (Heresy, 38. 2).

St. Augustine laughs at the folly of some who had forged an Apocalypse of Paul, full of fables, and pretending to contain the unutterable things which the apostle had heard. This is, I doubt not, our book. (Aug. on John, Tract 98.) Sozomen, in his Ecclesiastical History (vii. 19), says: The book now circulated as the Apocalypse of Paul the apostle, which none of the ancients ever saw, is commended by most monks; but some contend that this book was found in the reign we write of (of Theodosius). For they say that by a Divine manifestation there was found underground at Tarsus of Cilicia, in Paul's house a marble chest, and that in it was this book. However, when I inquired about this, a Cilician, a priest of the church of Tarsus, told me it was a lie. He was a man whose grey hairs showed him to be of considerable age and he said that no such thing had happened in their city, and that he wondered whether the tale (or, the book) had not been made up by heretics.

Sozomen's story is that which appears in our book; and we need not doubt that this Apocalypse made its appearance in the last years of the fourth century. It is condemned in the Gelasian Decree, and is mentioned with disapproval by various late church writers.

Though not an early book, it is made up very largely of early matter; and it had an immense vogue, especially in the West. Greek copies of it are rare, and the texts they contain are disfigured by many omissions. Of the Eastern versions -Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic- the Syriac is the best. But possibly the full Latin version is superior to all other authorities. There are several abridged Latin texts, and from these were made the many versions which were current in almost every European language.

In an early canto of the Inferno (ii. 28) Dante mentions the visit of the 'Chosen Vessel' to Hell -an undoubted allusion to the Apocalypse. And both in the Divine Comedy and in the hundreds of earlier medieval visions of the next world the influence of this book is perceptible, sometimes faintly, often very plainly indeed.

The reader will soon see for himself that Paul is a direct descendant of Peter, especially in his description of Hell-torments. He will also see that the book is very badly put together; and that whole episodes, e.g.

visit to Paradise, are repeated. This means that the author is combining different sources in a very unintelligent way.

In the Greek, Latin, and Syriac the book is incomplete: it ends abruptly in a speech of Elijah. The Coptic version -only recently published- has a long continuation; part of this is, I think, original but it tails off into matter which cannot be. This conclusion has even a third visit to Paradise! I give some particulars of it later.

The plan of the book is briefly this:

1, 2 - Discovery of the revelation.

3-6 - Appeal of creation to God against man

7-10 - The report of the angels to God about men.

11-18 - Deaths and judgements of the righteous and the wicked.

19-30 - First vision of Paradise.

31-44 - Hell. Paul obtains rest on Sunday for the lost.

45-51 - Second vision of Paradise.

- The full Latin version is the basis of my translation: the Greek, Syriac, and Coptic are used where the Latin is corrupt.

Here beginneth the Vision of Saint Paul the Apostle.

But I will come to visions and revelations of the Lord. I knew a man in Christ fourteen years ago, whether in the body I know not or whether out of the body I know not -God knoweth- that such an one was caught up unto the third heaven: and I knew such a man, whether in the body or out of the body I know not -God knoweth- that he was caught up into paradise and heard secret words which it is not lawful for men to utter. For such an one will I boast, but for myself I will boast nothing, save of mine infirmities.

1 At what time was it made manifest In the consulate of Theodosius Augustus the younger and Cynegius, a certain honourable man then dwelling at Tarsus, in the house which had been the house of Saint Paul, an angel appeared unto him by night and gave him a revelation, saying that he should break up the foundation of the house and publish that which he found; but he thought this to be a lying vision.

2 But a third time the angel came, and scourged him and compelled him to break up the foundation.

And he dug, and found a box of marble inscribed upon the sides: therein was the revelation of Saint Paul, and his shoes wherein he walked when he taught the word of God. But he feared to open that box, and brought it to the judge; and the judge took it, sealed as it was with lead, and sent it to the emperor Theodosius fearing that it might be somewhat strange; and the emperor when he received it, opened it and found the revelation of Saint Paul. A copy thereof he sent to Jerusalem and the original he kept with him. (Gr. reverses this: he kept the copy and sent away the original. It adds: And there was written therein as followeth.)

3 Now while I was in the body, wherein I was caught up unto the third heaven, the word of the Lord came unto me, saying: Speak unto this people: How long will ye transgress, and add sin upon sin, and tempt the Lord that made you Saying that ye are Abraham's children but doing the works of Satan (so Gr.; Lat. Ye are the sons of God, doing the work of the devil), walking in the confidence of God, boasting in your name only, but being poor because of the matter of sin. Remember therefore and know that the whole creation is subject unto God, but mankind only sinneth. It hath dominion over the whole creation, and sinneth more than the whole of nature.

4 For oftentimes hath the sun, the great light, appealed unto the Lord, saying: O Lord God Almighty, I look forth upon the ungodliness and unrighteousness of men. Suffer me, and I will do unto them according to my power, that they may know that thou art God alone. And there came a voice unto it, saying: All these things do I know, for mine eye seeth and mine ear heareth, but my long-suffering beareth with them until they turn and repent. But if they return not unto me, I will judge them all.

5 And sometimes the moon and the stars have appealed unto the Lord, saying: O Lord God Almighty, unto us hast thou given rule over the night; how long shall we look upon the ungodliness and fornications and murders which the children of men commit suffer us to do unto them according unto our powers, that they may know that thou art God alone. And there came a voice unto them, saying: I know all these things, and mine eye looketh upon them and mine ear heareth, but my long-suffering beareth with them until they turn and repent. But if they return not unto me, I will judge them.

6 Oftentimes also the sea hath cried out, saying: O Lord God Almighty, men have polluted thine holy name in me: suffer me and I will arise and cover every wood and tree and all the world, till I blot out all the children of men from before thy face, that they may know that thou art God alone. And again a voice came, saying: I know all, for mine eye seeth all things, and mine ear heareth, but my long-suffering beareth with them until they turn and repent. But if they return not I will judge them. Sometimes also the waters have appealed against the children of men, saying: O Lord God Almighty, the children of men have all defiled thine holy name. And there came a voice, saying: I know all things

before they come to pass, for mine eye seeth and mine ear heareth all things: but my long-suffering beareth with them until they turn. And if not, I will judge. Often also hath the earth cried out unto the Lord against the children of men, saying: O Lord God Almighty, I suffer hurt more than all thy creation, bearing the fornications, adulteries, murders, thefts forswearings, sorceries, and witchcrafts of men, and all the evils that they do, so that the father riseth up against the son, and the son against the father, the stranger against the stranger, every one to defile his neighbour's wife. The father goeth up upon his son's bed, and the son likewise goeth up upon the couch of his father; and with all these evils have they that offer a sacrifice unto thy name polluted thine holy place. Therefore do I suffer hurt more than the whole creation, and I would not yield mine excellence and my fruits unto the children of men. Suffer me and I will destroy the excellence of my fruits. And there came a voice and said: I know all things, and there is none that can hide himself from his sin. And their ungodliness do I know, but my holiness suffereth them until they turn and repent. But if they return not unto me, I will judge them.

7 Behold then ye children of men. The creature is subject unto God, but mankind alone sinneth.

Therefore, ye children of men, bless ye the Lord God without ceasing at all hours and on all days; but especially when the sun setteth. For in that hour do all the angels go unto the Lord to worship him and to present the deeds of men which every man doeth from morning until evening, whether they be good or evil. And there is an angel that goeth forth rejoicing from the man in whom he dwelleth . When therefore the sun is set, at the first hour of the night, in the same hour goeth the angel of every people and of every man and woman, which protect and keep them, because man is the image of God: and likewise at the hour of morning, which is the twelfth hour of the night, do all the angels of men and women go to meet God and present all the work which every man hath wrought, whether good or evil. And every day and night do the angels present unto God the account of all the deeds of mankind. Unto you, therefore, I say, O children of men, bless ye the Lord God without ceasing all the days of your life.

8 At the hour appointed, therefore, all the angels, every one rejoicing, come forth before God together to meet him and worship him at the hour that is set; and lo, suddenly at the set time there was a meeting, and the angels came to worship in the presence of God, and the spirit came forth to meet them, and there was a voice, saying: Thence could ye, our angels, bringing burdens of news

9 They answered and said: We are come from them that have renounced the world for thy holy name's sake, wandering as strangers and in the caves of the rocks, and weeping every hour that they dwell on the earth and hungering and thirsting for thy name's sake; with their loins girt, holding in their hands the incense of their heart, and praying and blessing at every hour, suffering anguish and subduing themselves, weeping and lamenting more than all that dwell on the earth. And we that are their angels do mourn with them, whither therefore it pleaseth thee, command us to go and minister lest they do otherwise, but the poor more than all that dwell on the earth. (The sense required as shown by Gr. is that the angels ask that these good men may continue in goodness.) And the voice of God came unto them, saying: Know ye that from henceforth my grace shall be established with you, and mine help

which is my dear]y beloved Son, shall be with them, ruling them at all times; and he shall minister unto them and never forsake them, for their place is his habitation.

10 When, then, these angels departed, lo, there came other angels to worship in the presence of the majesty, to meet therewith, and they were weeping. And the spirit of God went forth to meet them, and the voice of God came, saying: Whence are ye come, our angels bearing burdens, ministers of the news of the world They answered and said in the presence of God: We are come from them which have called upon thy name, and the snares of the world have made them wretched, devising many excuses at all times, and not making so much as one pure prayer out of their whole heart all the time of their life. Wherefore then must we be with men that are sinners And the voice of God came unto them: Ye must minister unto them until they turn and repent; but if they return not unto me, I will judge them.
Know therefore, O children of men, that whatsoever is wrought by you, the angels tell it unto God, whether it be good or evil.

11 [Syr. Again, after these things, I saw one of the spiritual ones coming unto me, and he caught me up in the spirit, and carried me to the third heaven.]

And the angel answered and said unto me: Follow me, and I will show thee the place of the righteous where they are taken when they are dead. And there after will I take thee to the bottomless pit and show thee the souls of the sinners, into what manner of place they are taken when they are dead. And I went after the angel, and he took me into heaven, and I looked upon the firmament, and saw there the powers; and there was forgetfulness which deceiveth and draweth unto itself the hearts of men, and the spirit of slander and the spirit of fornication and the spirit of wrath and the spirit of insolence and there were the princes of wickedness. These things saw I beneath the firmament of the heaven.

And again I looked and saw angels without mercy, having no pity, whose countenances were full of fury, and their teeth sticking forth out of their mouth: their eyes shone like the morning star of the east, and out of the hairs of their head and out of their mouth went forth sparks of fire. And I asked the angel, saying: Who are these, Lord And the angel answered and said unto me: These are they which are appointed unto the souls of sinners in the hour of necessity, even of them that have not believed that they had the Lord for their helper and have not trusted in him.

[Apocalypse of Zephaniah (Steindorff's 'anonymous Apocalypse'); I went with the angel of the Lord and looked before me and saw a place through which passed thousand thousands and myriads of myriads of angels, whose faces were as of panthers, and their teeth stuck forth out of their mouth, and their eyes were bloodshot, and their hair loose like woman's hair, and burning scourges were in their hands. (I feared and asked: Who are these The angel answered:) These are the ministers of the whole creation, which come unto the souls of the ungodly and take them and lay them down here: they fly three days with them in the air before they take them and cast them into their everlasting torment.]

12 And I looked into the height and beheld other angels whose faces shone like the sun, and their loins were girt with golden girdles, holding palms in their hands, and the sign of God, clad in raiment whereon was written the name of the Son of God, full of all gentleness and mercy. And I asked the angel and said: Who are these, Lord, that are of so great beauty and compassion And the angel answered and said unto me: These are the angels of righteousness that are sent to bring the souls of the righteous in the hour of necessity, even them that have believed that they had the Lord for their helper. And I said unto him: Do the righteous and the sinners of necessity meet [witnesses] when they are dead And the angel answered and said unto me: The way whereby all pass unto God is one: but the righteous having an holy helper with them are not troubled when they go to appear in the presence of God.

13 And I said unto the angel: I would see the souls of the righteous and of the sinners as they depart out of the world. And the angel answered and said unto me: Look down upon the earth. And I looked down from heaven upon the earth and beheld the whole world, and it was as nothing in my sight; and I saw the children of men as though they were nought, and failing utterly; and I marvelled, and said unto the angel: Is this the greatness of men And the angel answered and said unto me: This it is, and these are they that do hurt from morning until evening. And I looked, and saw a great cloud of fire spread over the whole world, and said unto the angel: What is this, Lord And he said to me: This is the unrighteousness that is mingled by the princes of sinners (Gr. mingled with the destruction of sinners; Syr. mingled with the prayers of the sons of men).

14 And I when I heard that sighed and wept, and said unto the angel: I would wait for the souls of the righteous and of the sinners, and see in what fashion they depart out of the body. And the angel answered and said unto me: Look again upon the earth. And I looked and saw the whole world: and men were as nought, and failing utterly; and I looked and saw a certain man about to die; and the angel said to me: He whom thou seest is righteous. And again I looked and saw all his works that he had done for the name of God, and all his desires which he remembered and which he remembered not, all of them stood before his face in the hour of necessity. And I saw that the righteous man had grown in righteousness, and found rest and confidence: and before he departed out of the world there stood by him holy angels, and also evil ones: and I saw them all; but the evil ones found no abode in him, but the holy ones had power over his soul and ruled it until it went out of the body. And they stirred up the soul, saying: O soul, take knowledge of thy body whence thou art come out; for thou must needs return into the same body at the day of resurrection, to receive that which is promised unto all the righteous. They received therefore the soul out of the body, and straightway kissed it as one daily known of them, saying unto it: Be of good courage, for thou hast done the will of God while thou abodest on the earth. And there came to meet it the angel that watched it day by day, and he said unto it: Be of good courage, O soul: for I rejoice in thee because thou hast done the will of God on the earth; for I told unto God all thy works, how they stood. Likewise also the spirit came forth to meet it and said: O soul, fear not, neither be troubled, until thou come unto a place which thou never knewest; but I will be thine helper, for I have found in thee a place of refreshment in the time when I dwelt in thee, when I was (thou wast) on

the earth. And the spirit [thereof] strengthened it, and the angel thereof took it up and carried it into the heaven. And the angel said (Syr. And there went out to meet it wicked powers, those that are under heaven. And there reached it the spirit of error, and said): Whither runnest thou, O soul, and presumest to enter heaven stay and let us see if there be aught of ours in thee. And lo! we have found nothing in thee. I behold also the help of God, and thine angel; and the spirit rejoiceth with thee because thou didst the will of God upon earth. (Syr. has more here. There is a conflict between the good and evil angels. The spirit of error first laments. Then the spirit of the tempter and of fornication meet it and it escapes, and they lament. All the principalities and evil spirits come to meet it and find nothing, and gnash their teeth. The guardian angel bids them go back, 'Ye tempted this soul and it would not listen to you.' And the voice of many angels is heard rejoicing over the soul. Probably this is original matter.) And they brought it until it did worship in the presence of God. And when they (it) had ceased, forthwith Michael and all the host of the angels fell and worshipped the footstool of his feet and his gates, and said together unto the soul: This is the God of all, which made thee in his image and likeness. And the angel returned and declared, saying: Lord, remember his works; for this is the soul whereof I did report the works unto thee, Lord, doing according to thy judgement. And likewise the spirit said: I am the spirit of quickening that breathed upon it; for I had refreshment in it in the time when I dwelt therein, doing according to thy judgement. And the voice of God came, saying: Like as this soul hath not grieved me neither will I grieve it, for like as it hath had mercy, I also will have mercy. Let it be delivered therefore unto Michael the angel of the covenant, and let him lead it into the paradise of rejoicing that it become fellow-heir with all the saints. And thereafter I heard the voices of thousands of thousands of angels and archangels and the cherubim and the four-and-twenty elders uttering hymns and glorifying the Lord and crying: Righteous art thou, O Lord, and just are thy judgements, and there is no respect of persons with thee, but thou rewardest every man according to thy judgement. And the angel answered and said unto me: Hast thou believed and known that whatsoever every one of you hath done, he beholdeth it at the hour of his necessity And I said: Yea, Lord.

15 And he said unto me: Look down again upon the earth and wait for the soul of a wicked man going forth of the body, one that hath provoked the Lord day and night, saying: I know nought else in this world, I will eat and drink and enjoy the things that are in the world. For who is he that hath gone down into hell and come up and told us that there is a judgement there And again I looked and saw all the despising of the sinner, and all that he did, and they stood together before him in the hour of necessity: and it came to pass in that hour when he was led out of his body to the judgement, that he (MS. I) said: It were better for me (MS. him) that I (he) had not been born. And after that the holy angels and the evil and the soul of the sinner came together, and the holy angels found no place in it. But the evil angels threatened (had power over) it, and when they brought it forth out of the body, the angels admonished it thrice, saying: O wretched sou], look upon thy flesh whence thou art come out; for thou must needs return into thy flesh at the day of resurrection to receive the due reward for thy sins and for thy wickedness;

16 And when they had brought it forth, the accustomed (i.e. guardian) angel went before it and said unto it: O miserable soul, I am the angel that clave unto thee and day by day reported unto the Lord thine evil deeds, whatsoever thou wroughtest by night or day; and if it had been in my power I would not have ministered unto thee even one day; but of this I could do nothing, for God is merciful and a just judge, and he commanded us not to cease ministering unto your soul till ye should repent: but thou hast lost the time of repentance. I indeed am become a stranger unto thee and thou to me. Let us go then unto the just judge: I will not leave thee until I know that from this day I am become a stranger unto thee. (Here Copt. inserts a quite similar speech of the spirit to the soul, which may be original.) And the spirit confounded it, and the angel troubled it. When therefore they were come unto the principalities, and it would now go to enter into heaven, one burden (labour, suffering) was laid upon it after another: error and forgetfulness and whispering met it, and the spirit of fornication and the rest of the powers, and said unto it: Whither goest thou, wretched soul and darest to run forward into heaven Stay, that we may see whether we have property of ours in thee, for we see not with thee an holy helper. (Syr. adds: And the angel answered and said: Know ye that it is a soul of the Lord, and he will not cast it aside, neither will I surrender the image of God into the hand of the wicked one. The Lord supported me all the days of the life of the soul, and he can support and help me: and I will not cast it off until it go up before the throne of God on high. When he shall see it, he hath power over it, and will send it whither he pleases.) And after that I heard voices in the height of the heavens, saying: Present this miserable soul unto God, that it may know that there is a God, whom it hath despised. When therefore it was entered into the heaven, all the angels, even thousands of thousands, saw it, and all cried out with one voice saying: Woe unto thee, miserable soul, for thy works which thou didest upon the earth, what answer wilt thou make unto God when thou drawest near to worship him The angel which was with it answered and said: Weep with me, my dearly beloved, for I have found no rest in this soul. And the angels answered him and said: Let this soul be taken away out of our midst, for since it came in, the stench of it is passed upon us the angels. And thereafter it was presented, to worship in the presence of God, and the angel showed it the Lord God that made it after his own image and likeness. And its angel ran before it, saying: O Lord God Almighty, I am the angel of this soul, whose works I presented unto thee day and night, not doing according to thy judgement. And likewise the spirit said: I am the spirit which dwelt in it ever since it was made, and I know it in itself, and it followed not my will: judge it, Lord, according to thy judgement. And the voice of God came unto it and said: Where is thy fruit that thou hast yielded, worthy of those good things which thou hast received did I put a distance even of a day between thee and the righteous did I not make the sun to rise upon thee even as upon the righteous And it was silent, having nothing to answer; and again the voice came, saying: Just is the judgement of God, and there is no respect of persons with God, for whosoever hath done his mercy he will have mercy on him, and whoso hath not had mercy, neither shall God have mercy on him. Let him therefore be delivered unto the angel Tartaruchus (Gr. Temeluchus) that is set over the torments, and let him cast him into the outer darkness where is weeping and gnashing of teeth, and let him be there until the great day of judgement. And after that I heard the voice of the angels and archangels saying: Righteous art thou, O Lord, and just is thy judgement.

17 And again I beheld, and lo, a soul which was brought by two angels, weeping and saying: Have mercy on me, thou righteous God, O God the judge; for to-day it is seven days since I went forth out of my body, and I was delivered unto these two angels, and they have brought me unto those places which I had never seen. And God the righteous judge said unto it: What hast thou done for thou hast never wrought mercy; therefore wast thou delivered unto such angels, which have no mercy, and because thou hast not done right, therefore neither have they dealt pitifully with thee in the hour of thy necessity. Confess therefore thy sins which thou hast committed when thou wert in the world. And it answered and said: Lord, I have not sinned. And the righteous Lord God was wroth with indignation when it said: I have not sinned, for it lied. And God said: Thinkest thou that thou art yet in the world if every one of you there when he sinneth, hideth and concealeth his sin from his neighbour, yet here no thing is hidden, for when the souls come to worship before the throne both the good works and the sins of every one are made manifest. And when the soul heard that, it held its peace, having no answer. And I heard the Lord God, the righteous judge, saying again: Come, thou angel of this soul, and stand in the midst. And the angel of the sinful soul came, having a writing in his hands, and said: These, Lord, that are in mine hands, are all the sins of this soul from its youth up unto this day, even from ten years from its birth: and if thou bid me, Lord, I can tell the acts thereof since it began to be fifteen years old. [Apocalypse of Zephaniah: I looked and saw that a writing (the same word, chirographum) was in his hand: he began to open it, and when he had spread it out I read it in mine own language, and I found all my sins that I had committed, recorded by him, even those which I had committed from my childhood up unto this day.] And the Lord God the righteous judge said: I say unto thee, O angel, I desire not of thee the account since it began to be fifteen years old; but declare its sins of five years before that it died and came hither. And again God the righteous judge said: For by myself I swear, and by mine holy angels and by my power, that if it had repented five years before it died, even for the walk (conversation) of one year, there should be forgetfulness of all the evil which it committed before and it should have pardon and remission of sins: but now let it perish. And the angel of the sinful soul answered and said: Command, Lord, that (such and such an) angel to bring forth those (such and such) souls.

18 And in that same hour the souls were brought forth into the midst, and the soul of the sinner knew them. And the Lord said unto the soul of the sinner: I say unto thee, O soul, confess thy deeds which thou didst upon these souls whom thou seest, when they were in the world. And it answered and said: Lord, it is not yet a full year since I slew this one and shed its blood upon the earth, and with another I committed fornication; and not that only, but I did it much harm by taking away its substance. And the Lord God the righteous judge said: Knewest thou not that he that doth violence to another, if he that suffered violence die first, he is kept in this place until he that hurt him dieth, and then do both of them appear before the judge and now hath every one received according as he did. And I heard a voice saying: Let that soul be delivered into the hands of Tartaruchus, and he must be taken down into hell. Let him take him into the lower prison and let him be cast into torments and be left there until the great day of judgement. And again I heard thousands of thousands of angels singing an hymn unto the Lord

and saying: Righteous art thou, O Lord, and just are thy judgements.

19 The angel answered and said unto me: Hast thou perceived all these things And I said: Yea, Lord.

And he said unto me: Follow me again, and I will take thee and show thee the places of the righteous. And I followed the angel and he took me up unto the third heaven and set me before the door of a gate; and I looked on it and saw, and the gate was of gold, and there were two pillars of gold full of golden letters; and the angel turned again to me and said: Blessed art thou if thou enterest in by these gates, for it is not permitted to any to enter save only to those that have kept goodness and pureness of their bodies in all things. And I asked the angel and said: Lord, tell me for what cause are these letters set upon these tables The angel answered and said unto me: These are the names of the righteous that minister unto God with their whole heart, which dwell on the earth. And again I said: Lord, then are their names also their countenance and the likeness of them that serve God is in heaven, and they are known unto the angels: for they know them that with their whole heart serve God before they depart out of the world.

20 And when I had entered within the gate of paradise there came to meet me an old man whose face shone like the sun, and he embraced me and said: Hail, Paul, dearly beloved of God And he kissed me with a joyful countenance, but he wept, and I said unto him: Father (Lat. Brother), why weepest thou And again sighing and weeping he said: Because we are vexed by men, and they grieve us sore; for many are the good things which the Lord hath prepared, and great are his promises, but many receive them not. And I asked the angel and said: Who is this, Lord And he said unto me: This is Enoch the scribe of righteousness. And I entered within that place and straightway I saw Elias I and he came and saluted me with gladness and joy. And when he had seen me, he turned himself away and wept and said unto me: Paul, mayest thou receive the reward of thy labour which thou hast done among mankind. As for me, I have seen great and manifold good things which God hath prepared for all the righteous, and great are the promises of God, but the more part receive them not; yea hardly through much toil doth one and another enter into these places.

21 And the angel answered and said unto me: What things soever I now show thee here, and whatsoever thou hearest, reveal them not unto any upon earth. And he led me and showed me: and I heard there words which it is not lawful for a man to utter; and again he said: Yet again follow me and I will show thee that which thou must relate and tell openly. And he brought me down from the third heaven, and led me into the second heaven, and again he led me to the firmament, and from the firmament he led me unto the gates of heaven. And the beginning of the foundation thereof was upon the river that watereth all the earth. And I asked the angel and said: Lord, what is this river of water and he said unto me: This is the Ocean. And suddenly I came out of heaven, and perceived that it is the light of the heaven that shineth upon all the earth (or, all that land). And there the earth (or, land) was seven times brighter than silver. And I said: Lord, what is this place and he said unto me: This is the land of promise. Hast thou not yet heard that which is written: Blessed

are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth The souls therefore of the righteous when they are gone forth of the body are sent for the time into this place. And I said unto the angel: Shall then this land be made manifest after (lat. before) a time The angel answered and said unto me: When Christ whom thou preachest cometh to reign, then by the decree of God the first earth shall be dissolved, and then shall this land of promise be shown and it shall be like dew or a cloud; and then shall the Lord Jesus Christ the eternal king be manifested and shall come with all his saints to dwell therein; and he shall reign over them a thousand years, and they shall eat of the good things which now I will show thee.

22 And I looked round about that land and saw a river flowing with milk and honey. And there were at the brink of the river trees planted, full of fruits: now every tree bare twelve fruits in the year, and they had various and divers fruits: and I saw the fashion (creation) of that place and all the work of God, and there I saw palm-trees of twenty cubits and others of ten cubits: and that land was seven times brighter than silver. And the trees were full of fruits from the root even to the upper branches. (Lat. is confused here. Copt. has: From the root of each tree up to its heart there were ten thousand branches with tens of thousands of clusters, [and there were ten thousand clusters on each branch,] and there were ten thousand dates in each cluster. And thus was it also with the vines. Every vine had ten thousand branches, and each branch had upon it ten thousand bunches of grapes, and every bunch had on it ten thousand grapes. And there were other trees there, myriads of myriads of them, and their fruit was in the same proportion.) And I said unto the angel: Wherefore doth every tree bring forth thousands of fruits The angel answered and said unto me: Because the Lord God of his bounty giveth his gifts in abundance unto the worthy; for they also of their own will afflicted themselves when they were in the world, doing all things for his holy name's sake.

And again I said unto the angel: Lord, are these the only promises which the most holy Lord God promiseth and he answered and said unto me: No; for there are greater by seven times than these. But I say unto thee, that when the righteous are gone forth out of the body and shall see the promises and the good things which God hath prepared for them, yet again they shall sigh and cry, saying: Wherefore did we utter a word out of our mouth to provoke our neighbour even for a day And I asked again and said: Be these the only promises of God And the angel answered and said unto me: These which now thou seest are for them that are married and keep the purity of their marriage, being continent. But unto the virgins, and unto them that hunger and thirst after righteousness and afflict themselves for the name of the Lord, God will give things seven-fold greater than these, which now I will show thee. And after that he took me out of that place where I saw these things, and lo, a river, and the waters of it were white exceedingly, more than milk, and I said unto the angel: What is this and he said to me: This is the lake Acherusa where is the city of Christ: but not every man is suffered to enter into that city: for this is the way that leadeth unto God, and if any be a fornicator or ungodly, and turn and repent and bear fruits meet for repentance, first when he cometh out of the body he is brought and worshippeth God, and then by the commandment of the Lord he is delivered unto Michael the angel, and he washeth him in the lake Acherusa and so bringeth him in to the city of Christ with them that have done no sin. And I marvelled and blessed the Lord God for all the things which I saw.

23 And the angel answered and said unto me: Follow me and I will bring thee into the city of Christ.

And he stood by (upon) the lake Acherusa, and set me in a golden ship, and angels as it were three thousand sang an hymn before me until I came even unto the city of Christ. And they that dwelt in the city of Christ rejoiced greatly over me as I came unto them, and I entered in and saw the city of Christ. And it was all of gold, and twelve walls compassed it about, and there were twelve towers within (a tower on each wall, Copt.; 12,000 towers, Syr.), and every wall had a furlong between them (i.e. the walls were a furlong apart, so Syr., Copt. the circumference of each was 100 furlongs) round about; and I said unto the angel: Lord, how much is one furlong The angel answered and said unto me: It is as much as there is betwixt the Lord God and the men that are on the earth, for the great city of Christ is alone. And there were twelve gates in the circuit of the city, of great beauty, and four rivers that compassed it about. There was a river of honey, and a river of milk, and a river of wine, and a river of oil. And I said unto the angel: What are these rivers that compass this city about And he saith to me: These are the four rivers which flow abundantly for them that are in this land of promise, whereof the names are these: the river of honey is called Phison, and the river of milk Euphrates, and the river of oil Geon, and the river of wine Tigris. Whereas therefore when the righteous were in the world they used not their power over these things, but hungered and afflicted themselves for the Lord God's sake, therefore when they enter into this city, the Lord will give them these things without number () and without all measure.

24 And I when I entered in by the gate saw before the doors of the city trees great and high, having no fruits, but leaves only. And I saw a few men scattered about in the midst of the trees, and they mourned sore when they saw any man enter into the city. And those trees did penance for them, humbling themselves and bowing down, and again raising themselves up.

And I beheld it and wept with them, and I asked the angel and said: Lord, who are these that are not permitted to enter into the city of Christ And he said unto me: These are they that did earnestly renounce the world day and night with fasting, but had an heart proud above other men, glorifying and praising themselves, and doing nought for their neighbours. For some they greeted friendly, but unto others they said not even 'Hail', and unto whom they would they opened, and if they did any small thing for their neighbour they were puffed up. And I said: What then, Lord their pride hath prevented them from entering into the city of Christ And the angel answered and said unto me: The root of all evils is pride. Are they better than the Son of God who came unto the Jews in great humility And I asked him and said: Wherefore is it then that the trees humble themselves and are again raised up And the angel answered and said unto me: All the time that these spent upon earth (Of old time they were on the earth, Copt.) serving God (they served God): But because of the shame and reproaches of men they were ashamed (did blush) for a time and humbled themselves, but they were not grieved, neither did repent, to cease from this pride that was in them (and one day they bowed themselves because of the disgrace of man, for they cannot endure the pride that is in him, Copt.). This is the cause why the trees humble themselves and again are raised up. And I asked and said: For what cause are they let in unto the gates of the city The angel answered and said unto me: Because of the great goodness of God, and because this is the entry of all his saints which do enter into this city. Therefore are they left in this place, that when Christ the eternal king entereth in with his saints, when he cometh in, all the righteous

shall entreat for them, and then shall they enter into the city with them: yet none of them is able to have confidence such as they have that have humbled themselves, serving the Lord God all their life long.

25 But I went forward and the angel led me and brought me unto the river of honey, and I saw there Esaias and Jeremias and Ezekiel and Amos and Micheas and Zacharias, even the prophets lesser and greater, and they greeted me in the city. I said unto the angel: What is this path and he said unto me: This is the path of the prophets: every one that hath grieved his soul and not done his own will for God's sake, when he is departed out of the world and hath been brought unto the Lord God and worshipped him, then by the commandment of God he is delivered unto Michael, and he bringeth him into the city unto this place of the prophets, and they greet him as their friend and neighbour because he hath performed the will of God.

26 Again he led me where was the river of milk, and I saw in that place all the children whom the king Herod slew for the name of Christ, and they greeted me, and the angel said unto me: All they that keep chastity in cleanness, when they are gone out of the body, after they worship the Lord God, are delivered unto Michael and brought unto the children: and they greet them saying: They are our brothers and friends and members: among them shall they inherit the promises of God.

27 Again he took me and brought me to the north side of the city, and led me to where was the river of wine, and I saw there Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Lot and Job and other saints, and they greeted me. [Apocalypse of Zephaniah: (The angel) ran unto all the righteous that are there, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Enoch, Elias, and David. He conversed with them as a friend with a friend, who talk together.] And I asked and said: What is this place, Lord The angel answered and said unto me: All they that are entertainers of strangers, when they are departed out of the world first worship the Lord God, and then are delivered unto Michael and brought by this path into the city, and all the righteous greet him as a son and brother, and say unto him: Because thou hast kept kindness and the entertainment of strangers, come thou and have an inheritance in the city of our Lord God. Every one of the righteous shall receive the good things of God in the city according to his deeds.

28 And again he took me to the river of oil on the east side of the city. And I saw there men rejoicing and singing psalms, and said: Who are these, Lord and the angel said unto me: These are they that have devoted themselves unto God with their whole heart, and had in them no pride. For all that rejoice in the Lord God and sing praises to the Lord with their whole heart are brought here into this city.

29 And he took me into the midst of the city, by the twelve walls (to the twelfth wall, Copt.). Now there was in that place an higher wall; and I asked and said: Is there in the city of Christ a wall more excellent in honour than this place And the angel answered and said unto me: The second is better than

the first, and likewise the third than the second; for one excelleth the other even unto the twelfth wall. And I said: Wherefore Lord, doth one excel another in glory show me. And the angel answered and said unto me: All they that have in them even a little slandering or envy or pride, somewhat is taken away from his glory, even if he be in the city of Christ. Look thou behind thee.

And I turned myself and saw golden thrones set at the several gates, and upon them men having golden crowns and jewels: and I looked and saw within among the twelve men, thrones set in another order (row, fashion), which appeared of much glory so that no man is able to declare the praise of them. And I asked the angel and said: Lord, who is upon the throne And the angel answered and said unto me: These are the thrones of them that had goodness and understanding of heart and yet made themselves foolish for the Lord God's sake, knowing neither the Scriptures nor many psalms, but keeping in mind one chapter of the precepts of God they performed it with great diligence, and had a right intent before the Lord God; and for these great wonder shall take hold upon all the saints before the Lord God, who shall speak one with another, saying: Stay and behold the unlearned that know nothing [more], how they have earned such and so fair raiment and so great glory because of their innocency.

And I saw in the midst of the city an altar exceeding high. And there was one standing by the altar whose visage shone like the sun, and he held in his hands a psaltery and an harp and sang praises, saying: Alleluia. And his voice filled all the city. And when all that were upon the towers and the gates heard him, they answered: Alleluia, so that the foundations of the city were shaken. And I asked the angel and said: Who is this, Lord, that is of so great might And the angel said unto me: This is David. This is the city of Jerusalem; and when Christ the king of eternity shall come in the fullness (confidence, freedom) of his kingdom, he shall again go before him to sing praises, and all the righteous together shall sing praises, answering: Alleluia. And I said: Lord, how is it that David only above the rest of the saints maketh (made) the beginning of singing praises And the angel answered and said unto me: When (or, because) Christ the Son of God sitteth on the right hand of his Father, this David shall sing praises before him in the seventh heaven: and as it is done in the heavens, so likewise is it below: for without David it is not lawful to offer a sacrifice unto God: but it must needs be that David sing praises at the hour of the offering of the body and blood of Christ: as it is performed in heaven, so also is it upon earth.

30 And I said unto the angel: Lord, what is Alleluia And the angel answered and said unto me: Thou dost examine and inquire of all things. And he said unto me: Alleluia is spoken in the Hebrew, that is the speech of God and of the angels: now the interpretation of Alleluia is this: tecel . cat . marith . macha (Gr.thebel marematha). And I said: Lord, what is tecel cat marith macha And the angel answered and said unto me: This is tecel cat marith macha: Let us bless him all together. I asked the angel and said: Lord, do all they that say Alleluia bless God And the angel answered and said unto me: So it is: and again, if any sing Alleluia, and they that are present sing not with him, they commit sin in that they sing not with him. And I said: Lord, doth a man likewise sin if he be doting or very aged The angel answered and said unto me: Not so: but he that is able, and singeth not with him, know ye that such a one is a despiser of the word, for it would be proud and unworthy that he should not bless the Lord God his creator.

31 And when he had ceased speaking unto me, he led me out without the city through the midst of

the trees and back from the place of the land of good things (or, men) and set me at the river of milk and honey: and after that he led me unto the ocean that beareth the foundations of the heaven.

The angel answered and said unto me: Perceivest thou that thou goest hence And I said: Yea, Lord. And he said unto me: Come, follow me, and I will show thee the souls of the ungodly and the sinners, that thou mayest know what manner of place they have. And I went with the angel and he took me by the way of the sunsetting, and I saw the beginning of the heaven founded upon a great river of water, and I asked: What is this river of water And he said unto me: This is the ocean which compasseth the whole earth about. And when I was come beyond (to the outside of) the ocean, I looked and there was no light in that place, but darkness and sorrow and sadness: and I sighed.

And I saw there a river of fire burning with heat, and in it was a multitude of men and women sunk up to the knees, and other men up to the navel; others also up to the lips and others up to the hair: and I asked the angel and said: Lord, who are these in the river of fire And the angel answered and said unto me: They are neither hot nor cold,: for they were not found either in the number of the righteous or in the number of the wicked, for they passed the time of their life upon the earth, spending some days in prayer, but other days in sins and fornications, until their death. And I asked and said: Who are these, Lord, that are sunk up to their knees in the fire He answered and said unto me: These are they which when they are come out of the church occupy themselves in disputing with idle (alien) talk. But these that are sunk up to the navel are they who, when they have received the body and blood of Christ, go and commit fornication, and did not cease

from their sins until they died; and they that are sunk up to their lips are they that slandered one another when they gathered in the church of God; but they that are sunk up to the eyebrows are they that beckon one to another, and privily devise evil against their neighbours.

32 And I saw on the north side a place of sundry and diverse torments, full of men and women, and a river of fire flowed down upon them. And I beheld and saw pits exceeding deep, and in them many souls together, and the depth of that place was as it were three thousand cubits; and I saw them groaning and weeping and saying: Have mercy on us, Lord. And no man had mercy on them. And I asked the angel and said: Who are these, Lord And the angel answered and said unto me: These are they that trusted not in the Lord that they could have him for their helper. And I inquired and said: Lord, if these souls continue thus, thirty or forty generations being cast one upon another, if (unless) they be cast down yet deeper, I trow the pits would not contain them. And he said to me; The abyss hath no measure: for beneath it there followeth also that which is beneath: and so it is that if a strong man took a stone and cast it into an exceeding deep well and after many hours (long time) it reacheth the earth, so also is the abyss. For when the souls are cast therein, hardly after five hundred years do they come at the bottom.

33 And I when I heard it, mourned and lamented for the race of men. The angel answered and said unto me: Wherefore mournest thou art thou more merciful than God for inasmuch as God is good and knoweth that there are torments, he beareth patiently with mankind, leaving every one to do his own will for the time that he dwelleth on the earth.

34 Yet again I looked upon the river of fire, and I saw there a man caught by the throat (Copt. an old man who was being dragged along, and they immersed him up to the knees. And the angel Aftemeloukhos came with a great fork of fire, &c. Syr. similar. Some sentences are lost in Lat.) by angels, keepers of hell (Tartaruchi), having in their hands an iron of three hooks wherewith they pierced the entrails of that old man. And I asked the angel and said: Lord, who is this old man upon whom such torments are inflicted And the angel answered and said unto me: He whom thou seest was a priest who fulfilled not well his ministry, for when he was eating and drinking and whoring he offered the sacrifice unto the Lord at his holy altar.

35 And I saw not far off another old man whom four evil angels brought, running quickly, and they sank him up to his knees in the river of fire, and smote him with stones and wounded his face like a tempest, and suffered him not to say: Have mercy on me. And I asked the angel and he said unto me: He whom thou seest was a bishop, and he fulfilled not well his bishopric: for he received indeed a great name, but entered not into (walked not in) the holiness of him that gave him that name all his life; for he gave not righteous judgement, and had not compassion on widows and orphans: but now it is recompensed unto him according to his iniquity and his doings.

36 And I saw another man in the river of fire sunk up to the knees: and his hands were stretched out and bloody, and worms issued out of his mouth and his nostrils, and he was groaning and lamenting and crying out, and said: Have mercy on me for I suffer hurt more than the rest that are in this torment. And I asked: Who is this, Lord And he said unto me: This whom thou seest was a deacon, who devoured the offerings and committed fornication and did not right in the sight of God: therefore without ceasing he payeth the penalty. And I looked and saw beside him another man whom they brought with haste and cast him into the river of fire, and he was there up to the knees; and the angel that was over the torments came, having a great razor, red-hot, and therewith he cut the lips of that man and the tongue likewise. And I sighed and wept and asked: Who is this man, Lord And he said unto me: This that thou seest was a reader and read unto the people: but he kept not the commandments of God: now also he payeth his own penalty.

37 And I saw another multitude of pits in the same place, and in the midst thereof a river filled with a multitude of men and women, and worms devoured them. But I wept and sighed and asked the angel: Lord, who are these And he said unto me: These are they that extorted usury on usury and trusted in their riches, not having hope in God, that he was their helper. And after that I looked and saw a very strait place, and there was as it were a wall, and round about it fire. And I saw within it men and women gnawing their tongues, and asked: Who are these, Lord And he said unto me: These are they that mocked at the word of God in the church, not attending thereto, but as it were making nought of God and of his angels: therefore now likewise do they pay the due penalty.

38 And I looked in and saw another pool (lat. old man!) beneath in the pit, and the appearance of it was like blood: and I asked and said: Lord, what is this place And he said unto me: Into this pit do all the torments flow. And I saw men and women sunk up to the lips, and asked: Who are these, Lord And he said unto me: These are the sorcerers which gave unto men and women magical enchantments, and they found no rest (i.e. did not cease) until they died.

And again I saw men and women of a very black countenance in a pit of fire, and I sighed and wept and asked: Who are these, Lord And he said unto me: These are whoremongers and adulterers who, having wives of their own, committed adultery, and likewise the women after the same sort committed adultery, having their own husbands: therefore do they pay the penalty without ceasing.

39 And I saw there girls clad in black raiment, and four fearful angels holding in their hands red-hot chains, and they put them upon their necks (heads) and led them away into darkness. And again I wept and asked the angel: Who are these, Lord And he said unto me: These are they which being virgins defiled their virginity, and their parents knew it not: wherefore without ceasing they pay the due penalty.

And again I beheld there men and women with their hands and feet cut off and naked, in a place of ice and snow, and worms devoured them. And when I saw it I wept and asked: Who are these, Lord and he said unto me: These are they that injured the fatherless and widows and the poor, and trusted not in the Lord: wherefore without ceasing they pay the due penalty.

And I looked and saw others hanging over a channel of water, and their tongues were exceeding dry, and many fruits were set in their sight, and they were not suffered to take of them. And I asked: Who are these, Lord And he said unto me: These are they that brake the fast before the time appointed: therefore without ceasing do they pay this penalty.

And I saw other men and women hanged by their eyebrows and their hair, and a river of fire drew them, and I said: Who are these, Lord And he said unto me: These are they that gave themselves not unto their own husbands and wives, but unto adulterers, and therefore without ceasing they pay the due penalty. (For this Copt. has: men and women hung head downwards torches burning before their faces, serpents girt about them devouring them. These are the women that beautified themselves with paints and unguents and went to church to ensnare men. Syr. and Gr. omit.)

And I saw other men and women covered with dust, and their appearance was as blood, and they were in a pit of pitch and brimstone and borne down in a river of fire. And I asked: Who are these, Lord And he said unto me: These are they that committed the wickedness of Sodom and Gomorrah, men with men, wherefore they pay the penalty without ceasing. (Copt., Syr., Gr. omit this paragraph.)

40 And I looked and saw men and women clad in white (bright) apparel, and their eyes were blind, and they were set in a pit, and I asked: Who are these, Lord And he said unto me: These are they of the heathen that gave alms and knew not the Lord God; wherefore without ceasing they pay the due penalty. And I looked and saw other men and women upon a spit of fire, and beasts tearing them, and they were not suffered to say: Lord, have mercy on us. And I saw the angel of the torments

(Aftemeloukhos, Copt.) laying most fierce torments upon them and saying: Acknowledge the Son of God. For it was told you before, but when the scriptures of God were read unto you, ye paid no heed: wherefore the judgement of God is just, for your evil doings have taken hold upon you, and brought you into these torments. But I sighed and wept, and I inquired and said : Who are these men and women that are strangled in the fire and pay the penalty And he answered me: These are the women which defiled the creation of God when they brought forth children from the womb, and these are the men that lay with them. But their children appealed unto the Lord God and unto the angels that are over the torments, saying: Avenge us of our parents: for they have defiled the creation of God. Having the name of God, but not observing his commandments, they gave us for food unto dogs and to be trampled on by swine, and others they cast into the river (Copt. adds: and did not permit us to grow up into righteous men and to serve God). But those children were delivered unto the angels of Tartarus (Gr. unto an angel) that they should bring them into a spacious place of mercy: but their fathers and mothers were haled (strangled) into everlasting torment. And thereafter I saw men and women clad in rags full of pitch and brimstone of fire, and there were dragons twined about their necks and shoulders and feet, and angels having horns of fire constrained them and smote them and closed up their nostrils, saying unto them: Wherefore knew ye not the time wherein it was right for you to repent and serve God, and ye did not And I asked: Who are these, Lord And he said unto me: These are they that seemed to renounce the world (lat. God), wearing our garb, but the snares of the world made them to be miserable: they showed no charity and had no pity upon the widows and fatherless: the stranger and pilgrim they did not take in, neither offered one oblation nor had pity on their neighbour: and their prayer went not up even one day pure unto the Lord God; but the many snares of the world held them back, and they were not able to do right in the sight of God. And the angels carried (lat. surrounded) them about into the place of torments: and they that were in torments saw them and said unto them: We indeed when we lived in the world neglected God, and ye did so likewise. And we when we were in the world knew that we were sinners, but of you it was said: These are righteous and servants of God: now we know that ye were only called by the name of the Lord. Wherefore also they pay the due penalty. And I sighed and wept and said: Woe unto men! woe unto the sinners! to what end were they born And the angel answered and said unto me: Wherefore weepest thou Art thou more merciful than the Lord God which is blessed for ever, who hath established the judgement and left every man of his own will to choose good or evil and to do as pleaseth him Yet again I wept very sore, and he said unto me: Weepest thou, when as yet thou hast not seen the greater torments Follow me, and thou shalt see sevenfold greater than these.

41 And he took me from the north side (to the west, Syr.) and set me over a well, and I found it sealed with seven seals. And the angel that was with me answered and said unto the angel of that place: Open the mouth of the well, that Paul the dearly beloved of God may behold; for power hath been given unto him to see all the torments of hell. And the angel said unto me: Stand afar off, that thou mayest be able to endure the stench of this place. When therefore the well was opened, straightway there arose out of it a stench hard and evil exceedingly, which surpassed all the torments: and I looked into the well and saw masses (lumps) of fire burning on every side, and anguish, and there was straitness in the mouth of the pit so as to take but one man in. And the angel answered and said unto me: If any be cast into the

well of the abyss, and it be sealed over him, there shall never be remembrance made of him in the presence of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost or of the holy angels. And I said: Who are they, Lord, that are cast into this well And he said unto me: They are whosoever confesseth not that Christ is come in the flesh and that the Virgin Mary bare him and whosoever saith of the bread and the cup of blessing of the Eucharist that it is not the body and blood of Christ.

42 And I looked from the north unto the west and saw there the worm that sleepeth not, and in that place was gnashing of teeth. And the worms were of the measure of one cubit, and on them were two heads; and I saw there men and women in cold and gnashing of teeth. And I asked and said: Lord, who are they that are in this place And he said unto me: These are they which say that Christ rose not from the dead, and that this flesh riseth not again. And I inquired and said: Lord, is there no fire nor heat in this place And he said unto me: In this place is nothing else but cold and snow. And again he said to me: Even if the sun (seven suns, Copt.) rose upon them, they would not be warmed, because of the excessive cold of this place, and the snow. And when I heard this I spread forth mine hands and wept and sighed, and again I said: It were better for us if we had not been born, all we that are sinners.

43 But when they that were in that place saw me weeping, with the angel, they also cried out and wept, saying: Lord God, have mercy upon us. And after that I beheld the heaven open and Michael the archangel coming down out of heaven, and with him all the host of the angels; and they came even unto them that were set in torment. And they when they saw them wept again and cried out and said: Have mercy upon us, thou Michael, archangel, have mercy upon us and upon the race of men, for it is by thy prayers that the earth standeth. We have now seen the judgement and have known the Son of God. It was not possible for us to pray for this before we came into this place: for we heard that there was a judgement, before we departed out of the world, but the snares and the life of the world suffered us not to repent. And Michael answered and said: Hearken when Michael speaketh: I am he that stands in the presence of God alway. As the Lord liveth, before whose face I stand, I cease not for one day nor one night to pray continually for the race of men; and I indeed pray for them that are upon earth: but they cease not from committing wickednesses and fornication. And they bring not forth aught of good while they are upon earth; and ye have wasted in vanity the time wherein ye ought to have repented. But I have prayed alway, and now do I entreat that God would send dew and that rain may be sent upon the earth, and still pray I until the earth yield her fruits: and I say that if any man doeth but a little good I will strive for him and protect him until he escape the judgement of torment. Where then be your prayers Where be your repentances ye have lost the time despicably. Yet now weep ye, and I will weep with you, and the angels that are with me, together with the dearly beloved Paul, if peradventure the merciful God will have pity and grant you refreshment. And they when they heard these words cried out and wept sore, and all said with one voice: Have mercy upon us, O Son of God. And I, Paul, sighed and said: O Lord God, have mercy upon thy creature, have mercy on the children of men, have mercy upon thine image.

44 I beheld and saw the heaven shake like unto a tree that is moved by the wind: and suddenly they cast themselves down upon their faces before the throne: and I saw the four-and- twenty elders and the four beasts worshipping God: and I saw the altar and the veil and the throne, and all of them were rejoicing, and the smoke of a sweet odour rose up beside the altar of the throne of God; and I heard a voice saying: For what cause do ye entreat me, our angels, and our ministers And they cried out, saying: We entreat thee, beholding thy great goodness unto mankind. And thereafter I saw the Son of God coming down out of heaven, and on his head was a crown. And when they that were in torments saw him they all cried out with one voice, saying: Have mercy upon us, O exalted Son of God (or, Son of God Most High): thou art he that hast granted refreshment unto all that are in heaven and earth; have mercy upon us likewise: for since we beheld thee we have been refreshed. And there went forth a voice from the Son of God throughout all the torments, saying: What good works have ye done that ye should ask of me refreshment My blood was shed for you, and not even so did ye repent: for your sake I bare a crown of thorns on mine head, for you I received buffets upon my cheeks, and not even so did ye repent. I asked for water when I hanged upon the cross, and they gave me vinegar mingled with gall: with a spear did they open my right side: for my name's sake have they slain my servants the prophets, and the righteous: and for ail these things did I give you a place of repentance, and ye would not. Yet now because of Michael the archangel of my covenant and the angels that are with him, and because of Paul my dearly beloved whom I would not grieve. and because of your brethren that are in the world and do offer oblations, and because of your sons, for in them are my commandments, I and yet more because of mine own goodness: on that day whereon I rose from the dead I grant unto all you that are in torment refreshment for a day and a night for ever. And all they cried out and said: We bless thee, O Son of God, for that thou hast granted us rest for a day and a night: for better unto us is the refreshment of one day than the whole time of our life wherein we were upon earth: and if we had known clearly that this place was appointed for them that sin, we should have done none other work whatsoever, neither traded nor done any wickedness. For what profit was our pride in the world (Copt. What profit was it to us to be born into the world) For this our pride is taken captive, which came up out of our mouth against our neighbour (Copt. our life is like the breath of our mouth): and this pain and our sore anguish and tears and the worms which are under us, these are worse unto us than the torments which we suffer. (This is hardly sense, but Copt. agrees; should it not have been ' these are worse than not to have been born ') And as they thus spake, the angels of torment and the evil angels were wroth with them and said: How long have ye wept and sighed for ye have had no mercy. For this is the judgement of God on him that hath not had mercy. Yet have ye received this great grace, even refreshment for the night and day of the Lord's day, because of Paul the dearly beloved of God who hath come down unto you.

45 And after these things the angel said unto me: Hast thou seen all these things And I said: Yea, Lord. And he said unto me: Follow me, and I will bring thee into Paradise, that the righteous which are there may see thee: for, behold, they hope to see thee, and are ready to come and meet thee with joy and exultation. And I followed after the angel in the swiftness of the Holy Ghost, and he set me in Paradise and said unto me: This is Paradise, wherein Adam and his wife erred. And I entered into Paradise and

saw the head of the waters, and the angel beckoned unto me and said to me: Behold, saith he, these waters: for this is the river Phison that compasseth about all the land of Evila. and this other is Geon that goeth about all the land of Egypt and Ethiopia, and this other is Tigris that is over against the Assyrians, and this other is Euphrates that watereth the land of Mesopotamia. And I entered in further and saw a tree planted, out of whose roots flowed waters, and out of it was the beginning of the four rivers, and the Spirit of God rested upon that tree, and when the spirit breathed the waters flowed forth: and I said: Lord, is this tree that which maketh the waters to flow And he said unto me: Because in the beginning, before the heaven and the earth were made to appear, and all things were invisible, the Spirit of God moved (was borne) upon the waters; but since by the commandment of God the heaven and the earth appeared the spirit hath rested upon this tree; wherefore when the spirit breatheth, the waters flow out from the tree. And he took hold on mine hand and led me unto the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and said: This is the tree whereby death entered into the world, and Adam taking of it from his wife did eat, and death entered into the world. And he showed me another tree in the midst of Paradise, and saith unto me: This is the tree of life.

46 And as I yet looked upon the tree, I saw a virgin coming from afar off, and two hundred angels before her singing hymns: and I inquired and said: Lord, who is this that cometh in such glory and he said unto me: This is Mary the virgin, the mother of the Lord. And she came near and saluted me, and said: Hail, Paul, dearly beloved of God and angels and men. For all the saints have besought my son Jesus who is my Lord, that thou shouldest come here in the body that they might see thee before thou didst depart out of the world. And the Lord said to them: Wait and be ye patient: yet a little while, and ye shall see him, and he shall be with you for ever. And again they all with one accord said unto him: Grieve us not, for we desire to see him while he is in the flesh, for by him hath thy name been greatly glorified in the world, and we have seen that he hath excelled (done away with) all the works whether of the lesser or the greater. For we inquire of them that come hither, saying: Who is he that guided you in the world and they have told us: There is one in the world whose name is Paul; he declareth Christ, preaching him, and we believe that by the power and sweetness of his speech many have entered into the kingdom. Behold, all the righteous are behind me, coming to meet thee. But I say unto thee, Paul, that for this cause I come first to meet them that have performed the will of my son and my Lord Jesus Christ, even I come first to meet them and leave them not as strangers until they meet with him in peace.

47 While she was yet speaking I saw three men coming from afar, very beautiful, after the appearance of Christ, and their forms were shining, and their angels; and I asked: Who are these, Lord And he answered: These are the fathers of the people, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And they came near and greeted me, and said: Hail, Paul, dearly beloved of God and men: blessed is he that endureth violence for the Lord's sake. And Abraham answered me and said: This is my son Isaac, and Jacob my best beloved, and we knew the Lord and followed him. Blessed are all they that have believed thy word that they may inherit the kingdom of God by labour and self-sacrifice (renunciation) and sanctification and humility and charity and meekness and right faith in the Lord: and we also had devotion unto the Lord

whom thou preachest, covenanting that we will come unto every soul of them that believe in him, and minister unto him as fathers minister unto their sons.

While they yet spake I saw twelve men coming from afar with honour, and I asked: Who are these, Lord And he said: These are the patriarchs. And they came and saluted me and said: Hail, Paul, dearly beloved of God and men. The Lord hath not grieved us, that we might see thee yet being in the body, before thou departedst out of the world. And every one of them signified his name unto me in order, from Ruben unto Benjamin; and Joseph said unto me: I am he that was sold; and I say unto thee, Paul, that for all that my brethren did unto me, in nothing did I deal evilly with them, not in all the labour which they laid upon me, nor did I hurt them in any thing (Copt. kept no evil thought against them) from morning until evening. Blessed is he that is hurt for the Lord's sake and hath endured, for the Lord will recompense him manifold more when he departeth out of the world.

48 While he yet spake I saw another coming from afar, beautiful, and his angels singing hymns, and I asked: Who is this, Lord, that is fair of countenance And he said unto me: Dost thou not know him And I said: No, Lord. And he said to me: This is Moses the lawgiver, unto whom God gave the law. And when he was nigh me, straightway he wept, and after that he greeted me; and I said unto him: Why weepest thou for I have heard that thou excellest all men in meekness. And he answered, saying: I weep for them whom I planted with much labour, for they have borne no fruit, neither doth any of them do well. And I have seen all the sheep whom I fed that they are scattered and become as having no shepherd, and that all the labours which I have endured for the children of Israel are come to nought, and however great wonders I did in their midst [and] they understood not: and I marvel how the strangers and uncircumcised and idolaters are converted and entered into the promises of God, but Israel hath not entered in: and now I say unto thee, O brother Paul, that in that hour when the people hanged up Jesus whom thou preachest, God the Father of all, which gave me the law, and Michael and all the angels and archangels, and Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the righteous wept over the Son of God that was hanged on the cross. And in that hour all the saints waited upon me, looking on me and saying: Behold, Moses, what they of thy people have done unto the Son of God. Therefore blessed art thou O Paul, and blessed is the generation and people that hath believed thy word.

49 While he yet spake there came other twelve and saw me and said: Art thou Paul that is glorified in heaven and upon earth And I answered and said: Who are ye The first answered and said: I am Esaias whose head Manasses cut with a saw of wood. And the second said likewise: I am Jeremias who was stoned by the children of Israel, and slain. And the third said: I am Ezechiel whom the children of Israel dragged by the feet over the stones in the mountain until they scattered my brains abroad: and all of us endured these labours, desiring to save the children of Israel: and I say unto thee that after the toils which they laid upon me I would cast myself down upon my face before the Lord, praying for them and bowing my knees unto the second hour of the Lord's day, even until Michael came and raised me up from the earth. Blessed art thou, Paul, and blessed is the people that hath believed through thee. And as they passed by, I saw another, fair of countenance and asked: Who is this, Lord [And when he

saw me he was glad] and he said unto me: This is Lot, which was found righteous in Sodom. And he came near and greeted me and said: Blessed art thou, Paul, and blessed is the generation unto whom thou hast ministered. And I answered and said unto him: Art thou Lot, that wast found righteous in Sodom And he said: I entertained angels in mine house as strangers, and when they of the city would have done them violence I offered them my two daughters, virgins, that had never known man, and gave them to them, saying: Use them as ye will, only do no ill unto these men, for therefore have they entered under the roof of mine house. Therefore ought we to have confidence, and know that whatsoever any man hath done, God recompenseth him manifold more when he cometh (they come) unto him. Blessed art thou Paul, and blessed is the generation which hath believed thy word.

When therefore he had ceased speaking unto me, I saw another coming from afar off, very beautiful in the face, and smiling, and his angels singing hymns, and I said unto the angel that was with me: Hath, then, every one of the righteous an angel for his fellow And he saith to me: Every one of the saints hath his own, that standeth by him and singeth hymns, and the one departeth not from the other. And I said: Who is this, Lord And he said: This is Job. And he drew near and greeted me and said: Brother Paul, thou hast great praise with God and men. Now I am Job, which suffered much for the season of thirty years by the issue of a plague, and in the beginning the blains that came forth of my body were as grains of wheat; but on the third day they became like an ass's foot, and the worms that fell from them were four fingers long: and thrice the devil appeared unto me and saith to me: Speak a word against the Lord, and die. But I said unto him: If thus be the will of God that I continue in the plague all the time of my life until I die, I will not rest from blessing the Lord God, and I shall receive the greater reward. For I know that the sufferings of this world are nought compared with the refreshment that is thereafter: wherefore blessed art thou, Paul, and blessed is the people which hath believed by thy means.

50 While he yet spake there came another crying out from afar off and saying: Blessed art thou, Paul, and blessed am I that have seen thee the beloved of the Lord. And I asked the angel: Who is this, Lord and he answered and said unto me: This is Noe of the days of the flood. And straightway we greeted one another, and he, rejoicing greatly, said unto me: Thou art (or, Art thou) Paul the best beloved of God. And I asked him: Who art thou And he said: I am Noe that was in the days of the flood: but I say unto thee, Paul, that I spent an hundred years making the ark, not putting off the coat (tunic) which I wore, and I shaved not the hair of mine head. Furthermore I kept continence, not coming near mine own wife, and in those hundred years the hair of mine head grew not in greatness, neither was my raiment soiled. And I besought men at that time, saying: Repent, for a flood of waters cometh upon you. But they mocked me and derided my words; and again they said unto me: This is the time of them that would play and sin as much as they will, that have leave to fornicate not a little (lat. confused; other versions omit): for God looketh not on these things, neither knoweth what is done of us men, and moreover there is no flood of waters coming upon this world. And they ceased not from their sins until God blotted out all flesh that had the breath of life in it. But know thou that God loveth one righteous man more than all the world of the wicked. Therefore blessed art thou, O Paul, and blessed is the people that hath believed by thy means.

51 And I turned myself and saw other righteous ones coming from afar off, and I asked the angel: Who are these, Lord and he answered me: These are Elias and Eliseus. And they greeted me, and I said unto them: Who are ye And one of them answered and said: I am Elias the prophet of God. I am Elias that prayed, and because of my word the heaven rained not for three years and six months, because of the iniquities of men. Righteous and true is God, who doeth the will of his servants; for oftentimes the angels besought the Lord for rain, and he said: Be patient until my servant Elias pray and entreat for this, and I will send rain upon the earth.

[Here the Greek, latin, and Syriac texts end, save that the Syriac adds thus much:

And he gave not, until I called upon him again; then he gave unto them. But blessed art thou, O Paul, that thy generation and those thou teachest are the sons of the kingdom. And know thou, O Paul, that every man who believes through thee hath a great blessing, and a blessing is reserved for him. Then he departed from me.

And the angel who was with me led me forth, and said unto me: Lo, unto thee is given this mystery and revelation: as thou pleassest, make it known unto the sons of men.

And I, Paul, returned unto myself, and I knew all that I had seen: and in life I had not rest that I might reveal this mystery, but I wrote it and deposited it under the ground and the foundations of the house of a certain faithful man with whom I used to be in Tarsus a city of Cilicia. And when I was released from this life of time, and stood before my Lord, thus said he unto me: Paul, have we shown all these things unto thee that thou shouldst deposit them under the foundations of a house Then send and disclose concerning this revelation, that men may read it and turn to the way of truth, that they also may not come to these bitter torments.

And thus was this revelation discovered....

Then follows the history of the finding, which in the other texts is prefixed to the book.]

But this conclusion can hardly be the original one. The Coptic seems in part better. After the words 'rain upon the earth', it continues:

The sufferings which each endureth for God's sake will God requite unto him twofold. Blessed art thou, Paul, and blessed are the heathen who shall believe through thee. And whilst he was speaking, Enoch (here Enoch replaces Elisha) also came and saluted me and said unto me: The man who endureth suffering for God's sake, God will not afflict when he goeth out of the world.

Then there are similar meetings with Zacharias and John Baptist, and Abel. Zacharias says:

' I am he whom they killed when I was offering up the offering unto God: and when the angels came for the offering, they carried my body up to God, and no man found my body whither it had been taken.'

Then Adam, taller than the rest, appears.

And this seems a suitable finale to the procession of saints.

After this Paul is carried into the third heaven. The angel who is with him changes in appearance and bursts into flames of fire, and a voice forbids Paul to reveal what he has seen.

There is a description of a mysterious vision of an altar with seven eagles of light on the right and seven on the left. And this is followed by more descriptions of Paradise-partly resembling a vision seen by one Siophanes, in the Book of Bartholomew. Some sentences also are taken from, or at least found in, the Apocalypse of Zephaniah. The meek, the prophets, David, all figure again in this episode: last are the martyrs.

The conclusion runs thus (in substance):

The angel of the Lord took me up and brought me to the Mount of Olives. I found the apostles assembled and told them all I had seen. They praised God and commanded us, that is me, Mark, and Timothy, to write the revelation. And while they were talking, Christ appeared from the chariot of the cherubim and spoke greetings to Peter, John, and especially Paul. He promised blessings to those who should write or read the Apocalypse, and curses on those who should deride it. Peter and Paul should end their course on the fifth of Epiphi (29 June). He then bade a cloud take the apostles to the various countries allotted to them, and commanded them to preach the Gospel of the Kingdom.

And a doxology follows.

I am disposed to think that nothing after the appearance of Adam in this version can be original. The rest is to a great extent, I think a pasticcio from other Coptic apocrypha. It is quite possible, of course that the original end of the Apocalypse was lost at an early date, but the supposition is probable that after the appearance of Adam a short conclusion followed in which Paul returned to earth. With so ill-proportioned and inartistic a book it is not perhaps worth while to spend much time on conjectural restoration. Yet another possibility should be pointed out. The climax of the Apocalypse is reached when the Sunday is granted as a day of rest from torment. Paul has seen Paradise and hell, and there is no more for him to do. Everything after ch. 44 is an otiose appendix.

And we do find in the Ethiopic Apocalypse of the Virgin, which copies that of Paul very literally, that the end comes at ch. 44, when the Virgin procures rest from Friday evening to Monday morning for the lost. The Greek Apocalypse -one form at least ends when she has gained for them the days of Pentecost.

It may be the case, then, that the Apocalypse of Paul as first issued ended here, and that it was reissued with the appendix about Paradise (45-end). In the shorter Latin recensions there is no trace of anything after ch. 44: but this does not furnish a conclusive argument. More to the point would be the discovery of a copy of the full text ending with 44.

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TO
MY FATHER AND MOTHER

PREFACE



WRITTEN in Hebrew shortly after the beginning of the Christian era, this book was designed by its author to protest against the growing secularisation of the Pharisaic party through its fusion with political ideals and popular Messianic beliefs. Its author, a Pharisaic Quietist, sought herein to recall his party to the old paths, which they were fast forsaking, of simple unobtrusive obedience to the Law. He glorifies, accordingly, the old ideals which had been cherished and pursued by the Chasid and Early Pharisaic party, but which the Pharisaism of the first century B.C. had begun to disown in favour of a more active rôle in the life of the nation. He foresaw, perhaps, the doom to which his country was hurrying under such a shortsighted and unspiritual policy, and laboured with all his power to stay its downward progress. But all in vain. He but played afresh the part of Cassandra. The leavening of Pharisaism with

earthly political ideals went on apace, and the movement thus initiated culminated finally in the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 A.D.

It adds no little to the interest of the book that it was written during the early life of our Lord, or possibly contemporaneously with His public ministry. At all events, it was known to the writers of Jude 9, 16 and Acts vii., and most probably to the writers of 2 Peter ii. 10-11 and Matthew xxiv. 29 (Luke xxi. 25-26).

It may be well here to indicate the features in which this edition differs from previous editions of the Assumption. These consist (1) in a fuller and more critical treatment of the Latin text, and of the Greek and Semitic background which it presupposes; (2) in an exegesis of the text at once more comprehensive and detailed.

I. *The Latin Text.*—The Latin text has been critically edited and emended four times in Germany. But three of these editions have failed to recognise the Semitic background of the Latin text, and have thus limited their horizon. The fourth—that of Schmidt-Merx—which has shown ample recognition of this fact, is often brilliant indeed, but oftener arbitrary, alike in its emendations and restorations. With a view to carrying forward the criticism of the Latin text, the present editor has tabulated the peculiar Latin forms it contains, and

compared them with like forms in the fifth-century Latin MS. of the Gospels, *k*, and also given the appropriate references to Rönsch's *Itala und Vulgata* and Schuchardt's *Vokalismus des Vulgär-Lateins*. The idiosyncrasies of the text have likewise been carefully summarised, and its derivation from the Greek exhibited on grounds in many respects new. At the next stage of the investigation I have been obliged to part company with all scholars but Rosenthal in my advocacy of a Hebrew original. That the book was derived from a Semitic original, it is no longer possible to doubt. That the language in question was Aramaic is, owing to the advocacy of Schmidt-Merx, now generally accepted, but, as it appears to me, on inadequate grounds; for I have shown, I believe, that it is possible to explain, from the standpoint of a Hebrew original, most of the crucial passages adduced by Schmidt-Merx in favour of an Aramaic, and that the remaining passages have no evidential value on the question at issue. I have shown further, I hope, that whereas many of the passages admit of explanation on either hypothesis, there are several which are explicable only on that of a Hebrew original.

II. *The Exegesis*.—The work done in this direction has been very inadequate. Short studies, indeed, from time to time, have appeared in Germany and England, but these have in every

instance confined themselves to one or more of the salient features and main statements of the book. The occasional explanatory notes in the editions of Volkmar, Hilgenfeld, and Schmidt-Merx are, though often most helpful and suggestive, open to the same criticism. This exegetic meagreness of past scholarship on the subject has made the task of the present editor more arduous than might have been expected. It has, however, been beneficial in necessitating a first-hand study of all the questions involved in the text. As a result of this study, I have been obliged to differ from all preceding scholars on the interpretation of several of the most important facts and chapters in the book. With what success I must leave to others to determine.

As a help to the reader, I should add that the exegetical notes are placed under the English translation and the critical under the Latin text. This practice, however, is occasionally broken through.

Finally, I wish here to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Cheyne for his revision of my proofs of a Hebrew original, and for suggestions connected therewith, and also to Dr. Sutherland Black for his revision of the entire book in proof, as well as for numerous corrections.

17 BRADMORE ROAD, OXFORD,
April 1897.

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INTRODUCTION



§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK

THE Assumption of Moses was, in all probability, a composite work, and consisted of two originally distinct books, of which the first was really the Testament of Moses, and the second the Assumption. The former was written in Hebrew, between 7 and 29 A.D., and possibly also the latter. A Greek version of the entire work appeared in the first century A.D. Of this a few phrases and sentences have been preserved in St. Matt. xxiv. 29; Acts vii. 35; St. Jude 9, 16, 18 (?), the Apocalypse of Baruch, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and other Greek writers. The fragments in the Greek writers are printed below (pp. 107–109). The Greek version was translated into Latin not later than the fifth century. That such a Latin version ever existed was unknown to the modern world till nearly forty years ago, when a large fragment of it was discovered by Ceriani in a sixth-century MS. in the Ambrosian Library in Milan.

The book was written by a Pharisaic Quietist, and forms a noble but ineffectual protest against the growing Zelotic spirit of the party. Its author was a learned Jew, well versed in the Scriptures, and intimately acquainted with the history of his nation subsequent to the close of the canon. He was full of patriotism; thus he looks for the return of the ten tribes, the establishment of the theocratic kingdom, the triumph of Israel over its foes, and its final exaltation to heaven, whence it should see its enemies weltering in the fires of gehenna. But though a patriot, he is not a Zealot; the duty of the faithful is not to resort to arms, but simply to keep the law and prepare, through repentance, for the personal intervention of God in their behalf.

§ 2. OTHER BOOKS OF MOSES

There has been a large and very diverse literature bearing the name of Moses. As it furnishes little or no help to the explanation of the present book, I shall content myself here with a simple enumeration of the various Apocryphal books of Moses that have appeared in Jewish, Christian, and Gnostic literature.

I. *In Jewish literature*—(a) In Hebrew, (b) in Greek, (c) in Arabic, (d) in Slavonic.

- (a) *Midrash Tanchuma Debarim*, translated into German by Wünsche (1882).

Petirath Moshe (פטרית משה), ed. by Gilb. Gaulmyn (Paris, 1629), with a Latin translation. This translation was subsequently published in 1714 by J. A. Fabricius, and in 1840 by Gfrörer, *Prophetæ veteres pseudepigraphi*, pp. 303, 304. Two other recensions of this Midrash have been published by Jellinek, *Beth - ha - Midrash* (1853), i. 115–129; (1877), vi. 71–78. Some of these books I have not been able to see. On these legends, see also Beer, *Leben Moses nach Auffassung der jüdischen Sage* (Leipzig, 1863); Benedetto, *Vita e Morte di Mose* (Pisa, 1879); Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, p. 146.

- (b) Philo's *Vita Mosis*, p. 39; and Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 8. 4, 48.

Βίβλος Λόγων Μυστικῶν Μωυσέως. This book is distinguished from the Assumption in the Acts of the Nicene Council, II. 18, where, after mentioning the latter, these proceed: *καὶ ἐν βίβλῳ Λόγων Μυστικῶν Μωυσέως, αὐτὸς Μωυσῆς προεῖπε περὶ τοῦ Δαβὶδ καὶ Σαλομῶντος, οὕτως προεῖπε καὶ διαδοχέουσι εἰς αὐτὸν ὁ Θεὸς σοφίαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἐπιστήμην πλήρη αὐτὸς οἰκοδομήσει τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς*. I have

classed this book as a Jewish work, but the evidence tells neither way.

- (c) In Arabic. Dr. Leitner has translated into German (*Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift* (1871), pp. 184–212) from the Arabic, a Samaritan Apocalypse of Moses. I have found it useful in the explanation of IX. 1 of our book.
- (d) In Slavonic, as Mr. Morfill has kindly informed me, there is a book entitled “The Exodus of Moses,” or more fully, “The Life of the holy Prophet Moses, and how he ruled among the Saracens, and how he resisted King Pharaoh and Balaam the Wizard, and how he brought the People out of Egypt,” Tichonravov, *Pamiatniki otrechennoi russkoi literaturi*, i. p. 233 sqq. (1863). This writing has no connection with our Assumption. It is very rabbinic in character, and possesses many such features in common with Josephus’s account of Moses. Mr. Morfill will shortly publish the translation of this work.

II. *In Christian literature.*

Apocalypsis Mosis, in Tischendorf’s “Apocalypses apocryphæ” (1866), pp. 1–23; Ceriani, *Monument. Sacr.*, V. i. pp. 21–24. An Armenian version has also been published in

the *Uncanonical Books of the Old Testament*, by the Mechitarists at Venice, pp. 1–23 (see James's *Apocrypha anecdota*, ii. 158, 159, whence I have derived this last reference). This book really belongs to the Adamic literature (see Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, pp. 470–474; Dillmann, *Herzog's R.-E.*, xii. pp. 366, 367).

Apocryphum Mosis (Ἀπόκρυφον Μωυσέως). According to Euthalius (Zaccagni's *Collectanea monumentorum veterum* (1698), p. 561), Photius (*Amphil.* 183), and Syncellus (ed. Bonn, i. p. 48), St. Paul derived Gal. vi. 16, οὔτε περιτομή τι ἐστὶν οὔτε ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις, from this Apocryph. There can be no doubt that the borrowing is just the other way, and that this Apocryph is a Christian composition, of the general contents of which we have no knowledge.

Story of Moses. This is found in Armenian (see James's *Apocrypha anecdota*, ii. p. 160).

III. *In Gnostic literature.*

See Epiphanius, *Hær.* XXXIX. 5, where it is said that the Sethites used certain Books of Moses in addition to others attributed to Abraham and other Old Testament worthies.

§ 3. EDITIONS OF THE LATIN TEXT

Ceriani, *Monumenta sacra et profana*, vol. i. fasc. i. (1861), pp. 55–64. To this scholar belongs the honour of discovering and identifying these fragments of the lost Assumption of Moses. In this edition of the text Ceriani contented himself with reproducing the text. This he did with such accuracy that subsequent inquiries, conducted by Volkmar, relative to the reading of certain passages, failed to lead to any material improvement on Ceriani's printed edition (see Appendix C, Volkmar's edition).

Hilgenfeld, *Novum Testamentum extra canonem receptum*, 1st ed. (1866), pp. 93–115; 2nd ed. (1876), pp. 107–135. To this great scholar we owe the finest textual work that has been produced on this book. Much of it is of permanent value, and many of his emendations are accepted as final. His contention, however, that the book was written originally in Greek, has, of necessity, limited the range of his vision, and barred the way to further progress. But fault-finding is ungracious where such high services have been rendered, and particularly in the case of one who has not only done the best work within his self-limited province, but has also been the first to do it. Ceriani, indeed, was the first to publish the text, but

Hilgenfeld the book, as he himself rightly claims : "Antonio M. Cerianio . . . codicis latini, non libri ipsius primam editionem debemus" (*Mess. Jud.*, Proleg. p. lxx, note).

In the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theol.* (1868), pp. 273–309, 356, and in his *Messias Judaeorum* (1869), pp. 435–468, Hilgenfeld has retranslated the Latin into Greek, and on the whole with admirable success. On many passages I have found occasion to differ with him. In the sequel the reader will find a number of these, where the critical treatment of the text presupposes a Greek background diverging from that supplied by Hilgenfeld.

Volkmar, *Mose Prophetie und Himmelfahrt, eine Quelle für das Neue Testament, zum erstenmale deutsch herausgegeben im Zusammenhang der Apokrypha und der Christologie überhaupt* (Leipzig, 1867). This writer has made some undoubted contributions to the emendation of the book, and occasionally to its interpretation. But his work is disfigured by many errors, and at times by gross ignorance. His well-known partiality for a certain period of history intervenes here also, and leads him to wrest facts into accordance with his preconceived theories.

Schmidt and Merx, "Die Assumptio Mosis, mit Einleitung und erklärenden Anmerkungen herausgegeben" (Merx, *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, I. ii. (1868), pp. 111–

152). In this learned study Schmidt-Merx have rightly shown that the original of our book must have been written not in Greek, but in Semitic—according to their view, in Aramaic. They were not, indeed, the first to recognise a Semitic original, but they were the first to apply this hypothesis consistently and continuously in the interpretation of the Latin text. For some review of their arguments in favour of an Aramaic as against a Hebrew original, see p. xxxix.

Their emendations and restorations of the Latin are not unfrequently happy, but at times they are wholly beside the mark and unreasonable. How, for instance, are we to explain the correction of the Semitic idiom, *facient facientes*, into the unmeaning in *faciem facientes*, by editors who are advocating a Semitic original? That Hilgenfeld, Volkmar, and Fritzsche should remove this Hebraism from their texts by correction is intelligible from their standpoint; but on what principle can we explain the action of these editors? Their treatment of the text in other passages is just as arbitrary. It must be conceded, however, that their work, though often untrustworthy, is always stimulating and suggestive.

Fritzsche, *Libri apocryphi Vet. Testamenti graece* (1871), pp. 700–730. In this very serviceable edition, Fritzsche prints on one page the text as

originally published by Ceriani, and facing it, on the opposite page, an emended text with critical footnotes. This work is based mainly on the labours of Hilgenfeld, Volkmar, and Schmidt-Merx. To their contributions to the recovery of the text Fritzsche has added some of his own. It is a saner text than that of Schmidt-Merx, but not half so brilliant.

§ 4. CRITICAL INQUIRIES

Under the head of each of the following writers on the Assumption, his most characteristic contributions or views are briefly given.

Ewald, *Göttinger gelehrte Anzeigen* (1862), vol. i. pp. 4–7, (1867), pp. 110–118, 1416–1429; *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, vol. vi. 51–61 (Eng. trans.). Ewald regards our book as derived from a Semitic original (Hebrew or Aramaic). It was written by a Zealot a few years after the death of Herod the Great, and subsequent to the rising of Judas the Gaulonite. The “slaves, sons of slaves,” are the Maccabean high priests, and chap. VII. is directed against the Pharisees.

Langen, *Das Judenthum in Palästina* (1866), pp. 102–111; Reusch's *Theolog. Literaturbl.* (1871), No. 3. Langen holds that the Assumption was written in Palestine in Hebrew, and shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D.

Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschr. f. wissenschaft. Theol.* (1867), pp. 217–223; *Messias Judaeorum* (1869), Prolegom. lxx.–lxxvi. See also the books quoted under his name on pp. xviii–xix. The Assumption was written in Greek by a Roman Jew in the West *circa* 44–45 A.D. Chap. VII. is to be interpreted of the Herodian princes. The exegetical side of Hilgenfeld's work is weak compared with the textual.

Haupt, "Bemerkungen zu der editio princeps der Himmelfahrt des Moses," *Z.f.W.T.* (1867), p. 448. These remarks consist of a few emendations of the Latin text.

Rönsch has made many contributions to the study of the Assumption. Some of these are of great value, especially those which deal with the Latin Version purely from the linguistic side. Others, which are devoted to the emendation of the text, are less good, though occasionally his restorations are very felicitous. These subjects are treated of in the *Z.f.W.T.*, vol. xi. (1868), pp. 76–108, xiv. (1871), pp. 89–92. In vol. xi. pp. 466–468, he suggests certain corrections and changes to be made in Hilgenfeld's retranslation into Greek. The various names under which the Assumption has appeared are discussed in *Z.f.W.T.*, vol. xii. (1869), pp. 213–228. In the 17th volume of the *Zeitschrift*, pp. 542–562, he addresses himself to the exegesis of this book, and then again returns

to the emendation of the text. The exegesis could hardly be more unsatisfactory, and the impression left by these, his later attempts at emendation, cannot be said to be much better. In six pages of emendations, only one or two appear probable. I here append a specimen of his work. For the well-known corrupt word *putavimus* in VII. 8, Rönsch proposes *laetabimus* or *litabimus*, or *adjutabimus*, or *si lutabimus*, or *exaltabimus*, but ultimately prefers *perpotabimus*. Rönsch returned once again to this subject in vol. xxviii. of the same *Zeitschrift* (1885), pp. 102–104. For further references to this book, see his *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 273, 380, 480–482.

Philippi, *Das Buch Henoch* (1868), pp. 166–191. This writer assigns the composition of this book to the second century of our era, and interprets chap. VII. of the Pharisees.

Colani, “L’Assomption de Moïse” (*Revue de Théologie*, vol. iv. (1868), pp. 65–94). This scholar thinks that Schmidt-Merx have made it impossible any longer to doubt the Aramaic origin of the book. With Volkmar, he regards chap. VIII. as historical and concerned with the tragic history of the Jews under Hadrian, and IX. as a veiled account of the action of Rabbi Jehuda ben Baba, who, after ordaining seven of his disciples in a narrow gorge near Usha, was put to death by the Romans. This rabbi is the Taxo in IX. 1. Chap. VI. contains an

indictment of the Jewish Doctors of Jabneh and Usha. Hence the book was written *c.* 137–138. As for its silence regarding the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., he thinks this quite immaterial. This book was the work not of an Essene, nor a Zealot, but was the manifesto of a writer who felt that Israel could do alike without the temple or its national independence, since it could find its satisfaction in those elements of the cult which were independent of the temple. This very clever, but most inconclusive, treatise concludes with the words: “Toute difficulté, je crois se trouve levée!”

Carriere, “Note sur le Taxo de l’Assumption de Moïse” (*Revue de Théol.* (1868), pp. 94–96). See my *Commentary*, p. 35.

Wieseler, “Die jüngst aufgefundenene Aufnahme Moses nach Ursprung und Inhalt untersucht” (*Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie* (1868), pp. 622–648). Wieseler thinks that our book was written by a Zealot, in Hebrew (?), shortly after the war of Varus. His interpretation of chap. VII. will be found on p. 24 in my notes, and of Taxo on p. 35.

Geiger, *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben*, vol. vi. (1868), pp. 41–47. Geiger takes chap. VII. to be a description of the Sadducees, adducing such phrases as *regnabunt de his homines pestilentiosi* and *tanquam principes erimus*. In *docentes se esse justos* (צדיקים) there is a play on

their name. The words *noli me tangere* emphasise their priestly purity.

Heidenheim, "Beiträge zum bessern Verständniss der Ascensio Moysis" (*Vierteljahrschrift für deutsch- und englisch-theologische Forschung und Kritik*, vol. iv. (1871), pp. 63–102). This is the most untrustworthy work it has been my duty to read in all the literature of this book. Occasionally a few helpful references to Jewish literature are given.

Hausrath, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 2nd ed., iv. pp. 76–80. Hausrath is of opinion that the book was written at Rome in the reign of Domitian in Aramaic.

Stähelin, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie* (1874), pp. 216–218. The book preaches not a Messiah kingdom, but an O.T. theophany. Michael is to introduce the new order of things.

Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah* (1877), pp. 74–84. We have here a very clear and but too brief account of the Assumption. Dr. Drummond thinks that, "as there is no sufficient reason for supposing a Hebrew or Aramaean original, we may assume that the book, notwithstanding its Hebraic colouring, was composed in Greek." Then follows an able discussion on the date, which he holds to be about 6 A.D.

Reuss, *Geschichte der h. Schriften des Alten Testaments* (1890), pp. 738–740. This writer does not commit himself to a definite date. He thinks that

the words in VI. 7, "He (*i.e.* Herod) will beget children, who succeeding him will rule for shorter periods," do not necessarily determine the date. Philip and Antipater did, it is true, reign longer than their father. "Der Verfasser konnte auch an Archelaus und Agrippa denken die ja allein für einen Jerusalemer Interesse hatten."

Dillmann, art. "Pseudepigraphen," in Herzog's *Real-Encyc.* 2nd ed., xii. 352, 353. Dillmann agrees with Ewald, Wieseler, and Drummond in assigning the composition of this book to the first decade after the death of Herod. The writer was a Zealot and was hostile to the Pharisees, whom he assails in chap. VII. The book was probably written in Aramaic.

Rosenthal, *Vier apocryphische Bücher* (1885), pp. 13-38. This is a very interesting and fresh study of our book. The writer ascribes it to the years immediately succeeding the fall of the temple. The author was a Zealot, and wrote in Hebrew and not in Aramaic. He attempts to prove this thesis by the removal of obscurities or corruptions from the text through retranslation into Hebrew. In only one or two cases, however, is it possible to admit that he is successful. On his view of chapter VII., see my notes, pp. 24, 25.

Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ* (1886), II. iii. pp. 73-83 (Eng. trans.). We have here an admirable account of this book.

Schürer refers its composition to the first decade after the death of Herod. Its writer was a Zealot, and the *homines pestilentiosi* in VII. are the "Pharisees, to whom every word is unmistakably applicable." A very valuable bibliography is appended.

Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu* (1888), pp. 25–31. This writer regards the Assumption as a Jewish manifesto, with an apologetic, or rather a secret, polemical aim. This aim is to glorify Moses, the Law, and Judaism over against Christianity. The attributes ascribed to the Founder of Christianity are here, in large measure, assigned to Moses. He is the "mediator" between God and man (I. 14, 17), the high priest who intercedes daily on bended knee (XI. 11), the divine prophet and perfect teacher (XI. 16). The Law is to abide for ever (IV. 2, XII. 13), and Israel always to be pre-eminent (XII. 4). The book was not written before 50 A.D. Its author was a Quietist, and chap. VII. is to be regarded as descriptive of the Roman procurators.

Deane, *Pseudepigrapha* (1891), pp. 95–130. We have here a very full and readable account of our book, which shows a large acquaintance with the literature of the subject. Its author he takes to be a Zealot. It was written very early in the first century. Chap. VII. is directed against the Herodian princes and the Pharisees.

Thomson, *Books which Influenced Our Lord and*

His Apostles (1891), pp. 14, 321–339, 440–450. We have here a scholarly treatment of the Assumption. Its date is fixed at 6 A.D., and its original language as Aramaic. His interpretation of VII. is strange. It is regarded as a description of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Publicans.

De Faye, *Les Apocalypses Juives* (1892), pp. 67–75. De Faye agrees with Dillmann, Schürer, and others as to the date and the interpretation of chap. VII. The author was a Zealot, whose hopes for Israel were wholly confined to this world. Taxo is the righteous kernel of the nation.

Briggs, *The Messiah of the Apostles* (1895), pp. 5–7, 18. The Assumption is a secret polemic against Christianity. Its very title betrays as much. Its author was a Zealot, who wrote prior to 70 A.D. Taxo and his seven sons are in antithesis to Jesus and His twelve disciples, and are represented as excelling them in self-sacrifice. The law is of perpetual obligation. Its fulfilment is the preparation for the divine advent.

§ 5. THE LATIN VERSION OF THE ASSUMPTION: ITS LINGUISTIC CHARACTER AND CRITICAL WORTH

The solitary MS. of this version was discovered in the Ambrosian Library at Milan by Ceriani, and published by him in his *Mon. sacr. et prof.*, I. i.

55–64, in 1861. This MS. is a palimpsest of the sixth century. It consists of eight folios, written on both sides. There are two columns on each page, and from twelve to eighteen letters in each line. There is no division of words, and the punctuation, which but rarely occurs, is above the line, not on it. Occasionally whole verses are indecipherable. The palimpsest came originally from the Abbey of Bobbio, near Pavia.

Some scholars have supposed that in this MS. we have the actual work of the original translator of the Latin Version, but I shall show presently that this is not so. It is, in fact, only a fragmentary copy of that version. It is not the original version, but only a copy of it; for (*a*) our text contains duplicate renderings and attempts at a better translation, which must primarily have been merely marginal glosses, but were afterwards introduced by a copyist into the text. The clearest example of this is to be found in V. 6, where the dittography extends to six lines in the MS. Other dittographies will be found in VI. 3, VIII. 5, XI. 13. (*b*) Again, in XI. 2 we find an actual correction of the copyist. The text reads, *et hortatus est cum Monse*, but the context requires *et hortatus est eum Monses*. Here, first of all, the copyist took *e* in *eum* to be *c*, and so, finding *cum Monses* to be impossible, emended *Monses* into *Monse*. *Eum* is twice taken

as cum in the Bobbio MS. *k*, in Mt. ix. 1, xiii. 48. (c) Ab his, corrupt for abis (XI. 9), must be due to a Latin copyist, and not to the Latin translator.

The Latin belongs in style and orthography to the fifth century. In order to make this clear I will show that nearly all its chief characteristics can be paralleled from the old fifth-century Bobbio MS. *k* edited in 1886 by Wordsworth, Sanday, and White. I have drawn my examples of *k* from Dr. Sanday's Introduction, pp. xcix—clxvi. This N.T. MS. I shall henceforth refer to simply as *k*. I have likewise used Schuchardt's *Der Vokalismus des Vulgär-Lateins*, and Rönisch's *Itala und Vulgata*, to which I refer the reader occasionally.

We shall now treat of the Latin text under two heads—(i.) Its linguistic character, (ii.) Its critical worth.

(i.) **Linguistic Character.**—This can best be dealt with under two divisions: (*a*) its palæography and orthography, (*b*) its syntax.

(*a*) *Palæography and Orthography.*—Of the vowel and consonantal changes occurring in this MS., some are due to errors of sight, others to errors of sound, while others represent the pronunciation of the time.

ae is found for a in profetiae, I. 5: cf. *k*, Mt. xii. 31, blasfemiae.
ae for e in quaerella, I. 10; quisquae, VI. 1; inconpraehensibilis,

XI. 16; praeces, XI. 17; faciae, XI. 18. This is of frequent occurrence in *k*: cf. Mt. iii. 10, saecuris; xiii. 46, praetiosus, etc.

a for e in ad (et), X. 6: cf. *k*, Mt. iii. 3, parata (parate).

a for i in timebat, XI. 12; erant, XI. 14.

a for u in secabantur, VIII. 3. Conversely, u for a in *k*: cf. Mt. xiii. 8, dabunt (dabant).

b for p in scribura, I. 16; clibsis, III. 7: cf. *k*, Mt. viii. 2, lebrosus; cf. Schuchardt, *Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins*, i. 125-126.

c for e in cum, XI. 2: cf. *k*, Mk. x. 10, cum (eum).

c for s in celares, XI. 4, for solaris: cf. *k*, Mk. xv. 38, acutu (a susū). See Schuchardt, *op. cit.* i. 163, cimul (simul).

c for t in tum, III. 11: cf. *k*, Mk. xiii. 21, devocasti (devotasti).

ch for c in chedrio, I. 17. For other instances of this usage see Schuchardt, *op. cit.* i. 73.

d for t in ad (et), X. 6; tali(dari), XI. 12: cf. *k*, Mt. viii. 19, quod (quot); cf. Schuchardt, *op. cit.* i. 125, 126.

e for a in fecit (faciet), II. 4: cf. *k*, Mk. ix. 1, quidem (quidam).

e for ae in scene, I. 7; liena, III. 4; herere, X. 9; que (quae), XI. 4; Amorrei, XI. 16: cf. *k*, Mt. x. 9, es (aes); xi. 21, facte (factae), etc.: cf. Schuchardt, *op. cit.* i. 226-235.

e for i in conterunt, IX. 3, XII. 7: cf. *k*, Mt. x. 22, odebiles; Mk. ix. 32, temebant, etc. See Schuchardt, *op. cit.* ii. 1 *sqq.*

e for o in celaris, XI. 4, for solaris: cf. *k*, Mt. vi. 28, quemodo, etc.

e for u, XII. 6, et (ut).

f for ph always in fynicis, I. 3; profetiae, I. 5 (III. 11, XI. 16); allofilorum, IV. 3; blasfemare, VIII. 5. So always in *k*, as Farisaei, blasfemare, etc.

f for t in ferrum (?), II. 4.

ge for qui in ingenerationibus, V. 3.

i for e in transio, I. 15; dimittes (demittes), II. 2; liena, III. 4; scalciati, XI. 12; ducit (-et), III. 3, and passim: cf. *k*, Mt. vii. 23, recidite (recedite), etc.

i for y in allofilorum, IV. 3; acrobistiam, VIII. 3: cf. Schuchardt, *op. cit.* ii. 256 *sqq.*

m for co in mortes (for coortes (?), *i.e.* cohortes), VI. 8.

o for i in forma, X. 15: cf. *k*, Mt. xiii. 27, zozania (zizania); Mk. xiii. 13, hoc (hic).

- o for u in misereator, IV. 6 : cf. *k*, Mk. viii. 38, filios (filius), etc. ;
Schuchardt, ii. 149 *sqq.*
- pa for au in palam (?), II. 4.
- r for b in regnarunt (?), VII. 3. The converse change of b into r is
found in *k*, Mt. xii. 14, exiebunt (exierunt).
- s for ex in scalciati, XI. 12 ; cf. Rönsch, *op. cit.* 469.
- s for n in suscitabunt (corrupt for concelebunt (?)), VII. 4.
- s for t in abrumpens, II. 3 : cf. *k*, Mk. ix. 1, adstans (adstant),
etc.
- t for n in tunc, I. 15 : cf. *k*, Mt. x. 11, dignus (dignus).
- t for s in eminent, IX. 2 : cf. *k*, Mt. ii. 4, scribit (-is), etc.
- u for e in transferunt, II. 4 ; coguntur, VII. 2 ; ut, VII. 7 ; cres-
cunt, exegunt, XII. 10 : cf. *k*, Mk. xii. 32, ut for
et, etc.
- u for o in putavimus (potabimus), VII. 8 : cf. *k*, Mk. ix. 22,
putes (potes) ; ix. 41, putaverit (potaverit). See
Rönsch, *op. cit.* p. 465 ; cf. Schuchardt, *op. cit.* ii.
91 *sqq.*
- v for b in intravit and oravit, IV. 1 ; acervus, VI. 5, X. 4 ; putav-
imus, VII. 8 ; suscitavit, VIII. 1 ; vindicavitur, IX. 7
(X. 2) ; conturvavitur, X. 5 ; altavit, X. 9 ; provata,
XII. 9 ; exivit, XII. 13 : cf. *k*, Mt. i. 21, salvavit
(-abit) ; xii. 42, damnavit (-abit), etc.
- z for di in Zabulus, X. 1 : cf. *k*, Mt. xiii. 39, Ziabolus. This
change is frequent in the Latin fathers : cf. Rönsch,
op. cit. p. 457.

Other noteworthy points of orthography are—
the prefixing of the aspirate : heremo, III. 11 : cf. *k*,
haestis (estis), Mt. viii. 26 ; see Rönsch, *op. cit.*
462–463. The insertion of n in Monses (III. 11,
note) : cf. *k*, Mt. vi. 19, thensaurus ; see Rönsch,
op. cit. 458–459. Of t in Istrahel, III. 8, X. 8 :
cf. *k*, Mt. xv. 31 ; see Rönsch, 460. The omis-
sion of one of two doubled letters in tribum, III. 6,
IV. 9 ; in profetis, IV. 11 : cf. *k*, where filii and
alii are usually written fili and ali ; also Mk.

ix. 50, *fatum* (*fatuum*), etc.; see Schuchardt, *op. cit.* ii. 464–466. The duplication of a vowel in *patruum*, IV. 8.

Another peculiarity of style consists in the use of irregular futures in *bo*, *stabilibis*, II. 2; *tradibit* (?), VIII. 2; *tremebit*, X. 4: cf. *k*, Mt. ii. 6, *prohibet*, etc. Cf. Rönsch, *op. cit.* 291.

(b) *Syntax*.—We shall here notice some peculiar usages and constructions. *Iste* is used frequently for *is* or *ille*. *Qui* = *et ego*, *et is*, or *et ii*, in I. 6, 14, III. 14, X. 2. Cf. *k*, Mk. ix. 10, where *it* = *et ille*.

Dominari is used as a passive, II. 3; *iudicare* governs a dative, VI. 2; so also *misereor*, XI. 10.

But the greatest departures from classical usage are to be found in connection with the prepositions. Thus *cum* takes the acc., X. 3. For this usage elsewhere, see Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata*, 409–410. *De* twice takes the acc., I. 9, V. 1, where it is used of the agent, being here perhaps a rendering of *δία* with the gen. In XI. 13 it takes the acc. also where it has its ordinary meaning. For this usage elsewhere, see Rönsch, *op. cit.* p. 410. In III. 10 it takes the dat. or ablat. (= *ἐπί* with dat.). In V. 4 it takes the ablative of instrument. *In* is used with the ablat. where it should be the acc., IX. 6, X. 5; and with the acc. where it should be the ablat., VI. 5. In VIII. 4 it takes the ablat. of the

agent. *Secus* occurs eight times as a preposition with the acc., I. 10, II. 2, 5, etc. *Sine* takes the acc., I. 10. For this usage elsewhere, see Rönsch, *op. cit.* p. 412.

As regards conjunctions, *nam* is always used in a non-natural meaning, *i.e.* as a rendering for *δέ*; for the instances, see p. xxxvii. *Enim* is used in same way, V. 5.

Finally, the ablative of the gerund is used for the present participle in I. 9, V. 5, XI. 17. For instances of this idiom, see Rönsch, *op. cit.* pp. 432–433.

But the above list is far from exhausting the peculiarities of the text. It is replete with Graecisms and Hebraisms. For a discussion of these the reader should consult sec. 6 and sec. 7.

(ii.) **Critical Worth.**—This Version is very literal. This will be apparent when we come to the next two sections, in which we shall find that our text, though Latin in diction, is occasionally Greek, and frequently Hebrew in idiom. This, of course, is due to the almost servile faithfulness of the Greek, no less than of the Latin, translation. At times, indeed, the translation is careless, very careless, but as a general rule it is extremely trustworthy. We shall now proceed to point out its defects under the following heads:—

(a) *Omissions*. — Similitudinem, in II. 9, after omnem through homoioteleuton. Filius before Naue in X. 11, 15; but this omission may have originated in the Greek, where ὁ τοῦ may have fallen out before *Navή*. Suffixes are occasionally omitted: see IV. 6, note; VII. 9, XII. 7. These may be due to the Greek translation. Others, such as those in I. 10, X. 10, 15, may be due to defects in the Hebrew copy used by the Greek translator.

(b) *Interpolations*.—I. 3–5 seem to have been originally marginal glosses from a Greek hand.

(c) *Dittographies*.—We have a most interesting case of this nature in V. 6, where six lines of the MS. are repeated twice. The slight differences existing between these duplicate renderings make it clear that we have here an attempt, on the part of the Latin translator, to improve on his first rendering. But the scribe of our MS. incorporated both. Other dittographies occur in VI. 3, XI. 13, and probably in VIII. 5.

(d) *Transpositions*.—In addition to transpositions of such as ut et for et ut in I. 8, and testatus et for et testans in IV. 12, etc., we have the transposition of the phrase cum infantibus nostris from the close of verse 5 to that of verse 4. A very complicated case of transposition occurs in X. 5. In I. 10 there is a transposition of the verb to the end of the clause such as we find not infrequently in

k: cf. Mt. vii. 10, 14, xv. 23, etc. But the most remarkable transposition of all is the removal of chaps. VIII.—IX. from their right position after V. to their present place. Similar transpositions are to be met with in the *Eth. Enoch* lviii.—lxxxii., xci.—xciii.

(*e*) *Corruptions*.—These are of very frequent occurrence. Many can be dealt with when we understand the character of the language and the confusions incidental to it. There are some cases of sheer blundering. But many of the present corruptions of the text are not native to it, but originated either in Greek Version or in the Hebrew. See sec. 6 and sec. 7.

(*f*) *Carelessness*.—We have instances of careless renderings in III. 11, 13 (see crit. notes, *in loc.*). The translator at times also renders the thought and not the word: cf. colonia, III. 2, V. 6, VI. 9, where Jerusalem is meant. This points to the fact that the Latin (or Greek?) translation was made after the destruction of Jerusalem, and its restoration by Hadrian as a Roman colony under the name Aelia Capitolina.

§ 6. THE LATIN VERSION—A TRANSLATION FROM THE GREEK

Of the derivation of our Latin text from the Greek there can be no question. Thus (1) *Greek words are*

transliterated, as *chedrio*, I. 17, from *κεδρώ*; *clibsis*, III. 7, from *θλίψις*; *heremus*, III. 11, from *ἐρήμος*; *acrobia*, VIII. 3, from *ἀκροβυστία*.

(2) *Greek forms and idioms survive in the Latin*. Thus *scene*, I. 7 = τῇ σκηνῇ; and in *scenae*, I. 9 = ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ; and in IV. 2, *plebem hanc esse tibi plebem hanc exceptam*, the second *hanc* is the Greek article: thus the text = τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον εἶναί σοι τὸν λαὸν τὸν ἐκλεκτόν. For instances of this usage elsewhere, cf. Röscher, *Italia u. Vulgata*, pp. 420–421. Finally, *quia*, V. 3 = ὅτι *recitantis*; and in *usque nos duci captivos*, III. 13, we have an imitation of the Greek, ἕως τοῦ ἡμᾶς αἰχμαλωτισθῆναι.

(3) *Not infrequently we must translate, not the Latin text, but the Greek which it presupposes, but which was misrendered by the Latin translator*. Thus *nam* must not be rendered by “for” in the following passages [I. 3], II. 4, 5, VIII. 2, 4, X. 11, XI. 8, XII. 11, 12, for in all these instances it is a rendering of *δέ* and must be translated accordingly. In like manner *enim*, V. 5 = *δέ*. Again, in VII. 7, we must render *ab oriente usque ad occidentem*, not “from east to west,” but “from sunrise to sunset,” i.e. ἀφ’ ἡλίου ἀνατέλλοντος μέχρι δυομένου. The Greek is susceptible of either meaning. Again, in XI. 11, we must translate, not *nec patiens ne unum quidem diem*, but the Greek which it presupposes: οὐδὲ παριεῖς οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν, “not omitting a single

day." For other instances, see critical notes on XI. 12, 18, XII. 7.

(4) *Through retranslation into Greek the source of the incoherencies of the text can, in some cases, be discovered.* Thus finem in II. 7 = ὄρον, corrupt for ὄρκον; and adcedent = προσβήσονται, corrupt for παραβήσονται = "will transgress." It is possible that the Latin translator had παραβήσονται before him, and followed a meaning of it inappropriate to the context. Again, in III. 4, ducent se = ἀχθήσονται, corrupt for ἀχθέσονται; and in V. 6, in campo = ἐν ἄγρῳ, corrupt for ἐν ἀργύρῳ. In these passages I have corrected the Latin text accordingly. See the critical notes, *in loc.*

(5) *Fragments of the Greek Version are still preserved.* See the notes on p. 6; see also pp. 107-110.

§ 7. THE GREEK—A TRANSLATION FROM A HEBREW ORIGINAL

The derivation of our text from a Semitic original was stoutly denied by Hilgenfeld and others. Volkmar is doubtful (*Mose Prophetie*, pp. 56, 57). But this view can no longer be maintained. It is surprising, indeed, on what slender grounds it has been advanced. Thus Hilgenfeld (*Mess. Jud.*, p. lxxiii) urges the absence of the

pronoun in the accusative after *Deus creavit*, in XII. 4; of the pronominal suffix after *magistri* in V. 5, as reasons against a Semitic original. In my critical note on IV. 6, I have shown that Greek and Latin translators of Hebrew occasionally omitted the suffix in their translation. For instances in the LXX. and Vulgate, see the note referred to. Hilgenfeld's other arguments do not call for consideration. The difficulties he discovers, which make against a Semitic original, are mainly the offspring of his own imagination.

But although a Semitic original is now generally conceded, it is still a matter of debate whether the balance of evidence preponderates in favour of an Aramaic or of a Hebrew source. Schmidt-Merx, Colani, Hausrath, and Carriere decide for the former, and Rosenthal for the latter. Ewald apparently held both views at different times (*Göttinger gelehrte Anz.*, 1862, pp. 4-7; 1867, pp. 110-118). Schürer thinks a Semitic original probable, but not certain. Of the above scholars, it is only Schmidt-Merx, and in a minor degree Rosenthal, that have seriously treated the subject. In the *Archiv f. wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A.T.*, I. ii. 111-152, Schmidt-Merx show, in a variety of passages, how readily the text admits of re-translation into Aramaic; but this proof in itself is wholly inadequate, for the same passages can

just as easily be rendered into Hebrew. In two cases, however, they urge that, whereas the idiosyncrasies of the Latin text can be explained on the hypothesis of an Aramaic original, no such explanation is possible on the hypothesis of a Hebrew original. The first instance is to be found in I. 10, where, according to these editors, the order of the Latin text can only be accounted for by an Aramaic original. In my critical note on that verse, I have shown that it is possible to interpret the text in two ways. According to one of those, the present order of the text can be explained as derived from the Hebrew. But even, according to the other, it is not necessary to resort to the Aramaic hypothesis; for we cannot argue with certainty from our text as to the order of the original source. This is clear from I. 14, where, though the Greek and Latin Versions are preserved and agree verbally, they do not agree as to order. Hence the order in question is probably due to the carelessness of the translator. Moreover, other undoubted transpositions of the text do occur (cf. III. 4, 5, X. 5, crit. notes). That the Latin translator did not observe the order of the Greek before him, we see in numerous instances in the *Codex Bobbiensis*, *k*, see pp. xxxv–xxxvi. The second instance of alleged Aramaic order is that in III. 2. Here Schmidt-Merx point out that

the position of omnia in the phrase sancta vasa omnia is conformable to Aramaic, but not to Hebrew, syntax. This is quite true, but does not thereby justify the conclusion they seek to draw from it. For even in translations made *directly* from the Hebrew, and not as in the case of our text, which is derived from the Hebrew through the Greek, this same phenomenon recurs three times in the LXX. of Genesis, *i.e.* in xiv. 11, xxviii. 15, l. 14 (in several MSS.). See also Lev. xx. 23; 2 Chron. xxi. 18. Now if, in a careful translation made directly from the Hebrew, this non-Hebrew order can appear three times in one book, it shows that no value is to be attached to its single occurrence in a version that is not immediately from the Hebrew, but only mediately, and that is likewise often careless to boot. Our verdict therefore must be, that Schmidt-Merx have furnished no adequate grounds for their thesis that the Assumption is derived from an Aramaic, and not from a Hebrew original.

It is now time to advance the grounds for a Hebrew original. These have gradually discovered themselves in the course of a long and careful study of this book. Whether I shall be more successful in my contention than my predecessors must be left to the reader to decide. Rosenthal (*Vier apocryphische Bücher*, pp. 34–38) has already

preceded me in advocating this view. One or two of his restorations are good, and have been adopted in the sequel, with due recognition, but the bulk of his suggestions I cannot accept; they are frequently wild and quite beside the mark.

The grounds, then, for a Hebrew original are—

(1) *Hebrew idiomatic phrases survive in the text.* Thus in respectu quo respiciet, I. 18; tribus sanctitatis, II. 4; circumibo, II. 7; terram patriae suae, III. 3; homo de proximo suo; testans . . . invocabat testes, III. 12; de isto, III. 13; dividentur ad veritatem, V. 2; in sacerdotes vocabuntur and facient facientes, VI. 1; implebuntur manus, X. 2, are pure Hebraisms. The Hebrew equivalents will be found in the critical notes on the various passages. Now it is quite true that the majority of these could be paralleled by Aramaic expressions, but not all. Thus circumibo, II. 7 = “I will protect,” *i.e.* אסובב (cf. Deut. xxxii. 10), cannot be explained from the Aramaic; nor yet in sacerdotes vocabuntur, VI. 1 = יקראו על כהנים (cf. 1 Chron. xxiii. 14).

(2) *Syntactical idioms probably survive, e.g.* the circumstantial clause in VII. 9 and IX. 4. In VIII. 2, torquebit et tradidit, there may be an instance of perfect with the strong vav; also in VII. 2, 3, cogentur . . . et regnarunt.

(3) *In some cases we must translate, not the Latin*

text, but the Hebrew presupposed by it. Thus, successor = *διάδοχος* = מִשְׁרֵת, must be rendered "minister," in I. 7; and non coepit = *οὐκ ἤρξατο* = לֹא הוּאִיל, must be rendered by "He was not pleased."

(4) *Frequently it is only through retranslation that we can understand the source of corruptions in the text, and remove them.* Thus, in IV. 9, the impossible text, *devenient apud nationes* (MS. *natos*) in tempore tribuum (MS. writes *tribum* for genitive, cf. III. 5) = יִרְדּוּ בְּגוֹיִם בַּעַת שְׁבָטִים. Here the two corruptions that destroy the sense of the context at once become apparent—יִרְדּוּ is corrupt for יִרְבוּ, and שְׁבָטִים for יִשְׁבִּיתֶם. Thus the text is brought into harmony not only with itself, but also with similar statements in Josephus, 4 Ezra, and Philo. This restoration would be impossible on the assumption of an Aramaic original.

In V. 5, the equally impossible text, *qui enim magistri sunt doctores eorum* = (with Hilgenfeld) οἱ δὲ διδασκαλοι ὄντες, οἱ καθηγηται αὐτῶν = וְהַרְבִּים מוֹרִיִּים. Now the context of these words is against any mention of the rabbis or teachers here. But we see that the Hebrew does not necessarily refer to them, but also means "the many." And this gives a most appropriate sense. In the preceding verse, "some" are false priests; in this verse, "many" are venal judges. Hence we see

that מוריהם is here merely a marginal but mistaken gloss that was later incorporated in the text.

In X. 4 (see crit. note, p. 86) we can restore sanity to the text through retranslation. In X. 10 we have a most interesting restoration. In the words said of Israel triumphant in heaven,—videbis inimicos tuos in terram,—we have an impossible statement. After the final judgment, Israel's enemies can no longer be on the earth. The context implies that they are in torment, and in torment in the sight of glorified Israel. Now these two facts suggest at once Gehenna, and that the original was בני הנם. But the הנם was somehow lost, and בני was partly rendered partly transliterated ἐν γῆ, and this in turn by in terram. נִי is frequently so transliterated (see notes, pp. 43, 44).

I shall only adduce one more passage. In XII. 7, temperantius misericordiae ipsius . . . contegerunt mihi, we have an inadmissible text. But the source of the corruption comes to light if we retranslate. Thus the words = ἐπιεικῶς συνέβη μοι ἔλεος αὐτοῦ = הואיל וקרא אותי חסדו. Here we should read מ before חסדו, and with this simple change we get an unexceptionable text: "He was pleased to call me in His compassion." See pp. 98, 99 for details. This restoration also is impossible on the Aramaic hypothesis.

(5) *A play upon words discovers itself on retransla-*

tion into *Hebrew* in VII. 3, where it is said of the Sadducees (צדוקים), dicentes se esse justos, *i.e.* צדיקים. This has already been pointed out by Geiger. It recurs in VII. 6 (see p. 27).

On the above grounds, I hold, therefore, that it is no longer possible to doubt the Semitic original of this book. It may reasonably also be concluded from what precedes, that that original was in Hebrew and not in Aramaic.

How far the character of classical Hebrew was preserved in the original it is impossible to say. My retranslations presuppose generally such a character, but the cogency of the restorations is not bound up with such a presupposition.

§ 8. THE PRESENT BOOK IN REALITY A TESTAMENT OF MOSES. THE ORIGINAL ASSUMPTION PRESERVED ONLY IN A FEW QUOTATIONS.

In the lists of apocryphal books we find mention of a Testament of Moses (*Διαθήκη Μωυσέως*) followed immediately by an Assumption of Moses¹ (*Ἀνάληψις Μωυσέως*). In the "List of Sixty Books," and in the Synopsis of Athanasius, the

¹ This book is so named in the *Acta Synodi Nicæn*, ii. 18, 20; the Stichometry of Nicephorus; and the Synopsis of Athanasius: as the *Adscensio Mosis* in Origen, *de Princip.* iii. 2. 1; as the *Assumptio Mosis* in Didymus Alex. (see p. 108 for quotation); as *Secreta Moysi* in Evodius (see p. 108).

number of stichoi in these two books is not given, but this desideratum is supplied by the Stichometry ascribed to Nicephorus, which assigns to them respectively 1100 and 1400 stichoi. In this connection an excellent suggestion has been made by Schürer to the following effect: "Seeing that the writing that has come down to us is in point of fact a 'Testament (will) of Moses,' though, as we have already seen, it is quoted in the Acts of the Council of Nicæa under the title *Ἀνάληψις Μωυσέως*, it may be assumed that both these designations were the titles of two separate divisions of one and the same work, the first of which has been preserved, whereas the quotations in the Fathers almost all belong to the second." My study of the Latin Version and the Greek fragments has led me to accept this suggestion in a modified form. The Testament and Assumption mentioned in the above lists are to be regarded not as "two separate divisions of one and the same work" with Schürer, but as two originally independent works subsequently put together and edited in one.

Before we adduce the grounds for this theory—owing to the scanty amount of materials these cannot be many—we must first show that Rönsch's identification of the above "Testament" with the Book of Jubilees (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, pp. 480, 481) is contrary to existing evidence. We

have seen above that in the Stichometry of Nicephorus, 1100 stichoi are ascribed to this "Testament." Now, in the same list, 4300 are assigned to Genesis. Hence, if Rönsch's identification is right, Genesis should be nearly four times larger than the Book of Jubilees. But since, as a matter of fact, it is considerably smaller, it is needless to consider further this identification.

Having disposed of this objection, we now return to our thesis that the present Latin Version and the Greek fragments in the Fathers belong respectively to two originally independent works, which were subsequently edited together. This conclusion is probable from the following facts:—

(i.) The book quoted by St. Jude, by Clement of Alexandria, and later Greek writers, was wholly concerned with the Assumption of Moses and incidents connected with it. This we take to have been the original Assumption of Moses.

(ii.) The book preserved in the Latin Version is in reality a "Testament," and not an "Assumption of Moses." Indeed, it appears to be quite opposed to this claim made on Moses's behalf; for

(a) According to the Latin Version (*i.e.* the "Testament"), Moses was to die an ordinary death. Thus in I. 15, Moses says: "I am passing away to sleep with my fathers even

in the presence of all the people." In III. 13 the tribes speak of Moses's death. In X. 14 Moses again declares: "I shall go to sleep with my fathers." In X. 12 this was clearly the original sense. "From my death—assumption—until His advent there will be CCL. times." We shall touch presently on the explanation of the intruded word "assumption."

- (b) A description of the conclusion of the Testament appears to have been preserved in a Catena on the Pentateuch edited by Franc. Zephyrus, and quoted in Fabricius in his *Cod. Pseud. V. T.*, ii. pp. 121, 122. "Est quidem in Apocrypho Mysticoque codice legere, ubi de creatis rebus subtilius agitur, nubem lucidam, quo tempore mortuus est Moses, locum sepulchri complexam oculos circumstantium perstrinxisse ita, ut nullus neque morientem legislatorem neque locum videre potuerit, ubi cadaver conderetur." Here no Assumption seems to be implied, but only an extraordinary disappearance of Moses's body, such as is recorded in Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6. If this writer had been acquainted with the original Assumption, in which the details of Moses's ascension to heaven were re-

corded, he could not have written in these vague terms.

(iii.) The "Testament" and the "Assumption of Moses" were subsequently edited in one book. Of this editing we find a trace in X. 12: "From my death—assumption—until His advent," etc. Here the word "assumption" can best be explained as an insertion of the editor in order to adapt the text of the Testament to the main subject of the second work which he incorporates, *i.e.* the Assumption.

(iv.) In the thirteenth section of Vassiliev's *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, entitled *Palaea historica*,—an O.T. history of events from Adam to Daniel,—of the portion which deals with the death of Moses, part seems to be ultimately derived from the "Testament," and part from the "Assumption" properly so called. *The following lines* (pp. 257–258) *would form a fitting close to the "Testament":*—

[Περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς Μωϋσέως.] καὶ εἶπεν Μωϋσῆς πρὸς Ἰησοῦν τοῦ Ναυί. Ἀνέλθωμεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει. καὶ ἀνελθόντων αὐτῶν εἶδεν Μωϋσῆς τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν. Κάτελθε πρὸς τὸν λαόν, καὶ ἀνάγγειλον αὐτοῖς ὅτι Μωϋσῆς ἐτελεύτησεν. καὶ κατήλθεν Ἰησοῦς πρὸς τὸν λαόν, ὁ δὲ Μωϋσῆς τὰ τέλη τοῦ βίου ἐκτέλεσεν. Here Moses dismisses Joshua, and dies apparently an ordinary death. But according to the Assumption proper (see quotation from Clement Alex. p. 107),

both Joshua and Caleb were present when the assumption of Moses took place. The words that follow on the above in Vassiliev are based ultimately on the Assumption proper. καὶ ἐπειρᾶτο Σαμουὴλ ὡς ἂν καταβάσῃ τὸ σκύνωμα (= σκῆνωμα) αὐτοῦ τῷ λάῳ ἵνα θεοποιηθῶσιν αὐτόν. Μιχαὴλ δὲ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος προστάξει Θεοῦ ἦλθεν λαβεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ συνστεῖλαι καὶ ἀνθίστατο αὐτῷ Σαμουὴλ, καὶ διεμάχοντο. ἀγανακτήσας οὖν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος ἐπετίμησεν αὐτὸν εἰπὼν· Ἐπιτιμᾶ σε κύριος, διάβολε. καὶ οὕτως ἡττήθη ὁ ἀντικείμενος καὶ φυγὴν ἐχρήσατο· ὁ δὲ ἀρχάγγελος Μιχαὴλ συνέστειλεν τὸ σκύνωμα Μωϋσῇ ὅπου προσετάχθη παρὰ Θεοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡμῶν.

(v.) This editing of the two books in one was probably done in the first century, as St. Jude draws upon both in his Epistle (see p. lxii). The statement of Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8. 48) is interesting: “ νέφους αἰφνίδιον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ στάντος, ἀφανίζεται κατὰ τινος φάραγγος. Γέγραφε δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις τεθνεῶτα, δείσας μὴ δι’ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸν ἀναχωρῆσαι τολμήσωσιν εἰπεῖν.” It holds fast to Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6 and the account in the Testament, but shows that the writer is aware of the new claims made on Moses’s behalf in the Assumption. Does the account of the Transfiguration point in any respect to popular belief in Moses’s Assumption?

§ 9. DISLOCATION OF CHAPTERS VIII.—IX. IN THE
LATIN TEXT FROM THEIR ORIGINAL POSITION
AFTER CHAPTER V.

The interpretation of these two chapters will remain an impossibility so long as scholars attempt to deal with them in their present position. I have given, in the notes on pp. 28–30, the grounds which necessitate this new departure in the exegesis of the book.

§ 10. THE AUTHOR A PHARISAIC QUIETIST

There is some difficulty in determining the religious party in Judaism to which the author belonged. First of all, however, it is clear that he was not a Sadducee; for (1) he looks forward to the direct intervention of God on behalf of Israel, and the establishment of a theocratic kingdom on earth (X. 3–8). (2) He dwells on the future blessedness of the righteous (X. 10, 11). (3) He attacks the Sadducean party in the most bitter terms (VII.).

Secondly. He was not a Zealot. This view has been advocated by Wieseler, Dillmann, Schürer, and others. But it is just as impossible as that which precedes; for (1) the writer's complete silence as to the Maccabean rising forms an emphatic censure

of their appeal to arms. This silence is all the more impressive as the writer was thoroughly acquainted with the Maccabean movement. Thus his text shows an intimate acquaintance with Books I. and II. of the Maccabees, or, at all events, with the facts on which these are based; and the reader will fail to appreciate the allusions and nuances of the narrative unless he brings to its perusal an accurate and detailed knowledge of Maccabean history. We have here, in fact, to deal with the work, not of a popular enthusiast, but of an accurate scholar. (2) And, whilst he thus shows his aversion to the aims and method of the Maccabees,—in other words, to a militant Judaism,—he is careful to indicate his own admirations. He will not trust in an arm of flesh. Thus his hero (IX.) is not one who takes up arms on behalf of Israel, but one who, amid the most bitter persecution that ever befel Israel, was faithful unto death, and, lifting no hand in self-defence, committed his cause unto God. See notes on pp. 32–38. (3) The aim of such a description as appears in IX. is to indicate the line of action which the Pharisaic party should pursue, *i.e.* one of non-resistance. The writer protests against the growing corruption of the Pharisaic party by political aims and methods. See notes on pp. 34, 35. (4) X. 3–10 is wholly against the idea of a Zealot author. This passage, in fact, confirms all that has

been said above. The theocratic or Messianic kingdom is to be introduced not by the militant acts of the saints, but through the direct intervention of God.

Thirdly. He was not an Essene, as Schmidt-Merx have supposed. (1) The entire book is interpenetrated with national hopes and aspirations. See especially X. 8. The ideal of the Essene was individualistic and ethical, and not national. (2) The greatest interest is taken in all the fortunes of the temple. Thus it was built by God (II. 4), its frequent profanations are dwelt upon (II. 8, 9, V. 3, 4, VI. 1), and its complete destruction by Nebuchadnezzar (III. 2) and its partial destruction by Varus (VI. 9). Such an interest could not be natural in an Essene, who was excluded from its courts (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 1. 5). (3) The pure or polluted character of the sacrifices in the temple is carefully recorded. Thus it is said that they are (rightly) offered during a long period of history (II. 6). At a later period they are said to be imperfect (IV. 8). It is observed in II. 8 that sacrifices were offered to idols, and in V. 4 that, though offered to God, they were polluted. Now such a concern in the sacrifices of the temple is likewise unnatural in an Essene, who disapproved wholly of animal sacrifice (Philo, ii. 457, οὐ ζῶα καταθύοντες), and esteemed their sacrificial meals as far transcending any

temple sacrifice in worth (*Ant.* xviii. 1. 5). (4) According to our author, the future abode of the blessed is the heaven of the stars (X. 9), but the Essene heaven was beyond the ocean (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 11). Again, Gehenna is the place of punishment for Israel's national foes (X. 10). We know of no such conception among the Essenes. (5) The fact that pre-existence is ascribed to Moses *as a special distinction* (I. 14) implies a disbelief in the Essene doctrine of the pre-existence of all souls (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 11).

As we have now shown that our author was neither a Sadducee, a Zealot, nor an Essene, there remains no further difficulty in determining the religious party to which he belonged. He was clearly a Pharisaic Quietist. This is shown by the facts which we have enumerated above in the refutation of the preceding views. He was a Pharisee of a fast-disappearing type, recalling in all respects the Chasid of the early Maccabean times, and upholding the old traditions of quietude and resignation. While his party was fast committing itself to political interests and movements, he raised his voice to recall them from the evil ways on which they had entered, and besought them to return to the old paths, but his appeal was made in vain, and so the secularisation of the Pharisaic movement in due course culminated in the fall of Jerusalem.

§ 11. THE DATE

It is impossible to deal seriously with the late date assigned to this book by Volkmar and Colani, 137–138 A.D. Their only ground for so doing is to be found in the historical character of chaps. VIII., IX., which, they allege, is a veiled narrative of the persecution under Hadrian. The reader will see that, like these writers, I too have accepted the historicity of these chapters, and shown, by a minute investigation of every phrase, that they recount, not the calamities of the Jews under Hadrian, but under Antiochus Epiphanes. See notes on pp. 28–38. If this has been proved satisfactorily, as I hold it to be, then it is no longer possible to advocate a second-century date. But even should the proof be deemed inadequate, insuperable difficulties still confront the upholders of such a view. For, from internal evidence, it appears that the book must have been written before 70 A.D. This we shall now proceed to show.

The book was written before 70 A.D. For (1) the temple is to stand till the establishment of the theocratic kingdom (I. 17). See note on p. 7. (2) The temple was still standing when the book was written. This is to be inferred from the consideration that if it had fallen, such an event could not have been passed over in silence. It could not have

been passed over ; for all the fortunes of the temple, even its temporary profanations by a faithless priesthood, are carefully recorded. See II. 4, 8, 9, III. 2, V. 3, 4, VI. 1, 9, VIII. 5. When the temple did fall, it left an ineffaceable mark on all subsequent Jewish literature, but particularly in that of the next sixty years : cf. the later portions of the Apoc. Bar. and 4 Ezra. The views, therefore, of Volkmar, Colani, Keim, Hausrath, and Rosenthal, who date the composition of the Assumption after 70, are untenable.

Now, all other scholars are agreed as to its composition before 70 A.D., but differ with each other as to the exact period to which it should be assigned between 4 B.C. and 70 A.D. Many of these differences¹ are due to the purely arbitrary restorations of the unintelligible fragments of numbers in VII. 2, and may therefore be at once discounted.

So far we have determined only the latest limit of composition, *i.e.* 70 A.D. There is no difficulty as to its earliest. This is 3 B.C. ; for Herod is already dead (VI. 6), and the war of Varus already past (VI. 9). After this war, the writer declares, the times will be ended, and " the four hours will come " (VIII. 1). Thus the limits of composition lie between 3 B.C. and 70 A.D. But there are data

¹ Thus Hilgenfeld assigns the book to the years 44-45 A.D. ; Schmidt-Merx to 54-64 ; Fritzsche to 50-60.

for a nearer determination. In VI. 7 the statement, "And he (Herod) will beget children, who, succeeding him, will rule for shorter periods," was true of Archelaus alone; for Philip and Antipas reigned longer than their father. Hence the book must have been written before these princes had reigned for thirty-four years, *i.e.* before 30 A.D.¹ Thus the date of composition lies between 3 B.C. and 30 A.D. But the limits may be defined still more closely. For the prediction, that Herod's sons should rule for shorter periods than their father, may be reasonably explained from two considerations: (*a*) from the general expectation that the sons of such a wicked king could not long preserve their authority; but still more (*b*) from the actual deposition of Archelaus after a short reign of ten years 4 B.C.—6 A.D.,—an event which would naturally be construed by our author in the light of a divine judgment, and suggest to him the prediction which appears in the text as to the impending fate of Philip and Antipas. Hence, however, we may interpret the "four hours" in VII. 1; it may be fairly concluded that part of these

¹ Ewald, Wieseler, Drummond, Dillmann, and Schürer refer the composition of the book to the first decade after 4 B.C. This conclusion they arrive at by pressing the words "the times will be ended" in VII. 1. For the way in which Reuss, followed by Baldensperger and Rosenthal, seeks to evade the conclusions that naturally follow from VI. 7, see the note on that verse (p. 22).

have already elapsed when the author writes, and that the earliest limit of composition is 7 A.D. Thus the book was composed between the years 7–30 A.D.

§ 12. VIEWS OF THE AUTHOR ON MOSES, ISRAEL
THE MESSIANIC KINGDOM, GOOD WORKS

Moses.—Moses was prepared, from before the foundation of the world, to be the mediator of God's covenant with His people (I. 14, III. 12). During his life he was Israel's intercessor with God (XI. 11, 17); for forty years he suffered many things at their hands in Egypt, the Red Sea, and the wilderness (III. 11). When about to die, he chose Joshua in his stead (X. 15), apparently as the prophet promised in Deut. xviii. 15. His death was an ordinary one (I. 15, III. 13, X. 12, 14); but no single place was worthy to mark the place of his burial, for his sepulchre was from the rising to the setting sun, and from the south to the confines of the north—yea the entire world was his sepulchre (XI. 8). But his relation to Israel did not cease with death; he was appointed by God to be their intercessor in the spiritual world (XII. 6).

Israel.—Israel is God's own people (I. 12): the world was created in their behalf (I. 12): and Moses

prepared, from before the foundation of the world, to establish the covenant relation between God and His people (I. 14), and Jerusalem prepared, in like manner, to be the centre of the worship of Jehovah till the establishment of the theocratic kingdom (I. 17). Israel's history is then shortly summarised from the time of the Exodus to the split between the two kingdoms. From this time the writer carefully distinguishes between the two tribes and the ten. The former constitute the two "holy tribes" (II. 4), yet the solidarity of the twelve tribes is never lost sight of; for Judah's captivity is attributed to the sins of Israel (III. 5). In due time the two tribes return from their captivity, but grieve over their imperfect sacrifices (IV. 8)—imperfect, apparently, because the ten tribes are not with them, though they are increasing and multiplying in the land of their captivity (IV. 9). But the history of restored Judah becomes an evil one, namely, owing to the Sadducean priesthood (V.), but a righteous kernel still survived who were faithful to the law (IX. 4). Then ensues the persecution of Antiochus (VIII.), and the withdrawal of the Chasid party from political alliances (IX.). The Maccabean king-priests are alluded to, and their successor Herod (VI.). With his death, and probably the deposition of Archelaus, we arrive at the writer's own period. Herewith we pass from the region of

history to that of prediction. The theocratic or Messianic kingdom will be ushered in by a day of repentance (I. 17). 1750 years after the death of Moses,¹ *i.e.* between 75 and 107 A.D. (?), God will intervene on behalf of Israel,—of Israel, be it observed, not of Judah and Benjamin alone (X. 8). Here, again, the solidarity of the nation, in the writer's mind, discovers itself. As they suffered vicariously for each other's sins (III. 5), so likewise the promises were made to the twelve tribes collectively (III. 9), and they should all be glorified together (X. 8). Thus when the theocratic kingdom was established the ten tribes were to be restored. During this kingdom Israel's national enemies were to be destroyed (X. 8). Finally, Israel was to be exalted to heaven (X. 9), whence they should see their enemies in Gehenna (X. 10).

The Messianic or Theocratic Kingdom.—In the preceding paragraph we have given the various

¹ This seems to be the period meant by the *250 times* spoken of in X. 12 (see note). As we have no means of determining the length of the interval between the death of Moses and the Christian era, according to our author, we cannot determine the date of the expected advent of God, which was to take place 1750 years after Moses's death. If we may accept Josephus's chronology for this period, then the date of the Divine Advent was to be in the year 75 or 88 or 107, according as we regard 1675 years (*Ant.* xx. 10. 2) as having elapsed between Moses's death and the Christian era, or 1662 years (*Ant.* x. 9. 7; xi. 1. 1; *Bell. Jud.* vi. 4. 8; 10. 1), or 1643 years (*Bell. Jud.* vi. 4. 8). (See Herzog's *R.E.* xvii. p. 460.)

references to this kingdom which are found in our author. There is no Messiah. Indeed, in X. 7, the author seems to be really inimical to this expectation: "The Eternal God alone . . . will punish the Gentiles" (see note, *in loc.*). This may be due to the fact that the conception of the Messiah, as a man of war, was gaining more and more acceptance amongst the Pharisees, and was thus of a nature to promote the growing secularisation of Pharisaism. Now, it is against the latter evil that the author's writing is directed.

Good Works.—On the doctrine of merit, or good works, our author's views are allied to O.T. conceptions, rather than to the rabbinic doctrine of man's righteousness, which bulks so largely in Jewish literature from 50 A.D. onwards. See my edition of the Apocalypse of Baruch xiv. 7, xxi. 9, notes. So far from representing man's righteousness as involving merit over against God,—an undoubted Pharisaic doctrine of the first century of our era,—our author represents even the greatest hero of Judaism as declaring: "Not for any virtue or strength of mine, but in His compassion and long-suffering, was He pleased to call me" (XII. 7). Similarly Moses declares to Joshua: "It is not on account of the godliness of this people (Israel) that thou shalt root out the nations" (XII. 8).

§ 13. NEW TESTAMENT AND LATER WRITERS
ACQUAINTED WITH THE ASSUMPTION

St. Jude unquestionably was acquainted both with the Testament of Moses and with the Assumption, properly so-called, which together compose the complete book.

Thus St. Jude 9 is derived from the latter: see p. 107. From this indubitable case of borrowing we proceed to deal with another, for which the evidence is very strong. St. Jude 16 is composed of several clauses which agree verbally or in substance with V. 5, VII. 7, 9 of our Latin text—the original Testament of Moses. We shall here give the Greek text of Jude, inserting after each clause its parallel from our text. *Οὗτοί εἰσι γογγυσταὶ, μεμφίμοιροι* (Ass. Moys. VII. 7, quaerulosi), *κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν πορευόμενοι καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν λαλεῖ ὑπέρογκα* (VII. 9, et manus eorum et mentes immunda tractantes, et os eorum loquetur ingentia), *θαυμάζοντες πρόσωπα, ὠφελείας χάριν* (V. 5, mirantes personas locupletum et accipientes munera). In St. Jude 18 the “mockers” (*ἐμπαικται*) appear to be the homines pestilentiosi (VII. 3) (see note, *in loc.*). The “ungodly men” who are mentioned in St. Jude 4 appear twice in chap. VII. 3, 7 (impii). Now, lest the full force of these parallels should escape us, we should observe

that the accounts in both books are actually or nominally prophetic. The classes of evil-doers dealt with are those who shall be "in the last time," according to Jude 18, and "when the times are ended," in our text.

The writer of 2 Peter also appears to have used our text. Thus II. 10, 11 are based on Jude 9, or both are equally dependent on the original Assumption. Some passages support the latter alternative. Thus with 2 Peter ii. 13, *ἡδονὴν ἡγούμενοι τὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τρυφῇν*, compare Ass. Moysi, VII. 5, *omni hora diei amantes convivia*; and with *ἐντρύφῶντες ἐν ταῖς ἀγαπαῖς αὐτῶν συνευχόμενοι* (*Vulg.*, *affluentes, in conviviis suis luxuriantes vobiscum*), compare VII. 8, *Habebimus discubitiones et luxuriam*. Compare also 2 Peter ii. 3 with VII. 6.

There are some remarkable parallels between St. Stephen's speech in Acts vii. and our text. The most remarkable is that in III. 11, "Who suffered many things in Egypt, and in the Red Sea, and in the wilderness during forty years," which agrees verbally for the most part with Acts vii. 36, *ποιήσας τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα*. The likeness is too close to be accidental. We must either assume that Acts vii. 36 is derived from our text, or that III. 11 *b* of our text is

interpolated. The evidence of Apoc. Bar. lxxxiv. 3 is against the latter supposition: likewise also the word "suffered."¹ Again, in III. 2, in the words, "that we should not transgress (God's) commandments in the which he was a mediator to us," the fact that they did transgress them is implied, and the fact that Moses was the mediator through whom they came, is expressly stated. Now, these two facts are distinctly given in Acts vii. 38, 39: "This is he that was . . . with the angel which spake to him on the Mount Sinai . . . who received living oracles to give unto us; to whom our fathers would not be obedient." Finally, there is the prediction of the captivity in III. 13, and the citation of the prophecy of Amos to that effect in VII. 43.

Again, Matt. xxiv. 29 (cf. Mark xiii. 24-25; Luke xxi. 25-26) is either dependent on X. 5 of our text, or else both are derived from a common source. This is clear if we compare Matt. xxiv. 29: *ὁ ἥλιος σκοτισθήσεται καὶ ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τὸ φέγγος αὐτῆς, καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες . . . τῶν οὐρανῶν σαλευθήσονται*, with X. 5—

¹ This idea of Moses's suffering in connection with Israel is found in the *Jalkut* (translated by Heidenheim, *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift* (1871), p. 217). Moses . . . sagte: "Herr der Welt, offenbar und bekannt ist dir meine Mühe und mein Leiden, das ich mit ihnen (den Israeliten) zu erleiden hatte, bis ich ihnen die Lehre . . . eingeprägt hatte."

(Sol) in tenebras convertet se,
Et luna non dabit lumen. . . .
Et orbis stellarum conturbabitur.

It is noteworthy that in the parallel passage in Luke xxi. 25 there is a reference to the sea also, as there is in X. 6 of our text.

For another close parallel of our text, VIII. 1 with Matt. xxiv. 21, see notes on pp. 80, 81.

On the above grounds we conclude that this book was known to the writers of the Epistle of Jude and of Acts vii., and most probably to the writers of 2 Peter and Matt. xxiv. 29 (Mark xxii. 24-25; Luke xxi. 25-26).

It was known also to the writer of Apoc. Bar. lxxxiv. 2-5: see notes *in loc.* (pp. 12, 13). For the citations in Clement of Alexandria, Origen, etc., see pp. 107-110.

ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

ASSUMPTION OF MOSES



TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN

I. (And it came to pass in the one hundred and twentieth year of the life of Moses), 2. That is,

I. 1. See crit. note.

2. *Two thousand five hundredth year.* This date of Moses' death is of great importance in Jewish chronology. If we compare it with the various dates assigned to this event in the Massoretic text, the Samaritan, the Book of Jubilees, and Josephus, we shall find that no two of these authorities agree. Thus the death of Moses is variously dated according to—

	Anno Mundi.
Assumption of Moses .	2500
Book of Jubilees .	2450
Josephus, <i>Ant.</i> viii. 3. 1	2550
„ or viii. 3. 1 combined with xx. 10	2530
Samaritan Pentateuch .	3309
LXX.	3859
From these variations among authorities before and after the Christian era, it appears	

that the Massoretic chronology, which sets it down to 2706, either did not exist at the beginning of the Christian era, or else was only one of the many systems competing for popular acceptance. I shall return to this question in my Commentary on the Book of Jubilees, where the subject necessarily demands to be treated at some length. I shall, however, add here another fact which shows that the Massoretic chronology was wholly wanting in traditional authority as late as 50-100 A.D.—a circumstance that is incompatible with its assumed ancient origin. Thus according to Exod. xii. 40 (Mass. text), Israel is said to have sojourned 430 years in Egypt alone; whereas, in the Samaritan, this period embraces also the sojourn of the patriarchs in Canaan before their

the two thousand five hundredth year from the creation of the world, 6. That he called to him Joshua the son of Nun, a man approved of the Lord, 7. That he might be the minister of the people and of the tabernacle of the testimony with all its

descent into Egypt. Here the Samaritan is supported by the LXX., and substantially also by the Pharisaic Book of Jubilees. This reckoning, further, is followed by St. Paul, Gal. iii. 17, and Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 15. 2. It reappears also at a later date in the Targum of Jonathan on Exod. xii. 40. Some writers have cited as testimonies to the Massoretic reckoning Philo, *Quis rer. div.* § 54 (i. 511); Josephus, *Ant.* i. 10. 3; *Bell. Jud.* v. 9. 4; Acts vii. 6: but all these passages are either directly drawn from or based upon Gen. xv. 13, where 400 years are spoken of, except that in *Bell. Jud.* v. 9. 4, where the context is indecisive either way.

3. The MS. inserts here: "But according to the reckoning of the East . . . of the departure of the Phoenix." This verse was interpolated by the Greek translator in the West. It may originally have been a Greek marginal gloss. See crit. note (p. 54).

4. The MS. inserts here: "When the people went forth after the exodus which was made by Moses to Amman across the Jordan." See crit. note. The Amman here mentioned appears, as Rönsch (*Z.f. W.T.* 1884, pp. 555, 556) points out, to be a town in the tribe of Gad. See

Onom. Sacr., ed. Lag., 88, 31: Amman quae nunc Filadelfia, urbs Arabiae nobilis, in qua habitaverunt olim Rafaim, gens antiqua; and 92, 2: Ammon trans Jordanem in tribu Gad. Haec est Amman de qua supra diximus, Philadelfi, civitas illustris Arabiae.

5. The MS. inserts: "In the prophecy which was made by Moses in the book Deuteronomy." See crit. note.

6. *Called to him Joshua the son of Nun.* These words are drawn from Deut. xxxi. 7.

Approved of the Lord. For phrase cf. Acts ii. 22; 2 Tim. ii. 15.

7. *Minister of the people.* See critical note on this verse (p. 56).

Tabernacle of the testimony. This is the *הַמִּטְעַן* *הַזֶּה* *מִן* *הַבְּרִית*, i.e. *אהל העדות*, as would appear from the words following: "with all its holy things." These holy things were the ark and the tables of testimony. Only for the addition of this clause the Hebrew might have been *אהל מועד* = "tent of meeting," where God spoke to Moses, Exod. xxxiii. 7-11, etc., and to Moses and Joshua in Deut. xxxi. 14-23. These two differing names of the tabernacle were derived from the two different purposes which it served.

holy things, 8. And that he might bring the people into the land given to their fathers, 9. That it should be given to them according to the covenant and the oath, which he spake in the tabernacle to give (it) by Joshua: saying to Joshua these words: 10. "(Be strong) and of a good courage according to thy might so as to do what has been commanded that thou mayst be blameless unto God." 11. So saith the Lord of the world. 12. For He hath

8. *And that he might bring the people*, etc. Deut. xxxi. 7; cf. also xxxi. 21.

9. *The covenant and the oath.* This is a favourite expression of the writer, cf. III. 9, XI. 17, XII. 13. We must restore it also in II. 7. See crit. note *in loc.* (pp. 62, 63).

Which He spake in the tabernacle, *i.e.* in Deut. xxxi. 14, 20, 23.

Saying to Joshua. These words are to be connected immediately with ver. 6: "He called to him Joshua . . . saying to Joshua." The intervening words are of the nature of a parenthesis.

10. *(Be strong) and of a good courage.* See crit. note (pp. 56, 57). These words go back immediately to Deut. xxxi. 7, from which also part of ver. 6 is derived.

Blameless unto God. See crit. note (pp. 57, 58). For the phrase cf. Deut. xviii. 13; 2 Sam. xxii. 24.

11. *So saith the Lord.* Moses here declares God to be the speaker of the words "Be strong," etc. In Josh. i. 7; Deut. xxxi. 23, they are addressed directly

to Joshua by God, but in Deut. xxxi. 6, 7 it is Moses that first uses them.

12. *Created the world on behalf of His people.* This is the prevalent view of Judaism from the first century of the Christian era onwards. Cf. 4 Ezra vi. 55, 59, vii. 11, and my note on Apoc. Bar. xiv. 18.

A still more limited view, *i.e.* that the world was created on behalf of the righteous in Israel, is expressed in Apoc. Bar. xiv. 19, xv. 7, xxi. 24. This conception reappears in the Shepherd of Hermas in a form adapted to its Christian environment. There it is the Christian Church to which the world owes its creation: *Vis.* ii. 4. 1, *διὰ ταυτήν* (= *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*) *ὁ κόσμος κατηρτίσθη*. Cf. also *Vis.* i. 1. 6, iv., v. The larger view, that the world was created on account of mankind, is found in Apoc. Bar. xiv. 18; 4 Ezra viii. 1, 44; Hermas Pastor, *Mand.* xii. 4, *ἐκτίσε τὸν κόσμον ἕνεκα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, and is the prevalent one in post-apostolic writers. Cf. Justin Mart. *Apol.*

created the world on behalf of His people. 13. But He was not pleased to manifest this purpose of creation from the foundation of the world, in order that the Gentiles might thereby be convicted, yea to their own humiliation might by (their) arguments convict one another. 14. Accordingly He designed

i. 10, ii. 4, 5; *Dial. c. Tryph.* 41; Irenaeus, v. 29. 1; Tertulian, *Adv. Marc.* i. 13; Origen, *Contra Cels.* iv. 23.

13. *Was not pleased.* (See crit. note, p. 58.) The sense of the verse appears to be: God was unwilling to reveal the fact that the world was created on behalf of Israel in order that the Gentiles might be put to a common shame in their reasonings on this subject. What man could not discover (*Eccles.* iii. 11, viii. 17), God revealed through Moses (*ver.* 14).

14. This verse is quoted by Gelasius of Cyzicum in his *Comment. Act. Syn. Nic.* ii. 18 (*Fabric. Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 845; Mansi, *Concil.* ii. p. 844): μέλλων ὁ προφήτης Μωσῆς ἐξίέναι τοῦ βίου, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν βιβλῳ Ἀναλήψεως Μωσέως, προσκαλεσάμενος Ἰησοῦν ἰδὼν Ναὴν καὶ διαλεγόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη· καὶ προσθεάσατό με ὁ Θεὸς πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου εἶναι με τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ μεσίτην.

Prepared me before the foundation of the world. Pre-existence is here ascribed to Moses, as it was also to the Son of Man in *Eth. En.* xliii. 2 (where see note). But about the beginning of the Christian era such pre-existence came to be regarded in

Alexandrian Judaism -- not as the prerogative of one or more favoured souls, but as the common characteristic of all souls. See *Slav. En.* xxiii. 5. This was the prevailing doctrine of later Judaism.

From the foundation of the world. See crit. note on I. 14 (pp. 58, 59).

Mediator. The word μεσίτης, of which arbiter is clearly a translation, is found only in later Greek (Polybius, Lucian, and once only in the LXX., *Job* ix. 33. This designation of Moses as a mediator does not occur in the O.T. or in the Apocrypha, though his mediatorial functions appear clearly in *Deut.* v. 2, 5; *Exod.* xx. 19. It was, however, a recognised title of his in the first century of the Christian era. This is clear — (1) From the present work, I. 14, III. 12. (2) From the N.T. *Gal.* iii. 18, 19, where Moses is said to be the mediator through whom came the law ὁ νόμος . . . διαταγείς . . . ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου. Again in *Heb.* viii. 6, ix. 15, xii. 24 there is an obvious allusion to this designation of Moses, where over against the O.T. legislator, Christ is described as a “Mediator of a new (or ‘better’) covenant.” (3) From

and devised me, and He prepared me before the foundation of the world, that I should be the mediator of His covenant. 15. And now I declare unto thee that the time of the years of my life is fulfilled and I am passing away to sleep with my fathers even in the presence of all the people. 16. And receive thou this writing that thou mayst know how to preserve the books which I shall deliver unto thee: 17. And thou shalt set these in order and anoint them with oil of cedar and put them away in earthen vessels in the place which He made from the beginning of the creation of the

Philo, *Vit. Moys.* iii. 19: *οὗτα μεσίτης καὶ διαλλάκτης*. (4) From the Talmud, where Moses is frequently spoken of as a mediator, i.e. as מְסִיחָה; see Levy, *Neuhebr. und Chald. Lex.* iii. 595, 596. See also Shem. rab. on Exod. iii. 13; Bamid. rab. xi. 3. See Schöttgen, *Hor.* pp. 738, 739; Wetstein, *N.T.* ii. p. 224.

15. *Sleep with my fathers.* Cf. III. 13; X. 12, 14; Deut. xxxi. 16. Moses makes no reference here to his Assumption. The words, "Even in the presence of all the people," if they are the true text, refer clearly to his bodily decease. These words disagree both with the account in Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6, according to which no man witnessed his death, and with the Greek fragments of the Assumption (see pp. 107-110), according to which Joshua and Caleb were witnesses, but none other. With this verse compare

Apoc. Bar. xliv. 2: "Behold I go unto my fathers according to the way of all the earth."

16. *This writing.* Cf. X. 11, XI. 1.

17. *Anoint them with oil of cedar.* The sacred heavenly books shown to Enoch (Slav. En. xxii. 12) are described as "fragrant with myrrh."

From the beginning of the creation of the world. See crit. note on I. 14 (p. 58, 59).

In the place, etc., i.e. Jerusalem. In Joma 54b, Sifre 76b, the world is said to have been created with Zion as a starting-point. See Weber, pp. 199, 63-65 (2nd ed.). In Ezek. xxxviii. 12, v. 5, Zion is said to be the centre of the earth: cf. Eth. En. xxvi. 1, xc. 26; Jubilees viii. Is there any reference here to "stone of foundation," אֶבֶן שִׁיבָא, mentioned in the Targ. Jon. on Exod. xxviii. 30?

world, 18. That His name should be called upon until the day of repentance in the visitation where-with the Lord shall visit them in the consummation of the end of the days.

II. (And now) they will go by means of thee into the land which He determined and promised

18. *Until the day of repentance.* The temple was thus expected to stand till the establishment of the theocratic kingdom. As Hilgenfeld remarks, no Jew could have so written after the destruction of the temple in 70 A.D. Still more impossible is the later date of Volkmar and Colani, which assigns this book to a time when Jerusalem was rebuilt as a Roman colony with a heathen temple and sacrifices, and no Jew was permitted to approach it. Cf. Justin, *Apol.* i. 47; Tert. *Adv. Jud.* 13; Schürer, *Div. I.* vol. ii. 294, 306-308, 315 sqq. (Eng. trans.).

The day of repentance. Taken in connection with the following words, this phrase refers to the great national repentance that was to precede the establishment of the Messianic or, as here, the theocratic kingdom. This national repentance was a precondition of the coming of the kingdom. "If Israel practises repentance, it will be redeemed; if not, it will not be redeemed," Sanh. 97b. This repentance was called also the great repentance. "Israel will not fulfil the great repentance before Elijah comes," Pirke de R. Eliezer, xliii. According to Mal. iv. 6 and Luke i. 16, 17,

this moral reformation was to be wrought by Elijah. So strongly were the Rabbins impressed with the value of this repentance, that in Pesikta 163b it is said: "If all Israel together repented for a single day, redemption through the Messiah would follow" (see Weber, 333, 334, 338, 1st ed.; 348, 353, 2nd ed.).

In the visitation, etc. The visitation here spoken of is one of mercy in relation to Israel. The word visit (*ἐπισκέπτεσθαι* = *קפ*) has generally in the O.T., and always in the N.T., a good sense. In the Apoc. Bar. and 4 Ezra it is almost always used in a bad sense of the penal visitation of God (see my note on Apoc. Bar. xx. 1). "The time of visitation" (*καιρὸς ἐπισκοπῆς*, Wisd. iii. 7) is the establishment of the kingdom; cf. Luke xix. 44.

Them. Israel.

In the consummation of the end of days. Similarly in the Apoc. Bar. xxvii. 15, xxix. 8, the Messianic time is denoted by the phrase "the consummation of the times." The same phrase is used also of the last judgment; see Apoc. Bar. xxx. 3.

II. 1. Cf. Deut. xxxi. 7, 21-23.

to give to their fathers, 2. In the which thou shalt bless and give to them individually and confirm unto them their inheritance in me and establish for them the kingdom, and thou shalt appoint them prefectures according to the good pleasure of their Lord in judgment and righteousness. 3. And (it will come to pass) in the sixth year after they enter into the land, that thereafter they shall be ruled by chiefs and kings for eighteen years, and during nineteen years the ten tribes will be apostates. 4. And the twelve tribes will go down

2. *Their inheritance in me.* This is a peculiar phrase, but Rönsch supports it by 2 Sam. xx. 1: "Neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse" (*Z.f.W.T.* 1869, p. 221); but his later suggestion on this passage is possibly better, in which he takes the Latin "in me" to be a corruption of "in eam." See crit. note on II. 2.

Appoint them prefectures. The text is obscure. See crit. note (p. 60). We might render also: "appoint them local magistrates." These might be the שָׂרִים mentioned in Deut. xvi. 18; 1 Chron. xxiii. 4, xxvi. 29.

3. *In the sixth year.* The conquest of Canaan occupied five years. Cf. Josh. xiv. 10; Joseph. *Ant.* v. 1. 19: ἔτος δὲ πέμπτον ἤδη παρεληλύθει καὶ Χανααίων οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς ὑπολείπειτο.

For eighteen years. Each year signifies a reign or ruler. The

"chiefs and kings" are the fifteen judges and the three kings, Saul, David, and Solomon.

And during nineteen years the ten tribes will be apostates. These are the nineteen kings of Israel from Jeroboam to Hoshea. In these two statements the writer anticipates for the moment the course of history. In the next verse he turns back to record the removal of the ark by David to Jerusalem.

4. *And the twelve tribes will go down, etc.* 2 Sam. vi. 1, 2, 17. See crit. note (p. 61).

The God of heaven. Cf. iv. 4, x. 3. This expression, which is found in Gen. xxiv. 7, was a favourite one amongst the post-exilic Jews, Ezra v. 11, vi. 9, 10, vii. 12, 21, 23; Dan. ii. 18, etc.

The God of heaven will make, etc. The building of the temple under Solomon is here referred to.

The court of His tabernacle. See crit. note (p. 62).

and transfer the tabernacle of the testimony. ⁴ Then the God of heaven will make the court of His tabernacle and the tower of His sanctuary, and the two holy tribes will be (there) established: 5. But the ten tribes will establish kingdoms for themselves according to their own ordinances. 6. And they will offer sacrifices throughout twenty years: 7. And seven will entrench the walls, and I will protect nine, but (four) will transgress the covenant of the Lord, and profane the oath which the Lord made with them. 8. And they will sacrifice their sons to strange gods, and they will set up idols in the sanctuary, to worship them. 9. And in the house of the Lord they will work impiety and

Tower of His sanctuary. See crit. note (p. 62).

And the two holy tribes, etc. Only two tribes will remain faithful to the temple so built. This calls for a reference to the action of the ten tribes, which is given in the text verse.

5. This statement relative to the ten tribes is really parenthetical. It was called out by the prediction that (only) the two tribes would preserve their allegiance to the temple.

6. The writer, after the parenthetical reference to the ten tribes in ver. 5, returns here to the history of the two.

Offer sacrifices throughout twenty years. The twenty years designate the twenty sovereigns of Judah from Rehoboam onwards, including Athaliah.

7. *Seven will entrench the walls,* i.e. seven kings will advance the strength and prosperity of Judah—Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, Ahaziah, Athaliah.

I will protect nine, i.e. nine kings will enjoy the divine protection—Joash, Amaziah, Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, Manasseh, Amon, Josiah.

(Four) will transgress, i.e. Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, Zedekiah.

Transgress . . . oath. See crit. note (pp. 62, 63).

8. *Sacrificed their sons,* etc. 2 Kings xvi. 3; Ps. cvi. 37, 38; Ezek. xvi. 20, xx. 26; Hos. xi. 2.

Set up idols in the sanctuary. Cf. Ezek. viii. 8–16.

9. This verse is clearly based

engrave every (form) of beast, (even) many abominations.

III. And in those days a king from the east will come against them and cover their land with (his) cavalry. 2. And he will burn their colony with fire together with the holy temple of the Lord, and he will carry away all the holy vessels. 3. And he will cast forth all the people, and he will take them to the land of his nativity, yea he will take the two tribes with him. 4. Then the two tribes will call upon the ten tribes, and will be indignant as a lioness on the dusty plains, being hungry and thirsty. 5. And they will cry aloud: "Righteous

on Ezek. viii. 9, 10. Thus "in the house of the Lord they will work impiety," is derived from viii. 9, and the remaining words from viii. 10. See crit. note for the restoration of the text.

III. 1. *A king from the east.* Nebuchadnezzar, 588–586 B.C.

2. *Colony.* This word is due either to the Greek or Latin translator, and points to the fact that when the translation was made Jerusalem had been rebuilt by Hadrian as a Roman colony under the name Aelia Capitolina. See also V. 6, VI. 9. The original may have used "city" or "place"; cf. IV. 7.

All the holy vessels. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. According to Dan. i. 2, part of these had been carried away in the reign of Jehoiakim; cf. Jer. xxvii. 19, 20. A tradition current in the first century of our era recounts

that on the destruction of Solomon's temple the holy vessels were concealed by angels (Apoc. Bar. vi.) or by Jeremiah (2 Macc. ii. 4–8) in order to preserve them for the future Messianic kingdom. See also Bammidbar rab, 15. The writer of this book was not apparently acquainted with this tradition.

3, 4. *Will be indignant.* See crit. note (pp. 64, 65). *Hungry and thirsty.* Cf. Apoc. Bar. lxxvii. 14.

5. *Righteous and holy is the Lord.* Ps. cxlv. 17, *δικαίος κύριος . . . καὶ ὁσιος*, and Vulgate, *justus Dominus et sanctus*. Pss. Sol. x. 6; Dan. ix. 14.

Righteous . . . is the Lord, for inasmuch as, etc. Cf. Apoc. Bar. lxxvii. 3, 4. Both here and in the Apoc. Bar. the calamities of Judah are said to be due to the wickedness of Israel. In the

and holy is the Lord, for, inasmuch as ye have sinned, we too, in like manner, have been carried away with you, together with our children." 6. Then the ten tribes will mourn on hearing the reproaches of the two tribes, 7. And they will say: "What have we done unto you, brethren? Surely this tribulation has not come on all the house of Israel?" 8. And all the tribes will mourn crying unto heaven and saying: 9. "God of Abraham God of Isaac and God of Jacob, remember Thy covenant which Thou didst make with them, and the oath which Thou didst swear unto them by Thyself, that their seed should never fail in the land which Thou hast given them." 10. Then

latter book, however, lxxvii. 10, Jer. xi. 17, Dan. ix. 7, and the Apocryphal Bar. ii. 26, these are attributed to the wickedness of both Israel and Judah.

Together with our children. These words are found at the end of ver. 4 in the MS., but there they are impossible. See crit. note (p. 65).

7. Baldensperger (*Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, p. 30, note) thinks that if we could admit the date of the book to be after 70 A.D. the word "tribulation" here might hint also at a recently experienced calamity.

8. *Unto heaven.* Heaven seems here to be used as equivalent to God. This usage appears first in Dan. iv. 23. It is frequent later. Cf. Matt. v. 34.

9. *The oath . . . that their*

seed should never fail in the land. Gen. xvii. 8; cf. for phraseology Pss. Sol. xvii. 5: *σὺ ὤμοσας αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ μὴ ἐκλείπειν . . . βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ*; also Test. XII. Patriar., Jud. 22.

10-13. These verses are either the source of Apoc. Bar. lxxxiv. 2-5, or both passages are derived from a common original. The passage in Baruch is: 2. "*Remember that formerly Moses assuredly called heaven and earth to witness against you, and said: 'If ye transgress the law, ye shall be dispersed; but if ye keep it, ye shall be kept.'*" 3. And other things he used to say unto you when ye, the twelve tribes, were together *in the desert*. 4. And *after his death ye cast them away from you: on this account there*

they will remember me, saying, in that day, tribe unto tribe and each man unto his neighbour: 11. "Is not this that which Moses did then declare unto us in prophecies, who suffered many things in Egypt and in the Red Sea and in the wilderness during forty years: 12. And assuredly called heaven and earth to witness against us, that we should not transgress His commandments, in the which he was a mediator unto us? 13. Behold these things have befallen us after his death according to his words and according to his declaration, as he declared to us at that time, yea behold these have taken place even to our being carried away captive into the country of the east." 14.

came upon you what had been predicted. 5. *And now Moses used to tell you before they befell you, and lo! they have befallen you.*" I have italicised the portions which are undoubtedly of close kin. Cf. Dan. ix. 11-13.

11. *In Egypt and in the Red Sea and the wilderness forty years.* These words are found exactly as they stand here, and likewise in reference to Moses in Stephen's speech in Acts vii. 36: οὗτος ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς, ποιήσας τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ ἐν Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα. The fact of their having a partial parallel in Apoc. Bar. lxxxiv. 3 (see above) seems to preclude the possibility of their being an interpolation here.

12. *Assuredly called heaven*

and earth to witness. See crit. note (pp. 66, 67). Deut. iv. 26, xxx. 19, xxxi. 28; Apoc. Bar. xix. 1, lxxxiv. 2.

Mediator. See I. 14, note.

That we should not transgress His commandments. Apoc. Bar. lxxxiv. 2.

13. *And behold these things.* See crit. note (p. 67).

After his death. See crit. note (p. 67). *Yea behold, etc.* See crit. note.

Into the country of the east. See crit. note.

14. *Seventy and seven years.* This refers back, no doubt, to Jeremiah's prophecy of seventy years' captivity, Jer. xxv. 11, 12, xxix. 10. This prophecy is referred to in Dan. ix. 2, and interpreted in ix. 24 to mean seventy weeks of years. How

Who will be also in bondage for about seventy and seven years.

IV. Then there will enter one who is over them, and he will spread forth his hands, and kneel upon his knees and pray on their behalf saying: 2. "Lord of all, King on the lofty throne, who rulest the world, and didst will that this people should be Thine elect people, then (indeed) Thou didst will that Thou shouldst be called their God, according to the covenant which Thou didst make with their fathers. 3. And yet they have gone in captivity into another land with their wives and their children, and around the gates of strange peoples and where there is great vanity. 4. Regard and have compassion on them, O Lord of heaven." 5. Then God will remember them on account of the covenant which He made with their fathers, and

the limits of this period are to be determined, it has hitherto been impossible to define. That the same impossibility attaches to the present time-determination is therefore not strange. If seventy-seven years be taken as weeks of years (as in Daniel), the total is 539 years. This subtracted from 588, when Jerusalem was destroyed, gives 49 B.C. But this is not intelligible. Merx thinks there is a play on the words seventy-seven in the Semitic. See crit. note. Can seventy and seven signify here an indefinite number, as it actually does in

the O. and N.T. (cf. Gen. iv. 24; Mt. xviii. 22).

IV. 1. *One, i.e.* Daniel; cf. Dan. ix. 4-19.

2. *Rulest the world.* See xi. 17, note.

Thine elect people. Cf. Isa. xlii. 1, xliii. 20, lxxv. 15, etc.

2, 3. Observe the contrast existing between Israel's reasonable expectations and their actual lot—God's chosen covenanted people the slave of an idolatrous human power.

3. *Vanity, i.e.* idolatry. See crit. note (pp. 68, 69).

4. Cf. Dan. ix. 18, 19; Apoc. Bar. xlviii. 18.

He will manifest His compassion in those times also. 6. And He will put it into the mind of a king to have compassion on them, and he will send them off to their land and country. 7. Then some portions of the tribes will go up and they will come to their appointed place, and they will entrench the place renewing (it). 8. And the two tribes will continue in their prescribed faith, sad and

6. *A king, i.e.* Cyrus ; cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23 ; Ezra i. 1-4.

8. *Lamenting because they will not be able to offer sacrifices*, etc. Worship in the second temple during the Persian period and later was discredited by several writers in different centuries and no doubt on different grounds. Thus Malachi (i. 7) writes: "ye offer polluted bread upon Mine altar." Next, in the Eth. En. lxxxix. 73 the sacrifices are declared to be unclean under the symbolical words: "all the bread on it was polluted and not pure." Our next reference to the low estimation in which the worship of the second temple was held is found in the Apoc. Bar. lxviii. 5, 6: "And at that time, after a little interval, Zion will again be builded, and its offerings will again be restored ; and the priests will return to their ministry, and again the Gentiles will come to glorify it. Nevertheless, not as fully as in the beginning." The passages from Malachi and the Eth. En. seem to arraign only the imperfect character of the victims, and

the spirit of those that offer them. That in the Apoc. Bar. may not amount to anything more than a reflection on the lesser glory of the second temple as compared with that of the first, such as we find in Hag. ii. 3: "Who is left among you that saw this house in its former glory? and how do ye see it now?" Cf. also Ezra iii. 12.

But the passage in our text seems to go deeper. It implies an imperfection attaching to the validity of the entire temple service. There is, indeed, no objection to sacrifice as such in this book ; hence no Essenic tenet is to be sought for here. The writer's views may possibly be explained on the ground that he regarded it as impossible for Israel to render perfect worship so long as they were subject to heathen powers. From these powers God alone could deliver them. They were not, as we gather from IX., to attempt this task themselves. God Himself would achieve it for them when they duly repented, I. 17. The writer is a Pharisaic quietist.

lamenting because they will not be able to offer sacrifices to the Lord of their fathers. 9. And the ten tribes will increase and multiply among the Gentiles during the time of their captivity.

V. And when the times of chastisement draw nigh and vengeance arises through the kings who share in their guilt and punish them, 2. They themselves also will be divided as to the truth. 3. Wherefore it hath come to pass: "They will

9. *Multiply among the Gentiles during the time of their captivity.* See crit. note (pp. 70, 71) for the grounds for this emendation, and for the passages from contemporary writers supporting the present statement.

V. 1. *Vengeance arises through the kings who share in their guilt.* The writer shows that there was a special Nemesis in the instruments of their chastisement; for the very people, whose manners and customs they were so eager to adopt to the destruction of Hebrew religion and character, became in due course the actual means through which a righteous vengeance overtook them. We find the same thought expressed in reference to the Hellenising priests of Jason's time in 2 Macc. iv. 16: "By reason whereof sore calamity came upon them; for they had them to be their enemies and avengers whose customs they followed so eagerly, and unto whom they desired to be like in all things" (ὡν ἐξήλουν τὰς ἀγωγὰς καὶ καθάπαν ἤθελον ἐξομοιοῦσθαι, τοὺτους πολεμίους καὶ τιμωρητὰς ἔσχον).

Here as in our text the writer regards the persecution under the Seleucidae, especially Antiochus, as a judgment on the Hellenising and apostasies of the leaders of the nation.

2. *They . . . will be divided as to the truth.* The enormities of the Sadducean priesthood promoted in the way of reaction a religious awakening among the scribes, and gave birth to what was later known as the Pharisaic party. The origin of this party is symbolically described in the Eth. En. xc. 6, 7 as taking place at this time. (See my edition *in loc.*) Schmidt-Merx wrongly describe these two parties as the war party of the Maccabeans and the stricter Chasids. Hilgenfeld strangely interprets these words as referring to the dispersion (διασπορά) under the Seleucids, and the preceding verse to the Persian kings. The two verses refer to the period of the Seleucid domination. There is no question of the Maccabees as yet.

3. It is impossible to trace this quotation, but portions of it

turn aside from righteousness and approach iniquity, and they will defile with pollutions the house of their worship," and "they will go a whoring after strange gods." 4. For they will not follow the

—at least their phraseology—may be found in the O.T. For "turn aside from righteousness," cf. Ezek. iii. 20; for "they will defile . . . the house of their worship," cf. Ezek. xlv. 7: "Ye have brought in aliens . . . to be in My sanctuary, to profane it, even My house"; Zeph. iii. 4: "her priests have profaned the sanctuary"; see also Pss. Sol. i. 9, where of the Jewish priesthood it is said: *ἐβεβήλωσαν τὰ ἅγια κυρίου ἐν βεβηλώσει*, and viii. 26: *ἐμίαναν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ τὰ ἡγιασμένα τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ*. The clause "will go a whoring after strange gods" is found in Deut. xxxi. 16.

3, 4. All previous writers have, I believe, wrongly interpreted these verses. They have taken them as referring to the early Maccabean high priests and their Sadducean supporters. But there are certain statements here which make such an interpretation impossible. i. The words "will go a whoring after strange gods" cannot possibly be applied to the Maccabean high priests, 160-103. ii. In no case could the latter be described as those "who are no priests." No such charge is brought against them in all Jewish literature, whereas they are everywhere acknowledged to be of true priestly descent; see 1 Macc. ii. 1-5; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 6. 1. They were

sprung from Joiarib or Jehoiarib who returned from the Captivity, 1 Macc. ii. 1; 1 Chron. ix. 10; Neh. xi. 10, xii. 6, 19. iii. Finally, in vi. 2 of this book the statement that the Maccabees should be succeeded by one who was "not of the race of the priests," *i.e.* Herod, shows that the writer regarded the Maccabees as being of priestly descent.

But the very facts that make against the application of these verses to the Maccabees make it clear that they can only be rightly explained as descriptive of the high priests who held office previous to the Maccabees, together with their Sadducean following. i. There was every ground for charging the paganising high priests Jason and Menelaus with "going a whoring after strange gods." Thus, not to dwell upon the contribution Jason sent to Tyre to be expended in a sacrifice to Hercules in that city, 2 Macc. iv. 19, 20, he set up a palaestra under the citadel, in which the young nobles of Jerusalem practised the Greek games, and even the priests, forsaking their service at the altar to do so. This Jason also, called in 2 Macc. iv. 13 "that ungodly wretch, and no high priest," encouraged "Greek fashions" and "heathen manners," "put down the institutions that were according to law, and brought up new

truth of God, but some will pollute the altar with the very gifts which they offer to the Lord, who

customs against the law," 2 Macc. iv. 11. Jason is finally declared in 2 Macc. v. 8 to be "hated as a forsaker of the laws, and being had in abomination as an open enemy of his country and countrymen." The above facts will amply account for such words also as "they will approach iniquity, and they will defile with pollutions the house of their worship," in ver. 3, and "some will pollute the altar with the very gifts which they offer," in ver. 4. For similar charges against the priesthood, cf. the quotations given on ver. 3.

ii. But the words conclusive for our interpretation are: "some . . . who are not priests but slaves, sons of slaves." We have shown above that the clause "who are not priests" cannot in any case be referred to the Maccabees. We have now to show that it applies to the Hellenising high priests under Antiochus Epiphanes. Amongst these we have undoubtedly in Menelaus a high priest who was not of priestly extraction at all, but was of the tribe of Benjamin. In 2 Macc. iv. 23 he is called the brother of Simon. This Simon, a *Benjamite*, was a Hellenising governor of the temple, 2 Macc. iii. 4. Josephus represents Menelaus as a brother of Onias III., *Ant.* xii. 4. 10, 5. 1; but wrongly, as is universally admitted. This illegitimate appointment was exactly in keeping with the policy of

Antiochus. It was his aim, not only to outrage the Jewish Law, but to procure its entire abolition. Although this is the only authenticated instance of the high priesthood being held by one who was not of priestly descent, Grimm and other scholars are right in concluding that the occurrence of similar irregularities in appointments to the high priesthood is implied in 1 Macc. vii. 14. There the Asidaeans declare, on the appointment of Alkimus to the high priesthood, that they could suffer nothing at the hands of the army which was marching against them, because "one that is a priest of the seed of Aaron is come with the army."

Slaves, sons of slaves. These words have been referred to the Maccabean high priests; and the passage in Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 10. 5, has been quoted in support of this view, where, at a banquet given by Hyrcanus, a Pharisee named Eleazar requested Hyrcanus to lay down the high priesthood, on the ground that his mother had been a captive during the reign of Antiochus. This statement, which Josephus declares to be false, is repeated in the Talmud. But, (1) as we have already seen in the preceding notes, there can be no reference here to the Maccabean high priests; and (2) the first reference to them is found in vi. 1. If v. 4 already referred to the Maccabean high priests, we should not find in vi. 1 the

are not priests but slaves, sons of slaves. 5. And many in those times will respect the persons of the rich and receive gifts, and wrest judgment [on receiving presents]. 6. And on this account the

special record that the Maccabees called themselves high priests of God. The phrase "slaves, sons of slaves," then, is to be interpreted, not of the Maccabees, but of their predecessors. In this regard it is full of significance, and points to the condition of complete degradation in which the holders of this office stood under Antiochus; for they were the nominees and absolute tools of that despot, being made and unmade by him at pleasure. Thus Onias III. was deposed to make room for Jason, and Jason in turn to make room for Menelaus, 2 Macc. iv. 7-9, 23-29.

5. *And many in those times.* The Latin text here is, qui enim magistri sunt doctores eorum illis temporibus. In the crit. note (pp. 72, 73) I have shown that doctores eorum is an incorrect marginal gloss in the Hebrew MS. on the preceding words והרבים, which are here wrongly rendered by qui enim magistri sunt. These "many" were the Sadducean party who supported the Hellenising high priests. Probably the reference may be more specific, and the "many" may signify the large Hellenising Sadducean majority in the Sanhedrim in Jerusalem. The Sanhedrim was the chief court for the administration of civil and criminal justice. See p. 26.

Respect the persons of the rich. See crit. note (p. 73).

Deut. xvi. 19 is the source of this and the two following clauses: "Thou shalt not wrest judgment; thou shalt not respect persons; neither shalt thou take a gift."

Receive gifts and . . . wrest judgment. See preceding note; also crit. note (p. 73).

[*On receiving presents*]. I have bracketed this phrase as a dittography. See crit. note (pp. 73, 74), where I have shown that, if it is genuine, as it may be, we should probably be right in regarding accipientes munera in the preceding line as = δωροληπτοῦντες = בוצעים בצע = greedy of gain (cf. Prov. xv. 27), and accordingly render the whole verse: "And many in those times will respect the persons of the rich, and be greedy of gain, and wrest judgment on receiving presents." In this case 1 Sam. viii. 3 was clearly before the mind of the writer: "And his sons walked not in his ways, but *turned aside after lucre, and took bribes, and perverted judgment.*"

5, 6. *Will forsake the Lord.* See crit. note (p. 74).

Will be ready to judge for money, etc. See crit. note (p. 75). Cf. Isa. v. 23.

VIII. IX. The persecution of the Jews under Antiochus; the breach between the Chasids and the early Maccabees, and the resumption by the former of

colony and the borders of their habitation will be filled with lawless deeds and iniquities: they will forsake the Lord: they will be impious judges: they will be ready to judge for money as each may wish.

VI. Then there will be raised up unto them

their quietistic attitude. These chapters should be read immediately after V., where they belonged originally. For the grounds for this conclusion see notes *in loc.*

VI. 1. *Kings bearing rule, and they will call themselves high priests.* See crit. note. Previous scholars have referred these words to Antigonus' assumption of the title of king in 104 B.C. It is true, no doubt, that Antigonus was the first to do so; but, on the following grounds, it seems clear that the line of kings mentioned in the text begins, not with Antigonus, but with Jonathan or Judas. For (1) the name "king" is used loosely in this book: it does not necessarily mean anything more than commander or prince. Thus the Roman general Varus is called "a powerful king" in vi. 8. Hence this title could be used even of Judas, who was the *de facto* ruler of the Jews; and on still better grounds of Jonathan, who was invested by Alexander Balas of Syria with princely rank through the symbols of the purple robe and diadem in 153; and on the most adequate grounds of Simon, who was the first independent Maccabean ruler of his nation. (2)

Now, according to the text, *their assumption of the high priesthood is regarded as subsequent to their assumption of the office of supreme military and civil rulers of the nation.* Hence, as the office of high priest was usurped as early as 153 B.C. by Jonathan, and this usurpation made legitimate, and the office declared to be hereditary in the Maccabean line in 141 B.C. by a council of the nation (1 Macc. xiv. 41), the words "*kings bearing rule*" must be referred to the Maccabean rulers previous, at all events, to 141 B.C. Hence this verse (vi. 1) embraces the entire Maccabean dynasty from Judas, 165 B.C., to Antigonus, 37 B.C., who was succeeded by Herod.

High priests of God. The Latin, which is here *sacerdotes summi Dei*, "priests of the Most High God," I have, in my critical text, necessarily emended into *summos sacerdotes Dei* (see crit. note, p. 75); for (1) such a title would be unparalleled in connection with the Maccabees. In 1 and 2 Macc., and in the *Antiquities* and *Jewish Wars* of Josephus, they are simply described in their sacred character as "high priests," or "high priests of the nation." (2) The

Kings bearing rule, and they will call themselves high priests of God: they will assuredly work iniquity in the holy of holies. 2. And an insolent king will succeed them, who will not be of the race of the priests, a man bold and shameless, and he will judge them as they shall deserve. 3.

Jewish high priesthood was never, so far as I can discover, called a priesthood of the Most High God. (3) Again, if the divine title were here "the Most High," we should find, according to universal Biblical usage, *Dei summi* or *altissimi* or *excelsi* (cf. Gen. xiv. 18, 19, 20, 22; Ps. lvii. 2, lxxviii. 56; Dan. iii. 26, v. 18, 21; Mark v. 7; Luke viii. 28; Heb. vii. 1), and not *summi Dei*. (4) *Summi sacerdotes* is in many instances a Vulg. rendering of ἀρχιερεῖς (cf. Mark xiv. 47, 53, 54, 60, 61, 63, 66; Acts xxiii. 4). (5) The phrase "the high priest of God" is found in Acts xxiii. 4.

The Maccabees had no wish to differentiate themselves from the high priests that preceded them. Their claim to this office, so far as they had any, rested on their Aaronic descent.

Will assuredly work iniquity. On this Hebraism see crit. note.

2. This verse refers to Herod the Great, who reigned from 37 to 4 B.C. He could not assume the high priest's office, as he was not even a full-born Jew, much less of priestly descent. Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 15. 2, calls him ἡμιουδαῖος.

Not of the race of the priests. Herod was the son of Antipater

of Idumea, and not of Jewish descent, according to Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 1. 3; *Bell.* i. 6. 2. Our text does not go so far. Its silence seems to concede the Jewish origin of Antipater, and thus to agree with the statement of Nicolas of Damascus to that effect (*Ant.* xiv. 1. 3). See Schürer, I. i. 314, 315, notes.

Judge them as they deserve. The persons here declared to be deserving of punishment may be (a) the surviving members of the Maccabean family, all of whom were ultimately cut off by Herod; (b) the Sadducean aristocracy forty-five of whom he had executed on becoming king (*Ant.* xv. 1. 2; *Bell.* i. 18. 4). To the Pharisees, on the other hand, Herod was on the whole favourable. Even when they refused to take the oath of allegiance, they were spared at the intercession of Pollio and Sameas. The Essenes were also excused, but not the rest of the people. See *Ant.* xv. 10. 4. (c) Or else the nation at large, as in VI. 1. We should observe that VI. 4, 5 support the last interpretation.

3. *Cut off their chief men, i.e.* the Sadducean nobles. See preceding note.

Destroy (them) in secret places. Murders of this secret sort are

And he will cut off their chief men with the sword, and will destroy (them) in secret places, so that no one may know where their bodies are. 4. He will slay the old and the young, and he will not spare. 5. Then the fear of him will be bitter unto them in their land. 6. And he will execute judgments on them as the Egyptians executed upon them, during thirty and four years, and he will punish them. 7. And he will beget children, who succeeding him will rule for shorter periods. 8.

reported in Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 10. 4: πολλοί τε καὶ φανερώς καὶ λεληθότως εἰς τὸ φρούριον ἀναγόμενοι, τὴν Ἑρκανίαν, ἐκεῖ διεφθείροντο.

4. Perhaps, as Hilgenfeld and Volkmair suggest, we should omit the *et* before *non* and translate: "He will slay the old, and the young he will not spare." Cf. Jer. li. 3.

5. Cf. for phraseology 2 Macc. vi. 3.

6. *Thirty and four years.* Herod reigned thirty-four years after the death of Antigonos, and thirty-seven after he had been declared king by the Romans. Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 8. 1; *Bell.* i. 33. 8.

7. *Children who . . . will rule for shorter periods.* See crit. note. Although there is some corruption in the text, there is no difficulty as to the sense. Herod's sons, it states, are to reign for shorter periods than their father. Now this was true of Archelaus alone; for Antipas reigned forty-three

years, and Philip thirty-seven. From these facts we must conclude that, as Herod died 4 B.C., this book must have been written earlier, at all events, than 30 A.D. Reuss, on the other hand (*Die Geschichte der h. Schriften A.T.*, 1890, pp. 738-740), does not agree that these words necessarily determine the date. Philip and Antipas did indeed reign longer than their father, but our author, he urges, was thinking only of Archelaus and Agrippa, "die allein für einen Jerusalem Interesse hatten." In this view Reuss is followed by Rosenthal and Baldensperger.

8. *Into their parts, cohorts, etc.* See crit. note.

A powerful king. Varus, governor of Syria, who suppressed a rebellion of the Jews against the Roman authority in 4 B.C. See Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 10. 9, 10, 11. 1; *Bell.* ii. 5. 1-3.

Burn a part of their temple. The temple was set fire to, not by Varus, but by the soldiers

Into their parts cohorts and a powerful king of the west will come, who will conquer them: 9. And he will take them captive, and burn a part of their temple with fire, (and) will crucify some around their colony.

VII. And when this is done the times will be ended, in a moment the (second) course will be (ended), the four hours will come. 2. They will be forced 3. And, in the time of

under his lieutenant Sabinus. See Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 10. 2; *Bell.* ii. 3. 3. The injuries done to the temple on this occasion were not made good till as late as Nero's reign, though 18,000 men were employed in the restoration. See *Ant.* xx. 9. 7.

Will crucify some, etc. 2000 were crucified by Varus (*Ant.* xvii. 10. 10).

VII. 1. *And when this is done the times will be ended.* With these words the actual history recounted by our author, as Ewald, Wieseler, Dillmann, and Schürer have recognised, comes to a close. We have arrived at the date at which he is writing. Up to this point his historical allusions have been easy to interpret. A series of predictions follow, couched by their author in enigmatical symbols to begin with, and afterwards corrupted by translators or transcribers beyond the possibility of restoration.

2. It is worse than idle to attempt to deal with this verse till we know something about its actual wording. On the for-

lorn attempts made to restore it, by Hilgenfeld, Volkmar, Merx, Colani, and Wieseler, see crit. note (pp. 77, 78).

3-10. Who were the persons aimed at by the writer? They are evidently contemporaries. The picture is drawn from life. And yet there is the greatest diversity of opinion among scholars as to the class designed by the writer. They have been taken to be—(i.) *The Herodian princes*, by Hilgenfeld, *Mess. Jud.* 464, 465. But there are many objections to this identification.

(ii.) *The Pharisees*, (a) in the first decade after Herod's death, by Ewald, *History of Israel*, v. 367, note 5 (Eng. tr.), Drummond, Dillmann, Schürer, II. iii. 79, 80; (b) between 54-64 A.D., by Schmidt-Merx (Merx, *Archiv. f. Wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A.T.*, vol. i. p. 121, 1868). Though certain traits in these verses seem to favour this view, the prevailing tone of the entire passage makes it impossible. The persons here arraigned are unblushing Epicureans, gluttonous men and

these, scornful and impious men will rule, saying

winebibbers. Now, although nearly every other vice has been laid to the charge of the Pharisees, even their worst enemies have not accused them of *open* gluttony and drunkenness. Indeed, the Pharisees were decidedly ascetic in character, according to the testimony of Josephus; "the Pharisees," he writes, "make little of the pleasures of the table, and do not surrender themselves to the comforts of the body" (*Ant.* xviii. 1. 3: οἱ τε γὰρ Φαρισαῖοι τὴν διαίταν ἐξευτελίζουσιν, οὐδὲν εἰς τὸ μαλακώτερον ἐνδιδόντες. In Matt. xxiii. 25, indeed, they are accused of *secret* profligacy, "but within they are full from extortion and excess" (ἐξ ἀπραγῆς καὶ ἀκρασίας).

But this ascetic tone was not universally characteristic of the Pharisees after 70 A.D. Hence this objection will not tell against the views of Philippi (*Das Buch Henoch*, p. 176) and Colani (*Revue de Theol.* 1868, 2nd part, pp. 73-79), who interpret the passage as referring to the Pharisees in the earlier half of the second century. Colani, in particular, identifies the class assailed in the text with the Jewish doctors at Jabne and Usha. At the head of the Sanhedrim at these places was a president (= Nasi), who lived in princely luxury, and enjoyed immense authority over the Jews of the Dispersion. Such phrases, he urges, as "we shall be as princes," "we shall have feastings and luxury," would apply to him and his; likewise "do not

touch me," etc., in their relation to "the people of the land." He points out, further, that the words *dicentes se hæc facere propter misericordiam* are to be explained by a decree of the Sanhedrim in that period, which forbade a man to give more than $\frac{1}{3}$ th of his fortune to the poor. Colani's views are decidedly ingenious, and might win our assent if he could likewise convince us of the late date he assigns to the book, *i.e.* after 136 A.D. But that a Jew, writing the history of his people in its main outlines, should omit all mention of the final and completed destruction of Jerusalem under Titus, and pass on at a bound to the national troubles which were consummated by the erection of Aelia Capitolina on the sacred site of Jerusalem, is indeed simply impossible. But this date of Colani is dealt with elsewhere.

(iii.) *The Pharisees and the Sadducees*, (a) in 4 B.C.-6 A.D. This view was first advocated by Wieseler (*Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.* 1868, pp. 642, 643), who referred vers. 3, 4 to the latter, and 6-10 to the former. (b) Soon after the fall of Jerusalem, 70 A.D. This view is urged by Rosenthal (*Vier Apocryph. Bücher*, 1885, pp. 20, 21, 25-30), who follows Wieseler in attributing vers. 3, 4 to the Sadducees, and 6-10 to the Pharisees. But this two-fold interpretation is just as untenable as those that precede. The attempt to assign vers. 3, 4 to one class, and 6-10 to another, can only proceed from a super-

ficial study of the passage ; for if the persons denounced in ver. 4 are charged with gluttony, this is no less true in 8 ; if in 3 they are said to hold high office, they do so also in 8 ; if in 3 they proclaim their justice, in 10 they assert their purity ; if in 3 and 4 they are declared to be "deceitful," "impious," "treacherous," in 6-10 they are denounced as "deceitful," "impious," "filled with lawlessness."

We have therefore one and the same class of persons to deal with in the entire passage, and these are not Pharisees prior to to 70 A.D., as we have already seen under ii. (b). But, according to Rosenthal, the classes designed in vers. 6-10 are the Pharisees, 70-90 A.D., *i.e.* R. Jochanan ben Sakkai and his companions and pupils, who forsook Jerusalem during the siege and established themselves at Jabne. That a small body of learned men, whose main pursuit was the study and application of the law, who alone in the time of universal prostration held on high the standard of national hope and faith, could be so described by any thoughtful and learned Jew of that period (a Zealot, as Rosenthal supposes), this is, I confess, simply incredible. Besides, there is not a shred of evidence to show that the rabbis of Jabne (70-90) could with the faintest approach to truth be described as gluttons, drunkards, traitors, hypocrites, and murderers. Other arguments, on the ground of chronology, etc., might be advanced against the hypothesis of Rosenthal, but no more are needed.

(iv.) *The Roman procurators*, by Baldensperger (*Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, 1888, p. 31). This is a very attractive interpretation, and several of the charges made in the text, such as those of gluttony, drunkenness, and murder, could be amply substantiated against the Roman governors. On the other hand, there are phrases that cannot with any propriety be applied to them ; *i.e.* "do not touch me, lest thou shouldst pollute me" (ver. 10), and "concealing themselves lest they should be recognised."

(v.) *The Sadducees*, (a) in the time of Nerva and Trajan, by Volkmar (p. 105). This view may be at once dismissed. The Sadducees were nobodies at this period. (b) Between 15-70 A.D. This is my own view. It is likewise advocated by Lucius (*Der Essenismus*, 1881, pp. 116-119) and by Geiger (*Jüdische Zeitschrift*, 1868, pp. 45, 46), though they assign no date to the book. The latter adduces such phrases as *regnabunt de his homines pestilentiosi*, and *tanquam principes erimus*. In *dicentes se esse justos*, he points to the play on the words זריקים and זרקים. These Sadduqim or Sadducees cover themselves with the mantle of priestly holiness. They emphasise their special priestly purity, and keep the people afar from them. In the notes that follow, this passage will be dealt with verse by verse, and the chief charges which it brings against the Sadducees justified by parallels from the Psalms of Solomon. I quote from Ryle and James's edition.

that they are just. 4. And these will conceal the wrath of their minds, being treacherous men, self-

It will be sufficient to premise here that from the deposition of Archelaus in 6 till 70 A.D. the government of Judea lay practically in the hands of the Sanhedrim, which was almost wholly Sadducean. Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 10, describes the form of government as aristocratic, as opposed to the monarchical rule of Herod and Archelaus (see Schürer, I. ii. 72). His words are : μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων τελευτήν, ἀριστοκρατία μὲν ἦν ἡ πολιτεία, τὴν δὲ προστασίαν τοῦ ἔθνους οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐπεπίστευντο. The high priests were but too often the willing tools of the Roman governors. Every abuse in the government would naturally be traced to those who were the actual though not nominal government.

3. *And in the time of these.* I am here supposing that *de his* is a rendering of ἐπὶ τούτων. It may, however, be a rendering of ἐκ τούτων.

Scornful. We have here an instructive instance which illustrates the necessity of translating, not the Greek or Latin before us, but the Greek or Hebrew which it presupposes. The Latin is homines pestilentiosi = ἄνθρωποι λοιμοί = רָעִים וְשָׂרִיס. This Hebrew phrase is found in Prov. xxix. 8; Is. xxviii. 14; and the Greek in 1 Macc. x. 61. λοιμός is a frequent rendering of רָע. Cf. Ps. i. 1; Prov. xix. 25, xxi. 24, xxii. 10, xxiv. 9.

The ὑπερηφανία ascribed to the Sadducees in the Pss. Sol.

is nearly related to the scorn spoken of in the text; cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 1, 35, iv. 28.

Impious. A natural description of the Sadducees from the standpoint of a Pharisee. It could not, however, be used of a Pharisee.

Will rule. Cf. ver. 8: "we shall be as princes." We have shown in the preceding column that the government of Judea was practically an aristocracy from 6-70 A.D. This aristocracy ruled through the Sanhedrim, which was mainly composed of Sadducees. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 1: ἵνα τὶ σὺ κἀθῇσαι, βέβηλε, ἐν συνεδρίῳ.

Dicentes se esse justos. Geiger has rightly recognised here a play on the words צַדִּיקִים, "Sadducees," and צַדִּיקִים, "righteous."

4. *Conceal the wrath, etc.* See crit. note. Text reads "rouse the wrath," etc.

Treacherous, i.e. δόλιοι. The Sadducees are so described in Pss. Sol. iv. 27: ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων δολίων καὶ ἀμαρτωλῶν.

Self-pleasers. So the Latin sibi placentes. We should probably read "pleasers of the mighty." See crit. note. We should then have in some measure a parallel to the designation so frequently applied to the Sadducees in Pss. Sol. iv., ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι. "Pleasers of the mighty" would best be applied to the Sadducees owing to their subservient attitude to Rome and her Roman governors.

Dissemblers. The text gives ficti, which may be = ὑποκριθέν-

pleasers, dissemblers in all their own affairs and lovers of banquets at every hour of the day, gluttons, gourmands 5. . . . 6. Devourers of the goods of the poor saying that they do so on the ground of their justice, but (in reality) to destroy them, complainers, deceitful, concealing themselves lest they should be recognised, impious, filled with lawlessness and iniquity from sunrise to sunset:

τες; cf. 2 Macc. v. 25, vi. 21, 24, or else = πλαστοί. In Pss. Sol. iv. 7 the Sadducees are spoken of as living ἐν ὑποκρίσει.

Lovers of banquets at every hour of the day. Cf. ver. 8.

Gluttons, gourmands. The text is devoratores, gulae. Previous editors take gulae as a genitive or dative in connection with devoratores.

6. *Devourers of the goods of the poor.* A similar charge is brought against the Sadducees in Pss. Sol. iv. 23: ἡρῆμωσαν οἴκους πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπων ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ καὶ ἐσκόρπισαν ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ; cf. also iv. 11, 13, 15, xii. 2, 4.

Saying that they do so on the ground of their justice. I have rendered misericordiam in the text by justice. Propter misericordiam = δι' ἐλεημοσύνην. δι' ἐλεημοσύνην, however, taken in its usual sense is hardly intelligible. But the difficulty disappears when we call to mind that this word is a not infrequent rendering in the LXX. of צדק. Thus we are here to translate, not misericordiam, but the Hebrew word it presupposes.

The text thus recovered agrees well with the statement in ver. 3: "saying that they are just," and this second reference to the professed justice of the Sadducee repeats the play upon the name. The Sadducees, though profligates in secret, were stern administrators of justice; see Pss. Sol. iv. 2, 3. They were proverbially severe, Joseph. Ant. xx. 9. 1, as the Pharisees were proverbially merciful in judgment, Ant. xiii. 10. 6.

7. *Deceitful.* Cf. like statements regarding the Sadducees in Ps. Sol. iv. 4: ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτοῦ ψευδής: 12. οἱ λόγοι αὐτοῦ παραλογισμοὶ εἰς πρᾶξιν ἐπίθυμιας ἀδίκου: 14. παρελογίσατο ἐν λόγοις.

Concealing themselves lest they should be recognised. For this also we find an excellent parallel in a similar accusation of the Sadducees in Pss. Sol. iv. 5: ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἐν ἀποκρύφοις ἁμαρτάνει ὡς οὐχ ὁρώμενος: I. 7. αἱ ἁμαρτίαι αὐτῶν ἐν ἀποκρύφοις.

Impious, filled with lawlessness and iniquity. παράνομοι and ἁμαρτωλοὶ are standing epithets

8. Saying: "We shall have feastings and luxury, eating and drinking, yea we shall drink our fill, we shall be as princes." 9. And though their hands and their minds touch unclean things, yet their mouth will speak great things, and they will say furthermore: 10. "Do not touch me lest thou shouldst pollute me in the place where I stand"

VIII. And there will come upon them a second

of the Sadducees in the Pss. of Sol. (See Ryle and James's ed. *Introd.* xlv-xlviii.) In iv. 3, moreover, of that book there is a like accusation against the Sadducees to that in our text: αὐτοὺς ἐνοχοὺς ἐν ποικιλίᾳ ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ ἐν ἀκρασίαις. Cf. Matt. xxiii. 25: "filled from extortion and excess."

From sunrise to sunset. The text is ab oriente usque ad occidentem, which = ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνατέλλοντος μέχρι δύομένου. The Greek can mean either "from east to west" (cf. xi. 8), or "from sunrise to sunset." The context requires the latter meaning. Thus "from sunrise to sunset" is the equivalent of "at every hour of the day," in ver. 4.

8. Cf. ver. 4.

Yea we shall drink our fill. See crit. note.

9. *Though their hands and their minds touch, etc. . . . yet ye.* For the Hebraism see crit. note.

Their mouth will speak great things. Dan. vii. 8, 20.

9, 10. This combination of inward uncleanness and outward

sacerdotal holiness in the Sadducean priesthood is also dwelt upon in Pss. Sol. viii. 13: ἐπάτουν τὸ θυσιαστήριον κυρίου ἀπὸ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας καὶ ἐν ἀφέδρῳ αἵματος ἐμλανον τὰς θυσίας ὡς κρέα βέβηλα. See also Pss. i. 8, ii. 14, 15, xvii. 17.

10. *Do not touch me* = אַל-תִּנְּנֵנִי. This is probably derived from Is. lxxv. 5: "Come not near to me, for I am holier than thou," and the תִּנְּנֵנִי here may be a corruption of the שִׁנְּנֵנִי in Isa.

VIII.-IX. We have now come to one of the most difficult questions in this difficult book. How are we to regard VIII.-IX.? Two interpretations have been offered. Volkmar, Philippi, and Colani contend that they are a record of what is already past, and constitute in fact a short history of the persecution under Hadrian after the rebellion of Bar Cochba, 136 A.D. All other scholars agree in regarding them as a forecast of what is yet to be—the final woes that are immediately to precede the advent of the theocratic kingdom.

Both views are untenable on

visitation and wrath, such as has not befallen them from the beginning until that time, in which He

the following grounds. The former, which regards VIII.—IX. as a record of the persecution of 136–138, is impossible; for the book was written in the first century (see p. xiii.). The second view is equally impossible; for VIII.—IX. are not a prophecy of the *final* woes. They are clearly designated as “the second visitation” that is to befall Israel (see VIII. 1, note). The first visitation was the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. The last woes could not be described as “the second visitation.” Other facts that support this conclusion will be dealt with in the sequel.

If, then, “the second visitation” is not to be explained as the last woes, how are we to interpret it? Clearly as that which actually befell the Jews under Antiochus Epiphanes. The first visitation was that in which Jerusalem was destroyed under Nebuchadnezzar.

That VIII.—IX. are to be regarded as an account of the persecution under Antiochus is to be inferred from the fact that they furnish an accurate description of that persecution. Its accuracy cannot be gainsaid. We shall prove it presently beyond the possibility of refutation.

But the question now naturally arises, How comes it that we find an accurate description of the Antiochian persecution at a period in our book where it is chronologically impossible? Has

our author not already taken account of it in its proper chronological sequence? These questions lead to the final solution of the problem. For on reviewing the past chapters we are unable to discover a single reference to the persecution by Antiochus and the desecration of the temple, and as we study the context we further discover that such an omission is impossible. For as we proceed we find on investigation the facts to be as follows. *A gap in the history exists between V. and VI.; originally there was no such gap: its place was filled by VIII.—IX.* For (a) in V. the history is brought down to the Hellenising high priests under Antiochus, and VI. opens with a clear reference to the Maccabean princes, beginning with Jonathan. Thus there is not even an allusion to the severities of the Antiochian persecution and the horrors that accompanied it, or to the desecration of the temple (“the abomination that maketh desolate”) and its subsequent reconsecration,—an event that was kept green in the national remembrance by the yearly “Festival of the Dedication.” That one of the most tragic and never-to-be-forgotten periods in Jewish history should be wholly unrecorded is therefore highly improbable. (b) But is more than improbable. It becomes a matter of moral certainty when we further observe that not only the main fortunes of the temple

will stir up against them the King of the kings of the earth and one that ruleth with great power, who will crucify those who confess to their circumcision: 2. And those who conceal (it) he will torture and

are closely followed throughout this book, but even the minor injuries inflicted on it are recorded; cf. II. 4, 8, 9; III. 2; IV. 7, 8; V. 3, 4; VI. 1, 9. Its greatest desecration, therefore, could not have been passed over in silence.

(c) But the moral certainty that there was no such gap originally, is resolved into scientific conviction when, in addition to the former facts, we observe, that in VIII.—IX. we have not only an accurate account of the Antiochian horrors, but also the very fragment that is needed to fill up the gap between V. and VI., and one that harmonises perfectly with that context.

This transposition of the text is due to the final editor. For other transpositions the reader can consult the Introduction (p. xxxv).

VIII. 1. *A second visitation.* It will be seen through reference to the critical notes that the word for "second" is partially restored. That this restoration of Schmidt-Merx is right is clear from IX. 2, where it is referred to again as "a second . . . visitation."

We have already remarked (p. 29) that the final woes prelude the theocratic kingdom could never have been so described. This "second visitation" is the Antiochian persecution, of which we have a faithful description in the subsequent verses.

Such as has not befallen, etc. From Dan. xii. 1; cf. Jer. xxx. 7; 1 Macc. ix. 27; Matt. xxiv. 21; Rev. xvi. 18. On the resemblance between Matt. xxiv. 21 and our text, see crit. note. The phrase was clearly a current one.

King of the kings of the earth. This title is used of Nebuchadnezzar in Ezek. xxvi. 7; Dan. ii. 37; and of Artaxerxes in Ezra vii. 12. It is a title peculiar to Oriental despots. Hence it is aptly used here of Antiochus iv.

Crucify those who confess to their circumcision. Antiochus forbade circumcision, 1 Macc. i. 48; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 4: ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ μὴ περιτέμνειν αὐτοὺς τὰ τέκνα: certain women who disobeyed this edict were hurled headlong from the city wall, 1 Macc. i. 60, 61; 2 Macc. vi. 10, viii. 4. From 1 Macc. ii. 46, and Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 4, it is clear that this edict was to a large extent obeyed till the Maccabean rising. But Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 5. 4, writes that the best and noblest amongst the Jews refused to obey this and similar commands of the king, and were accordingly tortured and crucified alive — μαστιγούμενοι καὶ τὰ σώματα λυμαινόμενοι, ζῶντες ἔτι καὶ ἐμπνέοντες ἀεσταυροῦντο.

2. *Those who conceal (it).* So I emend, but the text is doubtful. See crit. note.

deliver them up to be bound and led into prison.

3. And their wives will be given to the gods among the Gentiles, and their young sons will be operated on by the physicians in order to bring forward their foreskin. 4. And others amongst

3. *And their wives will be given to the gods, etc., i.e.* for the cult of Venus, as Colani has observed. According to 2 Macc. vi. 4, the abominations peculiar to this goddess were carried on even in the temple and its courts. Antioch was a centre of this worship—especially its notorious suburb Daphne. Many women were, no doubt, as stated in the text, transported to Antioch and elsewhere to serve these purposes. Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 5. 4, says that upwards of 10,000 men, women, and children were carried away captive by the king.

Their young sons will be operated on by the physicians, etc. Some years before Antiochus adopted ultimate measures in dealing with the Jews, many of the latter of noble birth voluntarily underwent this operation in order to appear like Greeks when they undressed and took part in the Hellenic games established in Jerusalem—1 Macc. i. 15; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1: τὴν τῶν αἰδῶλων περιτομὴν ἐπεκάλυψαν, ὥς ἂν εἶεν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀπόδυσιν "Ἕλληνες. But, when the king resorted to final measures, not only was circumcision forbidden, as we have seen above, but in the case of young children who were already circumcised, the traces of the circum-

cision were removed by an operation. *To bring forward their foreskin* = ἐπισπᾶν ἀκροβυστιαν αὐτοῖς = ערלשן ערלשן. See Levy's *Neuhebräisches Lex.* iii. 275, 276. Cf. 1 Cor. vii. 18, where this operation is referred to: Wetstein and Lightfoot on 1 Cor. vii. 18, and Schoettgen, *Hor. Hebr.* i. 1157, 1177; Celsus, *De Medic.* vii. 18; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*; Herzog, *Real-Encycl.*; Schenkel, *Bib. Lex.* under article "Beschneidung."

4. *Will be punished by tortures.* Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 5. 4, says of those who refused to obey the commands of Antiochus, that κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν αἰκιζόμενοι καὶ πικρὰς βασάνους ὑποφέροντες ἀπέθνησκον; also 2 Macc. vi. 28, viii.

And fire. Cf. 2 Macc. vi. 11.

Forced to bear in public their idols. In Amos v. 26, Isa. xlvi. 7, reference is made to Israel having voluntarily carried idols in the wilderness, and later. Cf. also Epist. Jer. 4: ὄψεσθε ἐν Βαβυλῶνι θεοὺς . . . ἐπ' ὧμοις αἰρομένους; and ver. 26. In the preceding passages we have parallels in expression, but in 2 Macc. vi. 7 we have a parallel in fact: γενομένης δὲ Διονυσίῳ ἐορτῆς ἡναγκάζοντο κισσοὺς ἔχοντες πομπεῦειν τῷ Διονύσῳ. Antiochus compelled the Jews

them will be punished by tortures and fire and sword, and they will be forced to bear in public their idols, (which are as) polluted as are the (shrines) that contain them. 5. And they will likewise be forced by those who torture them to enter their inmost sanctuary, and they will be forced by goads to blaspheme with insolence the name, finally after these things the laws and what they had above their altar.

IX. Then in that day there will be a man of the

to observe his birthday by joining in the Dionysiac festival.

Polluted as are, etc. This is the best I can make of this obscure clause.

5. *Enter their inmost sanctuary, i.e.* the ἄδυτον of the heathen temples. According to Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 5, 4, the Jews were compelled to "build temples and raise idol altars in every city and village, and offer swine upon them every day." Cf. 1 Macc. i. 47.

Blaspheme . . . the name, i.e. נקב אלהים, Lev. xxiv. 11. Israel was commanded to "fear the name," and one of "the seven precepts of the children of Noah" enjoined Israel to "sanctify the name," ברכת השם (*Sanh.* 56b). 2 Macc. viii. 4 speaks of the blasphemies committed against God's name during the Antiochian persecution: γενομένων εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ βλασφημιῶν.

The laws, etc. See crit. note.

What they had above (or upon) their altar. This clause = אלהים, במזבח, and appears to mean

the sacrifice. Cf. Matt. xxiii. 18.

IX. *Interpretation and historical source of this chapter.*

This chapter belongs closely to the preceding one. It is at once *historical* and *parenetic*. It is historical. (a) Its historical root is to be found in 1 Macc. ii. 29-38, where we are told of a large body of men who, with their wives and children, forsook all that they had and took refuge in the caves in the wilderness in order to worship there. When Antiochus' officers were informed of this movement they went in pursuit, and, coming up to the caves where the Jews had taken refuge, they demanded that they should submit to the king's commands. When the refugees refused they were put to the sword, offering no resistance because it was the Sabbath. Their words: "Let us all die in our innocency" (ii. 37), correspond perfectly in sense with the words in our text, ver. 6: "Let us die rather than transgress." Those that were

slain were, according to Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 6. 2, in number about 1000, but many escaped. Let us next try and determine the religious affinities of this body of zealous adherents of the law in the wilderness. In the first place, they were not followers of Mattathias and his party; for it was not till after the massacre that its survivors became adherents of Mattathias, *Ant.* xii. 6. 2. In the next, it is most probable that they belonged to the Chasid party. For the many survivors of this church in the wilderness, *Ant.* xii. 6. 2, as well as the Chasid party, 1 Macc. ii. 42, gave in their adhesion to Mattathias after, and, without doubt, owing to the massacre just mentioned. In 1 Macc. ii. 42 the Chasids join Mattathias just after the latter had resolved henceforth to fight in self-defence on the Sabbath—a new line of action adopted in consequence of the murder of their brethren, 1 Macc. ii. 41. In Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 6. 2, the only fresh adherents gained by Mattathias at this period are the survivors above mentioned. “These,” he says, “appointed Mattathias to be their ruler, and he taught them to fight on the Sabbath day.” Thus this massacre, which is the historical fact at the root of our text, contributed to two results. (1) It was the direct cause of a new line of action as to the legitimacy of defensive warfare on the Sabbath (1 Macc. ii. 40, 41; *Ant.* xii. 6. 2). (2) It secured for Mattathias and his party the temporary support of the Chasids (1 Macc. ii. 42; *Ant.* xii. 6. 2).

In addition to 1 Macc. ii. 29–38, which we have dealt with above, our author has drawn upon other materials such as we find in 2 Macc. vi. 18–vii., where we have an account of the martyrdom of Eleazar and of the mother and her seven sons under Antiochus. Thus ver. 6: “Let us die rather than transgress the commands of . . . the God of our fathers,” is obviously the same as 2 Macc. vii. 2: *ἐτοιμοὶ γὰρ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐσμέν ἢ παραβαίνειν τοὺς πατέριους νόμους*. This latter statement is reproduced in 4 Macc. ix. 1. For a similar expression of Eleazar’s feeling, see 2 Macc. vi. 19. Again, in ver. 7 the strong assurance that God will avenge the blood of His servants is likewise found in 2 Macc. vii. 14, 17, 19, 34–36. Finally, the visitation is called an “unclean” one, ver. 2. This epithet better than any other would describe the Antiochian persecution from a Jewish standpoint—their holy altar polluted with the sacrifice of unclean animals, the temple and its courts profaned by the indecencies of the Venus cult, and the faithful adherents of the law forced to eat swine’s flesh and to join in the Dionysiac revels.

This martyrdom of the mother and her seven sons was a very favourite subject both with Jew and Christian. It forms the theme of 4 Macc. It is alluded to in Heb. xi. 35, and Origen (*Exhortatio ad Martyrium*, 22–27; *Comment. in Epist. ad Rom.* iv. 10) and Cyprian (*ad Fortunatum*, xi., and *Testim.* iii. 17) recount it at length. It has been retold by Prudentius, *περὶ στε-*

φάνων x., and Marius Victorinus. Augustine was so fascinated with it that he thought (*de Civ. Dei*, xviii. 36) that the books of the Maccabees should on account of these chapters be regarded as canonical.

(b) But the character of this chapter appears to be not only historical, but also *parenetic*. *Its purpose is to indicate the line of action which the Chasids or Pharisaic party of his own time should pursue.* Thus he ignores the temporary coalition of the Chasids with Mattathias and Judas Maccabæus. This coalition lasted, as we know, but a few years. Very early the aims of the Maccabean party began to change with their successes in arms, and their strife, at first nothing more than a life and death struggle to maintain the faith of their fathers, soon resolved itself into a war for the independence of the nation. When this phase of the conflict appeared, the Chasids withdrew from all further share in it. Their attitude was quietistic. Their sole duty was to obey the law, and leave the rest to God. It is this conception of duty that is depicted in historical actuality. But the actual incident in our author's hands is more than an historical event. It is likewise a precedent and example for after ages. It prescribes the duty our author would enforce on the Pharisaism of his own time. *Just as his complete silence as to the Maccabean uprising forms an emphatic censure of its aims, so his vigorous statement of the opposed and Chasid line of action is designed as a*

commendation of its character. Thus while some of the Pharisaic party of his own time were seeking to give a political character to religion, and so to follow Maccabean precedents, others, as our author, were as vigorously upholding the old traditions of quietude and resignation, and while the former urged, "Let us war," the latter, with equal determination, rejoined: "Nay rather, let us die."

But let us return for a moment to the history of the Chasids after 164 B.C. When their coalition with Judas, which we have already mentioned, came to an end, they forsook so completely the field of political and public life, that they are practically unknown to history till the reign of J. Hyrcanus, when they reappear under their new name of Pharisees. This characteristic aversion of the Pharisees to patriotic aspirations began to disappear towards the close of the next century—a change that is in part attested by the Psalms of Solomon. About this time a fusion took place between their traditional doctrine of Law and popular Messianic beliefs, and thus the bulk of the Pharisaic party became committed to political interests and movements—the bulk, but not all; for some, like our author, clung to the old attitude of non-resistance. But he protested in vain. The leavening of Pharisaism with patriotism and earthly political ideas, and its corruption through success, went on apace, and became the fruitful mother of national disasters. These

culminated in the fall of Jerusalem.

1. *In that day there will be.* See crit. note.

A man of the tribe of Levi. The Chasid movement thus sprang from or was associated with the priestly tribe, according to our author. He was probably thinking of Eleazar, who, in 2 Macc. vi. 18, is called one of the principal scribes, and in 4 Macc. v. 3 a priest.

Whose name will be Taxo. We have here the crux of the book. Scholars have to no purpose wasted their ingenuity upon it. The various interpretations are as follows:—i. Hilgenfeld takes it = $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\omega$. Next, he suppresses the second letter, and supposes the last to be corrupt, and thus arrives at $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\gamma'$ = 363. But המשיח (= the Messiah) = 363. Hence Taxo is the Messiah. It is needless to criticise this further than to add, that if it is allowable to change without some external documentary evidence two letters out of four, it is possible to make what we please out of anything.

ii. Volkmar takes it = $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\omega$, which, he assumes, was corrupted from $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\sigma$ = 431. But רבן אקבא (Rabbi Aqiba) = 431. Hence Taxo is Rabbi Aqiba. But, unhappily for Volkmar, רבן is an impossible form, and Aqiba was never written without the yod. There are further objections into which we need not enter.

These last two attempts at solution proceeded on the hypothesis of a Greek original; but if the original was Semitic, no interpretation arrived at on that hypothesis could in any

sense be right. Later scholars have essayed the problem on the hypothesis of a Semitic original.

iii. Colani (*Revue de Theologie*, iv. 1868, pp. 90–94) takes Taxo to be a corruption of $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\omega\nu$, “ordaining” = שם . This last = 340. So also does רבנא יהודה בן בבא . Hence R. Jehuda ben Baba is the great Taxo, “the ordainer,” who, before he was slain in 137 A.D., ordained the seven last disciples of Aqiba as rabbis. At the close of this explanation Colani adds: “Tout cela, bien entendu, est un jeu, rien qu’ un jeu”—and we agree with him; but his pleasantry is finer than the seriousness of his two predecessors.

iv. Carriere (*Revue de Theol.* iv. 1868, pp. 94–96), like his predecessor, believes in an Aramaic original. The words $\text{cujus nomen erit Taxo}$ retranslated into Aramaic = $\text{רִי שׁוֹמֵר מִכְסָא}$, which is corrupt, for $\text{רִי שׁוֹמֵר מִכְסָא}$ = “who will promulgate a decree,” i.e. trace a line of conduct. מִכְסָא , which = “ordinance,” etc., was wrongly taken to be a proper name by the Greek translator.

v. Hausrath (*Neutestamentl. Zeitgesch.* iv. p. 77, note) thinks that here by the method Ath Bash שִׁילָה was transposed into הַכְּמִי . The Greek translator took the ס as ם . שִׁילָה here is for the Messiah. We might say here with Colani in reference to Hilgenfeld’s interpretation: “This passage has as much to do with the Messiah as with the Emperor Barbarossa.”

Other attempts have been made on the hypothesis of a Hebrew original.

vi. Wieseler (*Jahr. f. d. Th.* 1868, p. 629; *ZDMG*, 1882, p. 193) thinks that that Taxo goes back to חת, the badger-like one. This designation is to be explained from the pious having to dwell in the caves of the earth; cf. 2 Macc. x. 6: καὶ ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις θηρίων τρόπον ἦσαν νεμόμενοι. Hilgenfeld remarks on this interpretation: Utinam melis Wieseleriana e spelunca sua nunquam prorepisset.

vii. Rosenthal (*Vier Apoc. Bücher*, pp. 31, 32) adopts Hausrath's idea. He points out that שילה is numerically equal to משה, and thinks that in תכני, which, as Hausrath has suggested, corresponds to שילה, we have a mystical reference to a second Moses who was to rise again. He appeals to Deut. xviii. 18 in support of his contention.

None of these solutions is satisfactory. The person referred to is, as we have seen, not one living in the future, but one who was a contemporary of Judas the Maccabee. From the standpoint of this interpretation I offer the following suggestion. In the Samaritan "Legends of Moses," translated from the Arabic into German by Dr. Leitner (*Vierteljahrschrift f. deutsch- und englisch-Theol. Forschung*, iv. 1871, p. 210), the following passage occurs, which seems to be to some degree dependent on our text: "Angezeigt wurde dass ein Mann auferstehen würde 'Levi' und sein Name sollte sein 'Eiferer der Gemeinde,' und er die Ebräer und das Haus des Weines heil-

igen. Er würde in drei Tagen auferstehen ohne Recht." This passage appears to be very corrupt, and to be derived partly from our text, partly from N.T. history. The phrases "ein Mann . . . Levi" and "sein Name sollte sein 'Eiferer der Gemeinde'" seem to be drawn from our text. Hence we conjecture that in eujus nomen erit Taxo, which = אשר שמו תקסא, the last word is corrupt for תקסא = "the zealous." Hence the text will be, "A man of the tribe of Levi whose name will be the zealous one." This person will be zealous for the law only, and show his zeal by submitting to death rather than transgress the commandments. Cf. vers. 4, 6, 7. The writer regards the person here described as representing those who were truly zealous for the law, over against the Maccabean party who claimed to be so. Zeal for the law was the most conspicuous as well as the most essential characteristic of the religious movement which opposed Antiochus. Cf. the words of Mattathias, 1 Macc. ii. 27, πᾶς ὁ ζήλων τῷ νόμῳ καὶ ἰστών διαθήκην ἐξελεθῆτω ὀπίσω μου. This comes out still more clearly in the words attributed to Mattathias in Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 6. 2, εἰ τις ζηλωτὴς ἐστί τῶν πατρῶν ἐθῶν καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ θρησκείας, ἐπέσθω, φησὶν, ἐμοί; also in his address to his sons, 1 Macc. ii. 50, καὶ νῦν, τέκνα, ζηλώσατε τῷ νόμῳ καὶ δότε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ διαθήκης πατέρων ὑμῶν.

Seven sons. The reference here can only be to the seven sons of the widow in 2 Macc.

tribe of Levi, whose name will be Taxo, who having seven sons will speak to them exhorting (them): 2. "Observe, my sons, behold a second ruthless (and) unclean visitation has come upon the people, and a punishment merciless and far exceeding the first. 3. For what nation or what region or what people of those who are impious towards the Lord, who have done many abominations, have suffered as great calamities as have befallen us? 4. Now therefore, my sons, hear me: for observe and know that neither did (our) fathers nor their forefathers tempt God, so as to transgress His commands. 5. And ye know that this is our strength, and thus we will do. 6. Let us fast for the space of three

vii. and 4 Macc. See notes on p. 33.

2. *Second unclean visitation.* The first has been described in III., which they endured at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar; the second is that which they suffer under Antiochus. This latter "far exceeds the first," the writer proceeds to say. Why this visitation was called unclean we have shown above in the notes on p. 33.

3. *What nation, etc.* We might compare Josephus' words in reference to the sufferings of the Jews during the wars between Ptolemy Philopator and Antiochus Epiphanes, *Ant.* xii. 3. 3.

4. *Neither did (our) parents nor their forefathers tempt God.* See crit. note. This absence of the sense of demerit appears

in many of the Psalms. Our author must have supposed that a faithful remnant had existed at all times.

To transgress His commands. Cf. ver. 6.

5. *And this we will do, i.e.* as our fathers.

6. *Fast.* Cf. Dan. vi. 18, ix. 3; Apoc. Bar. v. 7, ix. 2, xii. 5, xxi. 1, xlvii. 2; 4 Ezra v. 20, vi. 35, ix. 26, 27, xii. 51.

Let us go into a cave in the field. When the persecution became severe in B.C. 168, 167, those who still clung to the law took refuge in caves, 1 Macc. i. 53, *ἐν κρυφίοις*. These hiding-places are described in 1 Macc. ii. 31 as "secret places in the wilderness" (*κατέβησαν . . . εἰς τοὺς κρυφούς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ*)—a very close parallel to the phrase in

days and on the fourth let us go into a cave which is in the field, and let us die rather than transgress the commands of the Lord of lords, the God of our fathers. 7. For if we do this and die, our blood will be avenged before the Lord.

X. And then His kingdom will appear throughout all His creation,

our text. Cf. also 1 Macc. ii. 36, 41. Those who were zealous for the law fled with their wives and children, and finding concealment in these caves lived there, Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 6. 2: μετὰ τῶν τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν ἔρημον καὶ ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις διήγον. Heb. xi. 38 points to this period. In these also they observed the religious festivals, 2 Macc. x. 6: μετ' εὐφροσύνης ἦγον ἡμέρας ὀκτώ . . . μνημονεύοντες ὡς πρὸ μικροῦ χρόνου τὴν τῶν σκηνῶν ἑορτὴν . . . ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις . . . ἦσαν νεμόμενοι. But these hiding-places were betrayed to the Syro-Macedonian governor, and many Jews slain or burnt, 2 Macc. vi. 11: ἕτεροι δὲ πλησίον συνδραμόντες εἰς τὰ σπήλαια λεληθότως ἄγειν τὴν ἐβδομάδα, μνησθέντες τῷ Φιλίππῳ συνεφλογίσθησαν, διὰ τὸ εὐλαβῶς ἔχειν βοηθῆσαι ἑαυτοῖς κατὰ δόξαν τῆς σεμνοτάτης ἡμέρας.

Let us die rather than transgress, etc. As their fathers had been faithful to the law, Taxo and his seven sons are resolved to be so likewise, lest they transgress the commands of their fathers' God. The expression, "let us die rather than transgress," etc., appears to have

originated with the persecution of Antiochus. It gives a characteristic and true note of the temper of the persecuted. It stereotypes the attitude of the faithful, as well of those who endured death passively as of those who rushed to arms in defence of their religion. These words are almost exactly those that were used by one of the seven martyrs in 2 Macc. vii. 2: ἔτοιμοι γὰρ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐσμὲν ἢ πατρῴους νόμους παραβαίνειν. Cf. 4 Macc. ix. 1. They are essentially the same as those uttered by the 1000 that were martyred in the wilderness, 1 Macc. ii. 37: ἀποθάνωμεν οἱ πάντες ἐν τῇ ἀπλότῃ ἡμῶν. Their thought is echoed in Mattathias' address to his children, *Ant.* xii. 6. 1: κρεῖττον αὐτοῖς εἶναι ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων νόμων ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ζῆν οὕτως ἀδόξως; and the resolve they express is ascribed also to the martyred Eleazar, 2 Macc. vi. 19.

7. *Our blood will be avenged*, etc. This assurance that God will avenge is frequently found in the history of the seven martyred brethren, 2 Macc. vi. 14, 17, 19, 31, 35-37.

X. 1-10. These verses form

And then Satan will be no more,
And sorrow will depart with him.

2. Then the hands of the angel will be filled
And he will be appointed chief,
And he will forthwith avenge them of their
enemies.

a hymn of ten stanzas of three lines each. It falls into three sections. The first constitutes the introduction, and consists of two stanzas. The second and third consist of four stanzas each. The two last sections open with words almost identical. It will be observed that every stanza has a triple movement or parallelism—at all events, the greater number. This fact makes it highly probable that where this triple parallelism is not observed the error is due to corruption of the text. The error may be of the nature either of defect or redundancy. Thus vers. 3 and 9 are defective in this respect, and 4, 5, 10 may be redundant. If there are redundancies in these verses, they may be due to duplicate renderings or incorporated marginal glosses.

Schmidt-Merx are of opinion that the hymn begins with ver. 3, and is therefore only of eight stanzas. They regard the enim in ver. 3 as="int"roductory. They point out that the subject of ver. 3 is "God," but that "angel" is the subject in ver. 2. Hence they suppose that the hymn is of earlier and different authorship than the rest of the book.

There are grounds for differen-

tiating 1, 2 and 3-10 other than those mentioned by Schmidt-Merx, as will appear below.

1. *His kingdom will appear*, etc. This seems to promise a new heaven and a new earth, but this is not the case if ver. 10a is right.

Satan will be no more. Does Satan mean here the head of the kingdom of evil or the adversary of Israel? The following line makes for the former view.

Sorrow, etc. Cf. Isa. xxxv. 10; Rev. xxi. 4.

2. *The hands of the angel will be filled*, i.e. the angel will be delegated, appointed. The phrase מלא ידו="to fill one's hand" means, to deliver the priesthood to him. Cf. Exod. xxviii. 41, xxix. 9; Lev. xxi. 10; Test. Lev. 8, ἐπλήρωσαν τὰς χεῖράς μου θυμιάματος ὥστε ἱερατεύειν με; Job xxxii. 3.

The angel, i.e. Michael the patron saint of Israel. Cf. Dan. xii. 1.

And he will be appointed chief. Michael will lead Israel. The text, qui est in summo constitutus="who is placed supreme," or "appointed chief," cannot be right. This clause, as it stands, is a mere epithet of "angel" (nuntii) in the preceding line,

3. For the Heavenly One will arise from His royal throne,

And He will go forth from His holy habitation

And His wrath will burn on account of His sons.

4. And the earth will tremble: to its confines will it be shaken:

And the high mountains will be made low

And the hills will be shaken and fall.

whereas the parallelism requires, in the second line, the statement of a fresh fact which will modify or develop the statement which appears in the first line. Hence for est I have read erit and taken qui=הוא, as in I. 6. In summo = לראש or בראש, or something equivalent.

And he will . . . avenge, etc. Michael will avenge Israel. But since Michael is not so much as once referred to again in this hymn, and as it is God Himself that destroys the Gentiles and avenges Israel (vers. 7, 8), it is probable that 1, 2, and 3-10 are not from the same author. This conclusion gains confirmation if we compare the picture of perfect goodness and perfect happiness throughout all creation depicted in ver. 1, and compare it with vers. 4-6, and particularly with ver. 10, if the text is there right. Vers. 3-10 are, I believe, native to the text, but not 1, 2.

3-6. Second section. Signs which will accompany God's coming.

3. *The Heavenly One.* This

designation belongs to our author. Cf. II. 4, IV. 4.

From His royal throne. The Latin a sede regni sui=כן כסא בלכותו. Cf. Dan. v. 20.

He will go forth, etc. Mic. i. 3; Isa. xxvi. 21; Eth. En. i. 3.

From His holy habitation. Deut. xxvi. 15; Isa. lxiii. 15.

And His wrath will burn. The text is here cum indignationem et iram. But the parallelism requires a finite sentence, and not an adverbial phrase depending on "will go forth." The corruption seems to have arisen in the Greek. Cum indignatione et ira=ἐν θυμῷ τε καὶ ὀργῇ, which I take to be a corruption of καὶ θυμῷ τε καὶ ὀργῇ=והרה אפיו, "and His wrath will burn." The text as it stands=בהרן ואף, "with indignation and wrath."

4. *And the high mountains will be made low.* Isa. xl. 4; Eth. En. i. 6.

And the hills will be shaken and fall. The text, which was corrupt, I have emended by means of Eth. En. i. 6 (Greek Version). See crit. note.

5. And the horns of the sun will be broken
and he will be turned into darkness;
And the moon will not give her light, and
be turned wholly into blood.
And the circle of the stars will be dis-
turbed.
6. And the sea will retire into the abyss,
And the fountains of waters will fail,
And the rivers will dry up.
7. For the Most High will arise, the Eternal
God alone,
And He will appear to punish the Gentiles,
And He will destroy all their idols.

5. *And the horns of the sun . . . into blood.* On this restoration of the text see crit. notes (pp. 86, 87), where the parallel passages from the O.T. and the N.T. are cited.

Circle of the stars will be disturbed. Cf. Mark xiii. 25.

Fountains . . . fail. Cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 21, *πηγαὶ συνεσχέθησαν αἰῶντοι*; Test. Levi 4, *ὑδάτων ξηραίνουσιν*; 4 Ezra vi. 24, *et venae fontium stabunt*.

Fountains . . . and rivers. For this collocation, cf. Rev. viii. 10, xvi. 4.

7-10. Third section. God punishes the Gentiles, destroys their idols, makes Israel to triumph over Rome, and exalts them finally to heaven.

7. *The Most High will arise.* Cf. ver. 3, "The Heavenly One will arise."

The Eternal God. Previous

editors have wrongly connected Summus and Deus. Ver. 3 shows that Summus here, as Coelestis there, are to be taken by themselves. Deus aeternus, moreover, is in all probability derived from Deut. xxxiii. 27, *אלהי קדם*, as 8*a* certainly is from ver. 29 of the same chapter, and 8*b* probably from the same verse.

Alone. The text *solus* = *לברו*. The meaning seems to be: God alone will come to punish the Gentiles and exalt Israel, and not a Messiah. This is said more clearly in 4 Ezra, where, to the question in v. 56, *Demonstra servo tuo per quem visitas creaturam tuam?* God answers in vi. 6, *Finis per me et non per alium*. Thus this forms another argument against 1, 2 and 3-10 being from one and the same author.

8. Then thou, O Israel, wilt be happy,
 And thou wilt mount upon the neck[s and
 wings] of the eagle,
 And (the days of thy mourning) will be ended.
9. And God will exalt thee,

8. Israel's triumph over its enemies in this world.

Then thou, O Israel, wilt be happy. This is taken directly from Deut. xxxiii. 29.

Thou wilt mount upon the necks and. If the text is right, it recalls Deut. xxxiii. 29, על-במותי חררך, and gives the interpretation of that verse that was current for some time before and long after the Christian era. Thus, whereas modern scholars render "Thou shalt tread upon their high places," the LXX., Syr., Vulg., Targ.-Onk., Targ.-Jon., Jarchi translated "Thou shalt tread upon their necks," or "neck." This rendering was probably due to Joshua x. 24, "Put your feet upon the necks of these kings." Our text recalls Deut. xxxiii. 29, but does not agree exactly with it or any of the Versions. In Bar. iv. 26, ἐπὶ τραχήλους αὐτῶν ἐπιβήσῃ is derived directly from it. If our text is trustworthy, the reference is clearly to Israel's triumph over Rome. The plural "necks" ought in that case to be written "neck"; for צוארים, from which it is derived, can, according to Hebrew usage, be rendered singular or plural as the context requires. But it is not at all impossible that the text is corrupt, and that it ran originally, חעלה על-כנפי נשרים, "thou wilt

mount on the wings of eagles," and was derived from Isa. xl. 31. So the Targ.-Jon. interprets Isa. xl. 31. סליק על גרפי נשרין. Thus cervices et would be a later interpolation. This figure of Israel "mounting on eagles' wings" would harmonise well with the exalted tone of the passage. If this be so, there is, of course, no reference to Rome in the text.

The days of thy mourning. So the lacuna is supplied by Dr. Cheyne. See crit. note.

On the vision of the three-headed eagle with many wings, see 4 Ezra xi.-xii.

9. Israel's exaltation to eternal blessedness in heaven.

Cause thee to approach the heaven of the stars. This language might be metaphorical. For other examples, cf. Pss. Sol. i. 5, ὑψώθησαν ἕως τῶν ἀστέρων; Jer. li. (LXX., xxviii.) 9, ἐξῆγεν ἕως τῶν ἀστέρων. Instead of "the heaven of the stars" we have "the stars of heaven" in Isa. xiv. 13 (LXX.), ἐπάνω τῶν ἀστέρων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (נוכחי אל) θήσω τὸν θρόνον μου. These "stars of God" ("of heaven," LXX.) are rendered by the Targ.-Jon. in this passage by "the people of God," and thus regarded as a metaphor.

But the language seems not to be metaphorical, but to relate to Israel transfigured and glorified

And He will cause thee to approach to the
heaven of the stars,

And He will establish thy habitation among
them.

10. And thou wilt look from on high and wilt
see thy enemies in Ge(henna),

And thou wilt recognise them and rejoice,

And thou wilt give thanks and confess thy
Creator.

after the final judgment—to Israel not in the body, but in the spirit. In this case we should compare Eth. En. civ. 2, “Ye will shine as the stars of heaven, . . . and the portals of heaven will be opened to you”; civ. 6, “Ye will become companions of the hosts of heaven.” The words, “Thou wilt see thy enemies in Ge(henna),” in the next verse favour this interpretation.

And He will establish thy habitation among them. The text is here, loco habitationis eorum = במקום מושבם, and is beyond question corrupt; for (1) the parallelism is wanting, and (2) we expect here a statement as to the place of Israel’s habitation and not that of the stars. Hence we regard מושבם = “their habitation” as defective for מושבך = “thy habitation among them,” the בך being omitted owing to the copyist’s eye passing from the first ב to the second. In the next place, במקום = loco, is, as the structure of the rest of the stanza shows, a corruption of some transitive

verb preceded by vav,—I take it to be of ויקים = “and He will establish.” Hence the above text. Cf. Eth. En. civ. 2, 4, 6.

10. *See thy enemies in Ge(henna)* = videbis inimicos tuos in Ge(henna). So I emend and restore the corrupt text vides inimicos tuos in terram. Previous editors have merely changed this text into videbis inimicos tuos in terra. But the sense thus arrived at is impossible. If the words in terram are not corrupt, it is difficult to take them otherwise than literally; but if we do so, how are we to explain them? If Israel’s enemies are on the earth, and Israel beholds them from on high, then Israel must be already in heaven. But that could only be after the final judgment, and after that event the enemies of Israel could no longer be upon earth. Hence we must take the phrase “on the earth” metaphorically, or regard it as corrupt. But to take it metaphorically as = “in the depths” is not possible. Hence it is corrupt, or rather,

11. And do thou, Joshua (the son of) Nun, keep these words and this book; 12. For from my death—(my) assumption—until His advent there will be CCL times. 13. And this is their course

defective. The context points to Israel's enemies being in torments; for Israel rejoices over the plight of the latter. They are, moreover, in sight of Israel. These two facts at once suggest the thought of Gehenna here, and that the original was בני הנם. But הנם was lost and בני rendered ἐν γῆ, and this in turn by in terram. בני בני הנם is twice rendered ἐν γῆ Βεεννὸν in 2 Chron. xxviii. 3 and in xxxiii. 6. γῆ or γαλ is likewise merely גא or ג transliterated in Josh. xviii. 16; 1 Sam. xiii. 18; 1 Chron. iv. 14; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 6; Ezek. xxxix. 11, 15; Eth. En. xxvii. 2.

Hence I take the true text to be, "Thou wilt see thy enemies in Gehenna, and thou wilt recognise them and rejoice." This portrays faithfully the expectations of the Jews as to the future life. In early times (Isa. lxvi. 24; Eth. En. xxvii. 2, 3, liv. 1, 2, xc. 26, 27) Gehenna was regarded as the place of punishment for faithless Jews, who should there suffer in the presence of the righteous; but in N.T. times it had become the future abode of the wicked generally, who were to be tormented within view of the blessed. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 36, Et apparebit locus tormenti, et contra illum erit locus requie-tionis; clibanus gehennae ostendetur, et contra eum jucunditatis paradisus.

Recognise them, etc. If both Israel and their enemies were on earth, and Israel had just triumphed over the latter, this statement would be absurd. But if they are respectively in heaven and gehenna, the recognition is full of point, and just cause for rejoicing.

11. *This book*. Cf. I. 16, XI. 1.

12. *My death* — (my) *assumption*. The word "assumption" was not in the original here, which told only of Moses' death. Cf. ver. 14 and I. 15. It was introduced by the final editor, who combined in one work the two distinct books, "The Testament of Moses" and "The Assumption of Moses." Our present book is what survives of "The Testament of Moses," which knew nothing of Moses' "Assumption."

His Advent, i.e. God's advent for judgment.

CCL times. Each "time" = 7 years, or a year-week. Thus 250 times = 1750 years. Hence from the creation (see I. 2) to the final judgment was to be a period of 4250 years, or 85 jubilees. This estimate is found elsewhere, I think, only in Sanhedrin 97b; but there the goal is the coming of the Messiah.

14. *I shall go to sleep*, etc. Moses here looks forward to an ordinary death, and to joining his fathers in Sheol, as also in I. 15 (see note) and X. 12 (note).

which they will pursue till they are consummated. 14. And I shall go to sleep with my fathers. 15. Wherefore, Joshua thou (son of) Nun, (be strong and) be of a good courage; (for) God hath chosen (thee) to be my successor in the same covenant.

XI. And when Joshua had heard the words of Moses that were written in his writing as well as all that he had before said, he rent his clothes and cast himself at Moses' feet. 2. And Moses comforted him and wept with him. 3. And Joshua answered him and said: 4. "Why dost thou comfort me, (my) lord Moses? And how shall I be comforted in regard to that which thou hast spoken the bitter word which has gone forth from thy mouth, which is full of tears and lamentation, in that thou departest from this people? 5. And now what place will receive thee? 6. Or what will be the sign that marks (thy) sepulchre? 7. Or

In XI. 4, 9 also, an ordinary death seems to be implied.

15. (*Be strong and*) *be of a good courage.* See crit. note.

Successor. See I. 7, note. Joshua is the prophet promised in Deut. xviii. 15, according to our author. Thus no Messianic interpretation is here given to this passage by the Jews.

XI. 1. *His writing.* Cf. I. 16, X. 11.

4. *Comfort me . . . be comforted?* See crit. note.

Departest from this people. Cf. Apoc. Bar. xxxiii. 3, lxxvii. 12, for similar lamenta-

tions on Baruch's departure. See also 4 Ezra xii. 44. The word "depart" is used in Apoc. Bar. xiv. 19, xv. 1, xliii. 2, etc., in the sense of dying an ordinary death. That seems to be implied here, and in ver. 9 also.

5-8. No single locality is worthy enough to become the place of Moses' burial. The whole earth is his sepulchre.

7. Baldensperger thinks that this verse is directed polemically against the Christians, since the body of Christ was moved from the cross to the sepulchre.

who will dare to move thy body from thence as a man from place to place? 8. For all men when they die have according to their age their sepulchres on earth; but thy sepulchre is from the rising to the setting sun, and from the south to the confines of the north: all the world is thy sepulchre. 9. My lord, thou art departing, and who will feed this people? 10. Or who is there that will have compassion on them and who will be their guide by the way? 11. Or who will pray for them, not omitting a single day, in order that I may lead them into the land of (their) forefathers? 12. How therefore am I to control this people as a father (his) only son, or as a mistress (her) virgin daughter, who is being prepared to be handed over to the husband she will revere, while she guards her person from the sun and (takes care) that her feet are not unshod for running upon the ground.

8. *All the world is thy sepulchre.* The original of these words is, as Rönisch recognised, to be found in Thuc. ii. 43, ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος. As with a very slight change these words become Greek iambs, it is possible that they were popular expressions, and thus reached Palestine as did those of Aratus, Menander, and Epimenides. Cf. Acts xvii. 28; 1 Cor. xv. 33; Tit. i. 12.

11. *Who will pray for him.* See XII. 6.

Not omitting. The text is nec patiens; but here, as frequently

elsewhere, we must translate not the text but the Hebrew, or, as it is here, the Greek presupposed by the text, οὐδὲ παύει. See crit. note.

12. *Am I to control this people.* See crit. note.

Or as a mistress her virgin daughter. See crit. note.

To be given to the husband. See crit. note, where also parallels from Ecclus. will be found. *She will revere.* See crit. note and parallels from Ecclus. (p. 93). *Guarding her person.*

Cf. Ecclus. vii. 24, θυγατέρες σοί εἰσι; πρόσεχε τῷ σώματι αὐτῶν.

13. And how shall I supply them with food and drink according to the pleasure of their will? 14. For of them there will be 600,000 men, for these have multiplied to this degree through thy prayers, (my) lord Moses. 15. And what wisdom or understanding have I that I should judge or answer by word in the house of the Lord? 16. And the kings of the Amorites also will then be emboldened to attack us; (and) believing that there is no longer amongst them the sacred spirit who was worthy of the Lord, manifold and incomprehensible, the lord of the word, who was faithful in all things, God's chief prophet throughout the earth, the most perfect teacher in the world, (yea) that he is no longer among them, they will say: 'Let us go against them. 17. If the enemy have but once wrought

13. See crit. note.

14. 600,000 men. See crit. note. Cf. Exod. xii. 37.

Through thy prayers. The text is, in tuis orationibus. The in = ἐν = 2.

16. *That there is no longer amongst them.* See crit. note.

Sacred spirit . . . manifold. Cf. Wisd. vii. 22, πνεῦμα . . . ἅγιον . . . πολυμερές.

Worthy of the Lord. Cf. Wisd. iii. 5, ὁ θεὸς ἐπείρασεν αὐτοὺς καὶ εὗρεν αὐτοὺς ἀξίους αὐτοῦ.

Lord of the word. I cannot suggest the origin of this phrase.

Faithful in all things. Cf. Num. xii. 7, "Moses . . . was faithful in all Thy house"; Heb. iii. 2.

God's chief prophet throughout the earth. The text is divinum per orbem terrarum profetem.

A Hebrew superlative underlies this phrase. It = τὸν θεὸν διὰ τοῦ κόσμου προφήτην = נביא האלהים בארץ = "the prophet of God," etc.

The most perfect teacher in the world. The text is: consummation in saeculo doctorem—another Hebrew superlative = המורה החכם בעולם.

17. *No advocate to offer prayers,* etc. Cf. ver. 14. This office of praying on behalf of Israel is frequently ascribed to Jeremiah. Cf. 2 Macc. xv. 14, where Jeremiah appeared along with Onias in a vision to Judas

impiously against their Lord, they have no advocate to offer prayers on their behalf to the Lord, as did Moses the great messenger, who every hour day and night had his knees fixed to the earth, praying and looking for help to Him that ruleth all the world with compassion and righteousness, calling to mind the covenant of the fathers and propitiating the Lord with the oath.' 18. For they will say: 'He is not with them: let us go therefore and destroy them from off the face of the earth.' 19. What will then become of this people, my lord Moses?"

XII. And when Joshua had finished (these) words, he cast himself again at the feet of Moses. 2. And Moses took his hand and raised him into the seat before him, and answered and said unto him: 3. "Joshua do not despise thyself, but set thy mind at ease, and hearken to my words. 4.

Maccabaeus, and is described by the latter as: οὗτός ἐστι ὁ πολλὰ προσευχόμενος περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγίας πόλεως Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοῦ θεοῦ προφήτης. Rest of words of Baruch ii. 3, ὅταν ἡμάρτανεν ὁ λαὸς . . . ὁ Ἱερουσαλὴμ . . . ἤρχετο ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ, ἕως ἂν ἀφέθῃ αὐτῷ ἡ ἁμαρτία. See also Apoc. Bar. ii. 2, and the Talmudic passages cited in the notes.

Looking for help to Him that ruleth all the earth. See crit. note on this difficult passage, where also parallels are given.

XII. 2. *Took his hand and raised him into the seat before him.* This verse refers to the

installation of Joshua in Moses' place. Cf. Sifri Piska 140 on Num. xxvii. 28: "Give Joshua a teacher that in thy lifetime he may question, expound, give judgment, lest after thy death the Israelites may say: 'During the lifetime of his teacher he did not give judgment, but now he does.' Thereupon (Moses) raised him (Joshua) from the ground and placed him beside himself on the chair." Quoted by Heidenheim, *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift*, 1871, p. 102.

4. Both the Gentile and the Israelite are the work of God's hands. The destinies likewise

All the nations which are in the earth God hath created as He hath us, He hath foreseen them and us from the beginning of the creation of the earth unto the end of the age, and nothing has been neglected by Him even to the least thing, but all things He hath foreseen and caused all to come forth. 5. (Yea) all things which are to be in this earth the Lord hath foreseen and lo! they are brought forward (into the light 6.

of both are of His making. Whatever befalls—whether of disaster to Israel or exaltation to the Gentile—has been foreseen even to the smallest detail, and nothing can set at nought or hinder God's original purpose in creation; for the world was created on Israel's behalf, I. 12. However glorious the fortunes of the Gentile and depressed those of the Jew, there is no reason for downheartedness or despair (see ver. 3),—God's purpose standeth sure, and will ultimately assert itself.

Foreseen and caused to come forth. See crit. note.

6. *Appointed me to pray for their sins.* This was a genuinely Jewish conception, and not borrowed from Christianity. Thus, as we have already seen in the note on XI. 17, Jeremiah was held to discharge this office in the spiritual world, 2 Macc. xv. 14. Enoch also (Slav. En. (MSS. AB) lxiv. 5) was conceived of as "one removes the sins of men." Philo speaks of the intercessions and prayers offered

on behalf of Israel by the righteous forefathers of the nation: these intercessions of the departed saints of Israel were to be the second of the three chief means for the restoration of their descendants, *De Execrat.* ix. (ii. 436): *τρισιχρησόμενοι παρακλήτοις τῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καταλλαγῶν . . . δευτέρῳ δὲ τῇ τῶν ἀρχηγέτων τοῦ ἔθνους ὁσιότητι, ὅτι ταῖς ἀφειμέναις σωμάτων ψυχαῖς ἀπλαστον καὶ γυμνὴν ἐπιδεικνυμέναις πρὸς τὸν ἀρχοντα θεραπείαν τὰς ὑπὲρ νιῶν καὶ θυγατέρων ἱκετίας οὐκ ἀτελεῖς εἰώθασι ποιεῖσθαι, γέρας αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ ἐπήκοον ἐν εὐχαῖς.* In Joseph. *Ant.* i. 13. 3, Abraham is described as saying to Isaac, when on the point of sacrificing him: *μετ' εὐχῶν δὲ καὶ ἱερουργίας ἐκείνου τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν σὴν προσδεξιόμενον καὶ παρ αὐτῷ καθέξοντος ἔσθ μοι εἰς κηδεμόνα καὶ γηροκόμον.* In the Slav. En. liii. 1 this doctrine is denied. See my note *in loc.*, where a history of this doctrine is sketched briefly.

The Lord) hath on their behalf appointed me to pray for their sins and make intercession for them.

7. For not for any virtue or strength of mine, but in His compassion and longsuffering was He pleased to call me. 8. For I say unto you, Joshua: it is not on account of the godliness of this people that thou shalt root out the nations. 9. The lights of the heaven, the foundations of the earth have been made and approved by God and are under the signet ring of His right hand. 10. Those, therefore, who do and fulfil the commandments of God will increase and be prospered: 11. But those who sin and set at nought the commandments will be without the blessings before mentioned, and they will be punished with many torments by the nations. 12. But wholly to root out and destroy

7. *For not for any virtue, etc. . . . was He pleased to call me.* See crit. notes. Just as in Rom. ix. 11, 12, the selection of Jacob rather than Esau is declared to be due not to works, but to the divine purpose, so also here. This election is an election to privilege and not to eternal life. As regards the latter, it is written in the Tanchuma Pikkude 3, God does not determine beforehand whether a man shall be righteous or wicked, but puts this in the hands of the man only. See Slav. En. xxx. 15, note.

8. *Not on account of the*

godliness of the people, etc. Cf. Ezek. xxxvi. 22, 32. By a writer who so frankly recognises the wickedness of his nation and its need of frequent chastisement, its selection as the people of God could not well be ascribed to its merits, but must be traced back to the divine purpose. And yet he holds that the world was created on behalf of Israel, i. 12; and in xii. 4, 5, 13, it is God's foreknowledge, and not His pre-determining purpose, that is dwelt upon.

9. See crit. notes.

12. *Destroy.* See crit. note.

them is not permitted. 13. For God will go forth who has foreseen all things for ever, and His covenant has been established and the oath which . . .

ASSUMPTIONIS MOYSI FRAGMENTA



THE LATIN VERSION OF THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES
CRITICALLY REVISED AND EMENDED

TOGETHER WITH

THE UNEMENDED LATIN TEXT OF THE SIXTH
CENTURY MS. IN THE MILAN LIBRARY

ASSUMPTIONIS MOYSI FRAGMENTA



THE LATIN VERSION OF THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES CRITICALLY REVISED AND EMENDED

*Words included within round brackets () are supplied by the Editor ; words within square brackets [] are to be regarded as interpolations. When the text is corrupt, but the corruption is not native to the Latin but to the Greek or the Hebrew, then the text is corrected accordingly, and attention is drawn to the correction by an asterisk * placed in the margin.*

I. (Et factum est anno aetatis Moysi centesimo et vigesimo), 2. Qui est bis millesimus et quingentesimus annus a creatura orbis terrae, [3. nam secus qui in oriente sunt numerus . . . mus et . . . mus et . . . mus profectionis fynicis. 4. Cum exivit plebs post profectionem quae fiebat per Moysen usque Amman trans Jordanem, 5. profetiae quae facta est a moysen in libro deutero-

I. 1. This verse, which is wanting in the MS., is supplied as above, cf. Deut. xxxi. 2, by Schmidt-Merx, save that I have written Moysi instead of Mosis, as this is the form of the genitive used by the Latin translator; by Hilgenfeld: Assumptio Moysis quae facta est anno vitae ejus Cmo et XXmo; by Volkmar: Liber profetiae Moysis, quem scripsit año aetatis centesimo

vicesimo; by Rönsch: Liber receptionis Moysi factae anno vitae ejus Cmo et XXmo.

3. With Volkmar and Schmidt-Merx I have omitted nam secus . . . mus as a marginal gloss. Such a remark is impossible in a book of Hebrew or Aramaic origin. *Profectionis fynicis* are also to be omitted with Volkmar, though Schmidt-Merx retain them, inserting before them the

ASSUMPTIONIS MOYSI FRAGMENTA



TEXT OF THE SIXTH CENTURY LATIN MS.
IN THE MILAN LIBRARY

The figures in clarendon in the margin denote the folio in the MS., and the letters a and b in the margin denote respectively the beginning of the first and second columns in a folio.

112 ^a		. . . mus' et' . . mus
		et' mus' profec
		4 tionis fynicis' cum
2	qui est bis millesi	exivit plebs post
	mus et quingente	profectionem quae
	simus annus a crea	fiebat per mosysen
	tura orbis terrae	usque amman trans
3	nam secus qui in ori	5 jordanem profetiae
	ente sunt numerus	quae facta est a moy

word quadragesimo. Hilgenfeld, who holds the book to be of Greek origin, regards the entire verse as genuine and restores as follows: nam secus qui in oriente sunt numeros [MM] mus et [CC] mus et [XXXXX] mus profectionis phoenicis. Rönsch *Z.f. W.T.* 1874, p. 556, regards qui est bis cum exivit plebs as a parenthesis and thus restores ver. 3: nam secus qui in oriente sunt numeros MM mus et

DCCL mus, et CCLV mus profectionis Phœnices.

4. I have bracketed this verse as an interpretation. Moses could not have spoken of Amman as across the Jordan: only a dweller in Jerusalem could have so described it.

5. Schmidt-Merx rightly reject this verse as a gloss. In a book of Hebrew origin the phrase libro Deuteronomio could not have been original.

nomio], 6. Qui vocavit ad se Iesum filium Nave, hominem probatum Domino, 7. Ut sit successor plebi et scene testimonii cum omnibus sanctis illius, 8. Et ut inducat plebem in terram datam patribus eorum, 9. Ut detur illis per testamentum et per iurandum, quod locutus est in scenae dare de Iesum dicendo ad Iesum verbum hoc: 10. "(Confortare) et
 * firma te secus industriam tuam omnia quae mandata

6. *Qui* = והוא. Cf. III. 14; X. 2; see Introd., p. xxxiii. *Iesum filium Nave*, i.e. *Ιησοῦν υἱὸν Ναυή*. This shows that the Latin was derived directly from the Greek. If it had been directly from the Hebrew, these words would have been Josue filium Nun.

7. *Ut sit successor plebi* = *ἵνα εἴη διάδοχος τῷ λαῷ*. What is the meaning of *διάδοχος*? It cannot mean "a successor" here, as Schmidt-Merx recognise when they propose successor (sibi et antecessor). But there is no need of such a violent remedy. *διάδοχος* means also (1) a court official of the second rank in the Egyptian papyri (see Steph. Thesaurus); (2) the chief minister of the king: LXX.; 1 Chron. xviii. 17; 2 Chron. xxvi. 11, xxviii. 7; Ecclus. xlvi. 1. This meaning is found in Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 10, and is frequent in Philo. And this is exactly what the context requires: "that he might be the minister of the people." We have now to discover the Hebrew behind *διάδοχος*. This we learn from Ecclus. xlvi. 1, where it is a rendering of *קצרה*. This word

often means the chief minister or servant: thus in Exod. xxiv. 13; xxxiii. 11; Num. xi. 28; Josh. i. 1, Joshua is described *par excellence* as Moses' servant, *בשרת משה*. It is also used of service in the tabernacle; cf. Num. viii. 26, etc. Hence the text = *להיות בשרת העם*. In x. 15 the same meaning is to be followed. It is, of course, possible that *διάδοχος* here may represent *נָשׂ*, as in 2 Chron. xxvi. 11. But this would not differ materially from the sense we have reached above.

8. I read *et ut* instead of *ut et*, and *patribus* instead of *ex tribus*, with Schmidt-Merx.

9. After *illis* Schmidt-Merx adds *ut deus illis*, and for *quod* read *quondam*. In *scenae* = *ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ*, just as *scene* in I. 7 = *τῇ σκηνῇ*. *Dare de Iesum* seems interpolated. *De* is used in the sense of "by means of," also in V. 1, *de reges*, "by means of the kings."

10. *Verbum hoc*, (*confortare*) *et firma te*. The text here is *verbum hoc*, *et promitte*. Now Moses' address to Joshua cannot begin with *et*. Some verb has fallen out between *hoc* and *et*.

- sen in libro deute
 6 ronomio qui voca
 vit ad se jesum filium
 naue hominem pro
 7 batum domino ut sit
 successor plebi et
 b scene testimonii
 cum omnibus sanctis illius
 8 ut et inducat plebem
 in terram datam ex

- 9 tribus eorum ut de
 tur illis per testamen
 tum et per jusjuran
 dum quod locutus
 est in scenae dare
 de jesum dicendo ad jesum
 10 verbum hoc et pro
 mitte secus indus
 triam tuam omnia
 quae mandata sunt

Thus there was probably here the oft-repeated phrase addressed to Joshua in Deut. xxxi. 6, 7, 23; Josh. i. 6, 7, 9, 18, חזק ואמץ. Now if we retranslate the present text into Hebrew we shall discover the source of the corruptions and at the same time the original text. The words *verbum hoc et promitte* = הרבר הוה ואמר. Now the missing verb before the ו is clearly חזק, as suggested above; for this could readily fall out after הוה, and אמר is an easy corruption of אמץ as Rosenthal has already seen. Hence the text ran: הרבר הוה חזק ואמץ. This restoration is confirmed by X. 15. See note *in loc.*

Hilgenfeld emended the above words into *verbum hoc ait: promitte*. Volkmar took *ὑποσχου* = *promitte* to be a corruption of *ὑποσχέσ* = "undertake."

Omnia quae mandata sunt ut facias. In my translation I have supposed *ut facias* to be wrongly transposed to their present position. The Hebrew

order requires us to place them before *omnia*. But since such faulty transpositions of the Latin text are frequent we cannot argue on this ground against the Hebrew original in favour of an Aramaic. The Aramaic would admit of this order, and Dr. Neubauer assures me the later Hebrew also. But it is possible to regard the text in its present order as derived from the Hebrew. Thus "be strong, and hold fast according to thy might to all that is commanded to be done" would represent חזק ואמץ כבחק בכל הפקודים לעשות. This construction is found in 2 Chron. xxxi. 4, לפען יהוקי, בחזקה.

Quemadmodum sine quaerellam sis deo. I have here emended *est ideo* into *sis deo*. The *ideo* cannot stand here, as ver. 11 refers to ver. 10. In Luke xxi. 14 of the Vulgate, *praemeditari quemadmodum respondeatis* represents *μη προμελετᾶν ἀπολογηθῆναι*. The text = להיות תמים לאלהים. *Sine* has often the

sunt ut facias quemadmodum sine quaerellam sis Deo." 11. Haec dicit Dominus orbis terrarum. 12. Creavit enim orbem terrarum propter plebem suam. 13. Et non coepit eam inceptionem creaturae ab initio orbis terrarum palam facere, ut in ea gentes arguantur et humiliter inter se disputationibus arguant se. 14. Itaque excogitavit et invenit me, qui ab initio orbis terrarum praeparatus sum, ut sim arbiter testamenti illius. 15. Et nunc palam facio tibi quia consummatum est tempus annorum vitae meae et transio in dormitionem patrum meorum et palam omnem plebem. 16. (Tu) autem percipe scribaturam hanc ad recognoscendam tutionem librorum quos tibi tradam: 17. Quos

accusative in the Itala. Schmidt-Merx emend est ideo into est deo.

13. *Non coepit.* The text here, non coepit = οὐκ ἤρξατο = לא יָהָיָה. But the Greek translator has here followed the inappropriate meaning of לא. He should have rendered οὐκ ἐβούλετο. Hence render "He was not pleased." Merx was the first to discover the real meaning here. He did so through retranslation into Aramaic, לא שָׂרָה.

Inceptionem = "design." So also Schmidt-Merx. Hilgenfeld has missed the sense of the passage, as his reproduction of the Greek shows: οὐκ ἤρξατο ταύτην τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τῆς κτίσεως: likewise Rönsch taking non coepit to be a corruption of

inceptit, *Z.f. W.T.* 1874, p. 557: ἀπήρξατο αὐτὸν ἀπαρχὴν τῆς κτίσεως. Volkmar is wholly at sea.

Ab initio. The MS. inserts et before these words.

Humiliter inter se. Humiliter may be corrupt for humilitate. In my translation I have sought only to give the sense: "to their own" (or "common") "humiliation." Hilgenfeld emends humiliter into similiter.

14. This verse is found in the Greek. See exeg. note, p. 6.

Ab initio orbis terrarum. This phrase has already occurred in I. 13. It recurs twice, I. 17, XII. 4, in the form ab initio creaturae orbis terrarum. Of this verse the Greek (see I. 14, exeg. note) is happily preserved: πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου = לפני מִסְדֵּרוֹת

- ut facias quemad
modum sine quae
11 rellam est ideo haec
dicit dominus orbis ter
rarum
12 Creavit enim orbem
terrarum propter
13 plebem suam et non
coepit eam inceptio
nem creaturae
111^a et ab initio orbis ter
rarum palam face
re ut in eam gentes
arguantur et humi
liter inter se dispu
tationibus arguant
14 se itaque excogitavit
et invenit me qui ab
- initio orbis terra
rum praeparatus sum
ut sim arbiter testa
15 menti illius et tunc
palam facio tibi quia
consummatum est
tempus annorum
vitae meae et tran
sio in dormitionem
patrum meorum
et palam omnem ple
16 bem autem
percipe scribaturam
hanc ad recognos
cendam tutationem
librorum quos tibi
17 tradam quos ordina
bis et chedriabis et

העולם or העולם. It is to be observed that the Vulgate renders Heb. ix. 26; Rev. xiii. 8, ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου by ab origine mundi, similarly as in our text, but elsewhere in the N.T.—Matt. xiii. 35, xxv. 34; Luke xi. 50; Heb. iv. 3; Rev. xvii. 8—by a constitutione mundi. The phrase in I. 17, XII. 4, ab initio creaturae orbis terrarum = ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως τοῦ κόσμου (cf. Mark x. 6, xiii. 19) = בְּרִיאַת עוֹלָם. On the other hand, it is quite possible that the latter form of the phrase goes

back to the same Greek as the former, for our Latin translator is far from being consistent or accurate.

15. *Nunc.* MS. tunc.

Palam. Hilgenfeld emends into *pellam* = ἀπαλλάξω. I follow Rösensch in taking it as a proposition, but the text is doubtful.

16. *Ad recognoscendam tutationem librorum.* The obscurity of this phrase disappears when retranslated into Hebrew, לשׁמֹן חַרֵּץ = שְׂמֹר אֶת־הַסְּפָרִים = “mayst know how to preserve.”

ordinabis et chedriabis et repones in vasis fictilibus in loco quem fecit ab initio creaturae orbis terrarum, 18. Ut invocetur nomen illius usque in diem paenitentiae in respectu quo respiciet illos Dominus in consummatione exitus dierum.

II. (Et nunc) intrabunt per te in terram, quam decrevit et promisit dare patribus eorum: 2. In qua tu benedices et dabis unicuique, et stabilibis eis sortem in me et constabilibis eis regnum, et magisteria locorum dimittes illis secus quod placebit Domino eorum in iudicio et justitia. 3. (Fiet) autem postquam intrabunt in terram suam anno s(exto), et postea dominabuntur a principibus et tyrannis per annos XVIII, et XVIII annos abruptent tribus X. 4. Nam descendent tribus

18. *Diem poenitentiae.* Rosenthal supposes an error on the part of the Greek translator, *i.e.* that he took יום החשובה to mean the day of repentance, whereas it meant "the day of the return," or "of the coming again," and refers to the return of the people to Palestine.

In respectu quo respiciet = ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ ἣ ἐπισκέψεται—a familiar Hebraism, בפקרה אשר יפקרה. Cf. Test. Lev. iii., iv.; Pss. Sol. xi. 2.

In consummatione exitus dierum = בכלות קץ הימים.

II. 1. (*Et nunc*). So Hilgenfeld. Volkmar, ecce nunc.

2. Schmidt-Merx bracket et stabilibis eis as spurious.

In me. Hilgenfeld, in qua.

Rönsch (*Z.f. W.T.* 1874, p. 558), in eam where the in eam goes back to in qua, ἐν ἣ . . . ἐν αὐτῇ.

Magisteria locorum = τοπαρχίας. Probably τοπαρχίας is corrupt for τοπάρχας.

Dimittes. This is corrupt. Schmidt-Merx emend it into dimetieris, but their reference to Pss. Sol. xvii. 30 gives no support to their suggestion. Dimittes may be for demittes = καθήσεις. This may be a corruption of καθίσεις or καταστήσεις = "thou wilt appoint." In any case the sense required is clear. The original may have been פקקיר מקרים, "thou wilt appoint local magistrates." Cf. Gen. xli. 34.

3. *Fiet.* So Schmidt-Merx; Volkmar, dat; Hilgenfeld, illi.

- reponis in vasis fic
tilibus in loco quem
fecit ab initio crea
turae orbis terra
18 rum ut invocetur
nomen illius usque
in diem paenitentiae
in respectu quo
respicit illos dominus
in consummatio
ne exitus dierum
II. intrabunt
per te in terram
quam decrevit et
promisit dare pa
2 tribus eorum in qua
tu benedicis et da
bis unicuique et sta
bilibus eis sortem
in me et constabi
libis eis regnum
et magisteria loco
110^a rum dimittes illis
secus quod place
bit domino eorum in ju
dicio et justitia
3 autem postquam
intrabunt in terram
suam annos
et postea dominabi
tur a principibus et
tyrannis per annos
xviii. et xviii. annos
abruppens tib. x.
4 nam descendent tri
bus duae et transfe
runt scenae testi
monium tunc deus

Anno s(exto). From Josh. xiv. 10 and Joseph. *Ant.* v. i. 19, it appears that the Israelites spent five years in the conquest of Canaan. Hence the above emendation. Hilgenfeld, annos (quinque); Merx, annos(eptimo).

Dominabuntur. So Hilgenfeld and Schmidt-Merx. MS. dominabitur.

Abrumpent. So Hilgenfeld, Volkmar, and Fritzsche. Abrumpentes, Schmidt-Merx; MS. abruppens.

Tribus. MS. tib.

4. *Nam.* Nam and enim are frequently used in this version to render δέ.

Descendent. Schmidt-Merx, discedent.

Duodecim. So Schmidt-Merx rightly emend from duae. In 2 Sam. vi. 1, 2, the chosen men of Israel and Judah accompanied David. The corruption arose in the Greek αὶ ἑβ' φυλαὶ by the ε falling out, or else in the Hebrew.

Transferent. MS. transferunt.

duodecim et transferent scenam testimonii. Tunc Deus caelestis faciet aulam scenae suae et turrem sanctuarii sui, et ponentur duae tribus sanctitatis.

5. Nam X tribus stabiliunt sibi secus ordinationes suas regna: 6. Et adferent victimas per annos XX:

7. Et VII circumvallabunt muros, et circumibo

* VIIII et (IV) transgredientur testamentum Domini, et jusjurandum polluent quem fecit Dominus cum eis. 8. Et immolabunt natos suos diis alienis, et ponent idola scenae, servientes illis: 9. Et in domo Domini facient sceleste, et sculpent omnem (similitudinem) animalium idola multa.

III. (Et) illis temporibus veniet illis ab

Scenam testimonii. MS. scenae testimonium.

Faciet aulam. So I emend from fecit palam with Hilgenfeld, who compares 2 Chron. xx. 5. The phrase aulam scenae is found in Exod. xxvii. 9. For the various uses of קָצַר see the new Hebrew Lexicon in loc. Rönsch, figet palum; Schmidt-Merx, fecit palam (zelum); Fritzsche, faciet palum.

Turrem. So I emend from ferrum. In a similar description of the future in Eth. En. lxxxix. 50, 67, 73, the temple is spoken of as a tower. Hilgenfeld, forum, comparing 2 Macc. x. 2; Schmidt-Merx, fervorem. Volkmar gives the whole passage thus: fecit palam (locum) scenae suae et terram sanctuarii sui; Haupt, Z.f. W.T. 1867, p. 448, faciet palam (portam) scenae suae et forem sanctuarii sui.

Tribus sanctitatis. Hebraism שְׁבַטֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ.

7. Circumibo = I will protect, i.e. אֲסִיבֵה. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 10; Jer. xxxi. 22.

Et (IV). I have added the (IV). *Transgredientur testamentum Domini et jusjurandum polluent.* So I emend the corrupt text: adcedent ad testamentum Domini et finem polluent. First of all, finem = ὅρον, which, as we see from the context, is corrupt for ὅρον. Hence for finem we should read jusjurandum. This combination of testamentum and jusjurandum occurs four other times in this book—I. 9, III. 9, XI. 17, XII. 13, and thus confirms our emendation. The same combination is familiar in the O.T. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 28; Deut. xxix. 12, 14; Ezek. xvi. 59, xvii. 16, 18, 19. In the next place, adcedent testamentum

caelestis fecit pa
lam scenae suae
et ferrum sanctua
rii sui et ponentur
duae tribus sanctita
5 tis nam 'x' tribus sta
bilient sibi secus
ordinationes suas
b6 regna et adferent
victimas per annos
7 xx' et 'vii' circumval
labunt muros et
circumibo 'viii' et

adcedent ad testa
mentum domini et finem
polluent quem fe
8 cit dominus cum eis et im
molabunt natos
suos diis alienis et
ponent idola scenae
servientes illis
9 et in domo domini faci
ent sceleste et s
culpent omnem ani
malium idola multa

III. illis temporibus

and jusjurandum polluent are clearly parallel expressions, and as the latter is obviously right according to the context, the former must be wrong. The corruption therefore lies in adcedent, and is easy to discover. Adcedent = προσβήσονται, corrupt for παραβήσονται. τὴν διαθήκην παραβῆναι is the actual phrase in Ezek. xvi. 59, xvii. 16, 18, 19. Hence for adcedent read transgredientur.

On this passage previous editors are wholly at sea. They all accept adcedent jusjurandum. For et finem, Volkmar reads sed in fine finem; Schmidt-Merx, et (iv) fidem. Hilgenfeld accepts the words as they stand.

8. *Scenae* I take as a dative, "in the Sanctuary." Rönseh (*Zf. W.T.* 1874, p. 558) ingeniously proposes to read idola obscena, comparing LXX., Jer.

xxxii. (xxxix.) 34, καὶ ἔθηκαν τὰ μᾶσματα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ οὗ ἐπεκλήθη τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐν ἀκαθαρσίαις αὐτῶν.

9. *Omnem* (*similitudinem*) *animalium*. Similitudinem fell out after omnem through homoioteleuton. Hilgenfeld and Volkmar changed omnem into omnium, but the text thus arrived at is intolerable. They failed to recognise that this verse is based on Ezek. viii. 10, "Every form of . . . abominable beasts and all the idols . . . graven upon the wall." Thus omnem similitudinem animalium = כל־חבנית בהמה.

Idola multa, i.e. שְׁקוּצִים רַבִּים. The word שְׁקָץ is used immediately after בהמה in Ezek. viii. 10, as here. The whole verse = וְכָבִיד יְהוָה יַעֲשֶׂה חֻעֲבוֹת וְחָקוּ כָל־חַבְנֵי בְהֵמָה שְׁקוּצִים רַבִּים.

III. 1. *Veniet* . . . *equitatu*. MS. venient . . . equitatus.

oriente rex, et teget equitatu terram eorum : 2. Et incendet coloniam eorum igne cum aede sancta Domini, et sancta vasa omnia tollet : 3. Et omnem plebem eiciet, et ducet illos in terram patriae suae, et duas tribus ducet secum. 4. Tunc invocabunt duae tribus X tribus, et indignabunt, ut liena in campis pulveratis, esurientes et sitientes. 5. Et clamabunt : “ Justus et sanctus Dominus, quia enim vos peccastis, et nos pariter abducti sumus vobiscum cum infantibus nostris.” 6. Tunc plorabunt X tribus audientes inproperia verborum tribuum duarum, 7. Et dicent : “ Quid fecimus vobis fratres ? Nonne in omnem domum Istrahel advenit elibsis haec ? ” 8. Et omnes tribus plor-

2. *Coloniam.* MS. colonia.

Sancta vasa omnia. Schmidt-Merx point out that omnia after sancta vasa is not Hebraic but Aramaic order. קרישא סאניא כללון. This is quite true, but it is impossible, on this ground only, to argue back to an Aramaic original ; for the Greek and Latin translators frequently failed to observe the Hebrew order when it was possible to do so. Thus, though לל in Hebrew always precedes its noun, it is placed after it, as here, in the LXX. in the following passages : Gen. xiv. 11, אחכלדכש סרם—LXX. τῇ ἐκ τῆς πατρὸς τοῦ Σοδὸμω. 1. 14, כל-תעלים—LXX. οἱ συναβάντες πάντες. Lev. xx. 23, כל אלה—LXX. ταῦτα πάντα. 2 Chron. xxi. 18, אחרי כליות—LXX. μετὰ ταῦτα πάντα. Hence

we can attach but little value to this argument in itself, and when we consider that our Latin Version is but a careless rendering of the original, it ceases to have any weight at all.

3. *Terram patriae suae*=eis τῆς γῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ = ארץ מולדתו.

4. *Indignabuntur.* The MS. gives *ducent se*. These words cannot be right. Observe—Tunc invocabunt . . . et ducent se . . . et clamabunt. The ten tribes cannot address the two, then march or be marched about, and then proceed with words of rebuke. Hence, instead of *ducent se*, we expect a verb expressive of anger, and this all the more because of the words immediately subsequent—ut liena in campis. Now

- venient illis ab ori
 ente rex et teget
 equitatus terram
 2 eorum et incendet
 colonia eorum ig
 ne cum aede sancta
 109a domini et sancta vasa om
 3 nia tollet et omnem
 plebem eiciet et du
 cet illos in terram
 patriae suae et duas
 tribus ducit secum
 4 Tunc invocabunt
 duae tribus x' tribus
 et ducent se ut liena
 in campis pulverati
 esurientes et siti
 entes cum infantibus
 5 nostris et clamabunt
 justus et sanctus dominus
 quia enim vos peccas
 tis et nos pariter ad
 ducti sumus vobis
 6 cum tunc plora
 bunt x' tribus audien
 tes impropéria ver
 borum tribum dua
 7 rum et dicent' quid
 faciemus vobis fra
 tres' nonne in omnem
 b domum istrahel ad
 venit clibsis haec
 8 et omnes tribus plora
 bunt clamantes in

ducent se, if retranslated into Greek=*ἀχθήσονται*, and as this word is confounded in MSS. with *ἀχθέσονται*, the latter most probably stood originally in the Greek Version. Hence my correction of ducent se into indig-nabuntur. Could ducent se be a corruption of succensebunt?

Pulveratis. MS. pulverati. Schmidt-Merx omit.

Sitientes. Here the MS. adds cum infantibus nostris. This phrase I have, with Schmidt-Merx, transposed after vobiscum in ver. 4. If retained here, nostris must be changed into suis; for

the children of the two tribes cannot be called children of Moses and Joshua.

5. *Abducti.* So Fritzsche; Schmidt-Merx, deducti. MS. adducti.

Cum infantibus nostris. See note on ver. 4.

6. *Inpropéria verborum* = תוככות.

7. *Fecimus.* So I emend with Hilgenfeld from faciemus.

Clibsis, i.e. θλίψις. There are several other Greek words—acrobystia (VIII. 3), cathedra (XII. 2), eremus (III. 11), chedriabis (I. 17), allofyli (IV. 3).

abunt clamantes in caelum et dicentes : 9. "Deus Abraham et Deus Isaac et Deus Iacob, reminiscere testamentum tuum quod factasti cum eis, et iusjurandum quod iurasti eis per Te, ne unquam deficiat semen eorum a terra quam dedisti illis." 10. Tunc reminiscuntur me, die illo dicentes tribus ad tribum et homo de proximo suo : 11. "Nonne hoc est quod testabatur nobis tum Moyses in profetiis, qui multa passus est in Aegypto et in mari rubro et in heremo annis XL : 12. Et testans invocabat nobis testes caelum et terram, ne praeteriremus mandata Illius, in quibus arbiter fuit nobis : 13. Ecce ea advenerunt nobis de isto secus verba ipsius et secus adfirmationem ipsius, quomodo testatus est nobis temporibus illis, ecce ea convenerunt usque nos duci captivos in

9. *Reminiscere* = ἀναμνήσκον.

10. *Homo de proximo suo* = ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ = אִישׁ לְרֵעֵהוּ.

11. *Tum*. So Schmidt-Merx. MS. cum.

Moses. This name is written thus in XI. 1, and the interpolated passage I. 5. In I. 4 Mosyses. Elsewhere, in XI. 2, 4, 14, 17, 19, XII. 1, 2, it is written as if from a Nom. Monses. For a similar insertion of n, cf. Bobbio MS., q. Mt. vi. 19, thesaurus, etc. Moyses is the Coptic form of this name. The Hebrew form Moses = מֹשֶׁה = מֹשֶׁה, which Schmidt-Merx give in I. 1, is not found in this MS.

Testabatur. This word means here "he declared." It represents

διεβεβαιοῦτο, and this in turn, הִוִּיר or הִוִּיר. The same diction lies behind adfirmationem ipsius quomodo testatus est (III. 13) = διαβεβαίωσιν καθὼς διεβεβαιοῦτο. It is due to the carelessness of the Latin translator that he used testor as a rendering of two distinct Greek verbs.

Profetiis. MS. profetis.

12. *Et testans invocabat nobis testes caelum et terram*. For et testans the MS. reads, testatus et, but wrongly; for clearly testans invocabat . . . testes = διαμαρτυρούμενος διεμαρτύρετο = והעיר העיר, and the whole phrase = והעיר העיר בנו אלהים ואחיהם ואחיהם. This statement is found, letter for letter, in the Apocalypse of Baruch lxxxiv. 2, "Moses

- caelum et dicentes
 9 deus abraham et deus isa
 ac et deus jacob remi
 niscere testamen
 tum tuum quod fac
 tasti cum eis et ju
 jurandum quod ju
 rasti eis per te ne um
 quam deficiat semen
 eorum a terra quam
 dedisti illis
 10 Tunc reminiscuntur
 me die illo dicentes
 tribus ad tribum et
 homo de proximo
 11 suo nonne hoc est
- quod testabatur no
 bis cum moyses in
 profetis qui multa
 85a passus est in aegypto
 et in mari rubro et
 in heremo annis xl
 12 testatus et invoca
 bat nobis testes cae
 lum et terram ne prae
 teriremus manda
 ta illius in quibus arbi
 13 ter fuit nobis quae
 advenerunt nobis
 de isto secus verba
 ipsius et secus adfir
 mationem ipsius

assuredly called heaven and earth to witness against you." Cf. Deut. iv. 26, xxx. 19, etc.

Ne praeteriremus mandata Illius. These words, also in a slightly different form, follow immediately on those just quoted from Apoc. Bar. lxxxiv. 2, *i.e.* "if ye transgress the law."

13. *Ecce ea advenerunt nobis.* So I have emended from quae advenerunt nobis. That this is right is clear from the exactly parallel passage in Apoc. Bar. lxxxiv. 5, "And now Moses used to tell you before they befell you, and lo! they have befallen you." Schmidt-Merx,

followed by Hilgenfeld, emend quae into vae; Volkmar resolves it into et ea.

De isto. This is taken to = ἐξ ἐκείνου (χρόνου). A comparison of the parallel passage in Apoc. Bar. lxxxiv. 4, "And after his (*i.e.* Moses') death ye cast them away from you (see also XIX. 3), on this account they came upon you," appears to show that de isto = אחריו = "after him," *i.e.* "after his death." Cf. Job xxi. 21.

Ecce ea. So I have emended et quae. See above.

In partem orientis = εἰς μέρος τῆς ἀνατολῆς = אל־קצה ארץ קדם. Cf. Exod. xvi. 35.

partem orientis?" 14. Qui et servient circa annos LXXVII.

IV. Tunc intrabit unus qui supra eos est, et expandet manus et ponet genua sua, et orabit pro eis dicens: 2. "Domine omnis, rex in alta sede, qui dominaris saeculo, qui voluisti plebem hanc esse tibi plebem hanc exceptam, tunc voluisti invocari eorum deus secus testamentum, quod fecisti cum patribus eorum. 3. Et ierunt captivi in terram alienam cum uxoribus et natis suis et circa ostium
* allofylorum et ubi est vanitas magna. 4. Respice et miserere eorum, Domine caelestis." 5. Tunc reminiscetur Deus eorum propter testamentum quod fecit cum patribus illorum, et palam faciet misericordiam suam et temporibus illis: 6. Et mittet in animam regis ut misereatur eorum, et dimittet illos

14. Merx reproduces this verse in Aramaic: אנון די יעברון שנין היך עו" שנין, and thinks that there is a play on the words "עו" (=77) also = עברה ורה (=idolatry), as this latter phrase was often simply denoted by the initial letters. Thus, "they shall also practise idolatry through the years." If this play was intended by the author, it proves nothing for an Aramaic original against a Hebrew, as עברה ורה is good Hebrew also.

IV. 1. For *intrabit*, *expandet*, *ponet*, MS. reads *intravit*, *expandit*, *ponit*.

2. *Domine omnis* = κύριε τοῦ παντός = Heb. ארין כל; Aram. מרא כל.

Plebem hanc exceptam. Hanc here represents the Greek article: τὸν λαὸν τὸν ἐκλεκτόν = העם הבחיר. Cf. Isa. xliii. 20. *Exceptam* is here an unhappy rendering. We should have *electam*.

3. *Vanitas*. The MS. reads *majestas*. This is corrupt. Hilgenfeld and Merx emend it into *maestitia*; Fritzsche into *molestia*. Volkmar supports the text, but without success. The corruption is not native to the Latin. *Majestas* = μεγαλειότης, corrupt for ματαιότης, "vanity," i.e. "idolatry." Nothing impressed the Jews so much in their captivity among the Gentiles as the idolatry of the latter.

- quomodo testatus
est nobis tempori
bus illis et quae conve
nerunt usque nos
duci captivos in par
14 tem orientis qui
et servient circa
annos ·lxxvii·
- IV. Tunc intravit unus
qui supra eos est
et expandit manus
et ponit genua sua
b et oravit pro eis di
2 cens Domine omnis
rex in alta sede qui
dominaris saeculo
qui voluisti plebem
hanc esse tibi plebem
hanc exceptam tunc
voluisti invocari
eorum deus secus tes
tamentum quod fe
cisti cum patribus
3 eorum et ierunt
captivi in terram
alienam cum uxori
bus et natis suis et
circa ostium allofi
lorum et ubi est
majestas magna
4 respice et misere
re eorum domine cao
5 lestis Tunc remi
niscitur deus eorum
propter testamen
tum quod fecit cum
86a patribus illorum et
palam faciet mise
ricordiam suam et
6 temporibus illis et
mittit in animam re
gis ut misereator
eorum et dimittit
illos in terram eorum

For this use of *παράδοτης* for an idol, cf. Ps. xxxi. 6, etc: *τὰ παράδοτα* is frequent in this sense. Cf. 2 Kings xvii. 15; Jer. ii. 5, x. 3. *יִדֹל* is the Hebrew.

5. *Reminiscetur*. MS. *reminiscitur*.

Suam et. Hilgenfeld and Schmidt-Merx delete *et*.

6. *Miseratur*. MS. *misereator*. *Dimittet*. MS. *dimittit*. *Terram eorum et regionem*. Semitic syntax requires an *eorum* after the *regionem*. But the Greek and Latin translators of Hebrew omitted the suffix in their rendering. Cf. LXX. 1 Chron. xxviii. 11;

in terram eorum et regionem. 7. Tunc ascendent aliquae partes tribuum et venient in locum constitutum suum et circumvallabunt locum renovantes.

8. Duae autem tribus permanebunt in praeposita fide sua, tristes et gementes, quia non poterint referre immolationes Domino patrum suorum. 9.

* Et X tribus crescent et multiplicantur apud nationes in tempore captivitatis suae.

V. Et cum adpropinquabunt tempora arguendi, et vindicta surget de reges participes scelerum et punientes eos, 2. Et ipsi dividuntur ad veritatem.

Vulg. Gen. xli. 8 ; Exod. xii. 9, xl. 18 ; Neh. iii. 3, 6, 13, 14, 15.

8. *Sua*. Volkmar and Schmidt-Merx emend into sed.

Poterint. Schmidt-Merx emend into poterunt.

9. *Multiplicantur apud nationes in tempore captivitatis suae*. So I have emended the very corrupt text devenient apud natos in tempore tribum. Hilgenfeld accepts the text, but changes tribum into tribulationis, and takes these words as prophecy of the return of the tribes to their descendants in Jerusalem. But this is absolutely impossible. Not to speak of the incredible change of tribulationis into tribum, there are other insuperable difficulties. If apud natos could stand here at all, we should require suos to be added. And finally, devenient could not be used of *going up* to Jerusalem. The great "Songs of the Ascents" would, in that case, be called "Songs of the Descents."

The right word in such a case would be ascendent (see ver. 7). Volkmar emends: devenient apud natos in tempore tribum. But there is no meaning in the expression in tempore tribum. Further, it is an unparalleled phrase. Schmidt-Merx emend: devertent apud nationes in tempore turbarum. But the sense is poor, "they will stay amongst the Gentiles in the time of troubles," and Fritzsche and Rosenthal rightly reject it.

Rosenthal emends: devenient apud natos in tempore iudiciorum. In the criticism of Hilgenfeld's emendation we have already shown devenient apud natos in the sense of a return to Palestine to be impossible. Some interest, however, attaches to his restoration in tempore iudiciorum. In tempore tribum is, he shows = בעת השבטים, where השבטים is corrupt for השפטים. The time of the judgments is that of the final judgment of God.

7 et regionem· tunc
 ascendent aliquae
 partes tribuum et
 venient in locum
 constitutum suum
 et circumvallabunt
 locum renovantes
 8 duae autem tribus
 permanebunt in
 praeposita fide sua
 tristes et gemen
 tes quia non pote
 rint referre im

molationes domino
 patrum suorum
 9 et ·x· tribus cres
 cent et devenient
 apud natos in tem
 V. pore tribum· et
 cum adpropiabunt
 tempora arguendi
 et vindicta surgit
 de reges participes
 scelerum et puni
 2 entes eos et ipsi
 dividuntur ad ve

We have now discussed all previous emendations of this text, and been obliged to reject them. My own restoration is as follows. First of all, I accept the emendation apud natos into apud nationes. Next, we see that something is wrong with devenient. It is coupled with crescent, and not improbably has a kindred meaning. Now devenient=κατελεύσονται = יררו, which is clearly a corruption of ירבו=multiplicantur. Thus the text runs, crescent et multiplicantur apud nationes. We have now to deal with in tempore tribum. This tribum is a frequent fifth-century equivalent of tribuum. The phrase, then, in tempore tribuum = בעת שבטים. Here בעת שבטים is corrupt for בעת שבטים=in tempore captivitatis suae. Thus our emended text

= crescent et multiplicantur apud nationes in tempore captivitatis suae. Now this agrees exactly with the statement of Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 5. 2, Αἱ δὲ δέκα φυλαὶ πέραν εἰσὶν Εὐφράτου ἕως δεῦρο, μυριάδες ἄπειροι, καὶ ἀριθμῶ γνωσθῆναι μὴ δυνάμεναι, and with the view expressed in 4 Ezra xiii. 36-48; Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, 31 (ii. 578, Mangey), ἐφόβουν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ αἱ πέραν Εὐφράτου δυνάμεις· ἦδει γὰρ Βαβυλῶνα καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας τῶν σατραπειῶν ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων κατεχομένας.

V. 1. *Surget.* MS. surgit.

De reges=διὰ τῶν βασιλέων. De here=per, as in I. 9, de Iesum. So Rönseh and Hilgenfeld. Schmidt-Merx, not observing the above sense of de, propose to emend de reges participes into ad participes regis, and punientes into punientis.

2. *Dividentur ad veritatem*=

3. Propter quod factum fuit: "Devitabunt justitiam et accedent ad iniquitatem, et contaminabunt iniquinationibus domum servitutis suae," et quia "fornicabunt post deos alienos." 4. Non enim sequentur veritatem Dei, sed quidam altarium inquinabunt de ipsis muneribus quae imponent Domino, qui non sunt sacerdotes, sed servi de servis nati. 5. Qui enim magistri sunt [doctores eorum]

διαμερισθήσονται πρὸς τὴν ἀληθειαν = נִחְלְקוּ בְּאֵמֶת. In 1 Kings xvi. 21, חֶלֶק is used in the Niphal of the division of the people into two factions as here. In the Talmud it is frequently used in reference to difference of opinion. Cf. Chag. xvi. b, נִחְלְקוּ בֵּה נִירוֹי, הַרְרִי = "the greatest Rabbis were divided on this point," quoted in Levy's *Lex.* ii. 65.

Propter quod = διόπερ.

Factum. Volkmar emends into dictum, and Schmidt-Merx into fatum.

3. *Iniquinationibus.* So Volkmar and Hilgenfeld, from iniquationibus. Schmidt-Merx (and later Hilgenfeld also), in nationibus.

4. *De ipsis muneribus.* I have here followed Rössch, in supplying the lacuna of six letters with ipsis. Hilgenfeld gives iis; Volkmar, omnibus; Schmidt-Merx, donis et.

5. *Qui enim magistri sunt* [doctores eorum]. If we study this clause in connexion with the rest of this verse and that which follows, it will become obvious that there is some corruption here. For whereas magistri doctores eorum are

naturally to be regarded as forming the class of teachers, their functions in the text are of quite a different nature. They are judges, and their justice is venal. Now if we retranslate into Greek and thence into Hebrew we shall be put in the way of discovering not merely the original text, but also a most interesting case in which what was at first an incorrect Hebrew marginal gloss was later incorporated in the text. To proceed: qui enim magistri sunt doctores eorum = (with Hilgenfeld) οἱ δὲ διδάσκαλοι ὄντες, οἱ καθηγηταὶ αὐτῶν = וְהַרְבֵּים מוֹרִיָּהִם (cf. John i. 39). Now, first of all, we know that הרבים, which can mean either "the Rabbis" or "the many," cannot have the former meaning in this context, as we have seen above; and in the next, we see that the latter meaning, "the many," harmonises perfectly with the rest of the context. For whereas in ver. 4b it is said that some who are not true priests will defile the altar of God, it is here said that many will administer justice corruptly, the

- 3 ritatem propter
quod factum fuit
devitabunt justi
tiam et accedent
ad iniquitatem et
contaminabunt in
genationibus domum
servitutis suae
et quia fornicabunt
post deos alienos
4 non enim sequen
tur veritatem dei

sed quidam altarium
inquinabunt de

- 78a muneribus quae
inponent domino qui
non sunt sacerdo
tes sed servi de ser
5 vis nati qui enim ma
gistri sunt docto
res eorum illis tem
poribus erunt miran
tes personas cupi
ditatum et accep

"some" and the "many" belonging alike to the Sadducean party, to the Sanhedrin, the chief council of the nation. The Sanhedrin possessed civil and criminal jurisdiction (Schürer, div. ii. vol. i. 187), and was at this period a body representative of the nobility, and not an association of learned men (*op. cit.* p. 174), as the Rabbins and the glosser on our text conceived it later. Having now determined the meaning of הרבים to be not "the Rabbis," but "the many," or "many," we now see that מוריה (*i.e.* doctores eorum) must originally have been a Hebrew gloss inserted in the margin to explain הרבים. That the glosser misapprehended the sense of the word is now obvious. Hence we should translate, "and many in those times will respect the persons of the rich," etc.

Locupletum. The MS. gives cupiditatum. I have adopted

Fritzsche's suggestion of locupletum, though he edits nobilitatum in his own text. Schmidt-Merx propose (cupidi) cupiditatum.

Accipientes munerum = δωροληπτοῦντες or δωρολήπταις. So I emend acceptiones munerum. The corruption may have arisen in the Greek by δωρολήπταις becoming δωροληψίας.

Pervertent. So Wieseler emends from pervendent. The three chief statements in this verse, that men will be mirantes personas, and acceptores munerum, and pervertent justitias are drawn from Deut. xvi. 19. Pervertent justitias is based on לא תפס משפט, "thou shalt not wrest judgment." Erunt mirantes . . . justitias = יהיו מכירים פני העשירים ולוקחים שחד והטו משפט.

Accipiendo poenas = accipientes poenas. This use of the ablative of the gerund for the present participle is characteristic of this Latin version. Cf. XI.

illis temporibus, erunt mirantes personas locupletum et accipientes munera, et pervertent justitias [accipiendo poenas]. 6. Et ideo implebitur colonia et fines habitationis eorum sceleribus et iniquitatibus.

* A Domino deficient, erunt impii iudices, et erunt in argento judicare quomodo quisque volet.

VI. Tunc exurgent illis reges imperantes, et in sacerdotes summi Dei vocabuntur: facient facientes impietatem ab sancto sanctitatis. 2. Et succedet illis rex petulans, qui non erit de genere sacerdotum, homo temerarius et improbus, et judicabit

17. This usage is frequently found in the oldest biblical translations. See Rönisch, *Z.f. W.T.* 1868, pp. 96, 97. As these words are simply a repetition of the phrase accipientes munera, I have bracketed them as a dittography. The only other alternative is to regard accipientes munera as representing *δωροληπτοῦντες* = *בצע ברוצים* = greedy after gain (Prov. xv. 27). There will then be no tautology in the verse: "They will respect the persons of the rich and be greedy of gain, and will wrest judgment on receiving presents." This form of the text would imply a knowledge of 1 Sam. viii. 3.

6. We have here a remarkable dittography, in which six lines of the MS. are repeated twice with some slight variations. The second is slightly more correct. The scribe no doubt intended to delete the former, but forgot. I here append the repeated portions side by side.

finis habita tionis eorum sce leribus et ini quita tibus a deo ut qui fa ciunt erunt impii ju dices erunt in eam post	fines habita tionis sceler ibus et iniquitat ibus a domino qui faciunt erunt impii judices inerunt in campo
---	---

If we compare the concluding words of each column, it is clear that erunt in eam post in the first is corrupt for erunt in campo et. I have given above the text presupposed by the twofold text.

A Domino deficient. So I emend from the corrupt twofold text a deo ut qui facit and a dño qui faciunt. Hilgenfeld reads: adeo jus qui faciunt. Volkmar and Schmidt-Merx connect a domino and a deo respectively with what precedes, and proceed: Volkmar, (quae) qui faciunt

tiones munerum
et pervendent
justitias accipien
6 do poenas et ideo
implebitur colo
nia et finis habita
tiones eorum sce
leribus et iniquita
tibus a deo ut qui fa
cit erunt impii ju
dices erunt in eam
post fines habita
tionis sceleribus

erunt impii judices; Schmidt-Merx, ut qui factarunt impie, judices erunt in ea inpost (=in posterum), etc.

Erunt in argento judicare. So I emend erunt in campo judicare. In campo = ἐν ἀργῶ, corrupt for ἐν ἀργύρῳ = בכסף. Erunt judicare is either corrupt for erunt judicantes or else it is to be referred back to the Hebrew. יהיו לשפוט = "they will be intent or ready to judge." For this construction cf. 2 Chron. xxvi. 5. Hilgenfeld takes in campo = ἐν πεδίῳ, corrupt for ἐμπεδοί, but the resulting sense is bad.

VI. 1. In summos sacerdotes Dei vocabuntur. This emended text (see below) = εἰς ἀρχιερεῖς τοῦ θεοῦ κληθήσονται = ונקראו על הכהנים הגדולים לאלהים. With this construction cf. LXX., 1 Chron. xxiii. 14, ἐκλήθησαν εἰς φυλὴν τοῦ Λευὶ = Massoretic, ונקראו על

et iniquitatibus
b a domino qui faciunt
erunt impii judices
inerunt in campo
judicare quomodo
VI. quisquae volet tunc
exurgent illis re
ges imperantes et
in sacerdotes sum
mi dei vocabuntur
facient facientes
impietatem ab sancto
2 sanctitatis et succedit illis

שבת הלי = "were numbered among the tribe of Levi." But the Niphal קרא has here a middle sense, as in Isa. xlviii. 2: "they will number themselves among the priests," i.e. "will call themselves priests." Thus the non-Greek expression εἰς ιερεῖς κληθήναι is to be explained from a Hebrew background. Instead of summos sacerdotes Dei vocabuntur, the text reads sacerdotes summi. For the grounds for this emendation see exegetical note, pp. 20, 21. Fritzsche unjustifiably changes in into qui.

Facient facientes: the well-known Hebraism = עשו יעשו; yet Schmidt-Merx emend it into in faciem facientes! Volkmar and Hilgenfeld omit facient, while Fritzsche omits facientes!

2. *Succedet.* MS. succedit.

illis quomodo digni erunt : 3. Qui elidet principales eorum gladio, et locis ignotis stinguet corpora illorum, ut nemo sciat ubi sint [corpora illorum]: 4. Occidet majores natu et juvenes, et non parcet. 5. Tunc timor erit illius acerbus [in eis] in terram eorum : 6. Et faciet in eis judicia, quomodo fecerunt in illis Aegyptii, per XXX et IIII annos, et punibit eos. 7. Et (p)roducet natos (qui su)ccedentes sibi breviora tempora dominarent. 8. In partes eorum cohortes venient et occidentis rex potens, qui expugnabit eos: 9. Et ducet captivos et partem aedis ipsorum igni incendet, (et) aliquos crucifiget circa coloniam eorum.

VII. Ex quo facto finientur tempora, momento (fini)etur cursus a(lter) horae IIII venient. 2. Co-

Judicabit illis. Is this to be explained by וְהָיָה בָהֶם (cf. Ps. cx. 6), or should we correct illis into illos?

3. *Elidet.* MS. elidit.

Stinguet. So Rönsch, from MS. singuli et. Hilgenfeld, sepeliet; Schmidt-Merx, jugulabit. Stinguet=extinguet. [Corpora illorum] I have, with Schmidt-Merx, bracketed as an intrusion.

4. *Occidet.* MS. occidit. Hilgenfeld and Volkmar omit the et before non: "and he will not spare the young."

5. *Acerbus.* MS. acervus. With Schmidt-Merx I bracket in eis.

6. *Punibit.* Hilgenfeld and Volkmar, from puniunt.

7. *(P)roducet natos (qui su)cce-*

dentes sibi breviora tempora dominarent. So Hilgenfeld and Fritzsche, emending donarent of MS. into dominarent. Volkmar, (p)roducet natos, (qi d)ecedentes sibi duriora tempora donarent; Schmidt-Merx, (p)roducet natos succedentes sibi et punientes eos breviora tempora donec repente.

8. *Partes.* MS. pares. *Cohortes.* So Volkmar, from MS. mortes. Gutschmidt, hostes; Rönsch, martiales.

Occidentis. MS. occidentes.

Qui. So Schmidt-Merx, from quia.

9. *Ducet.* MS. ducent. *Incendet.* MS. incendit. *Et* I have added with Schmidt-Merx.

Crucifiget. MS. crucifigit.

rex petulans qui
 non erit de genere
 sacerdotum homo
 temerarius et im
 probus et iudicabit
 illis quomodo dig
 3 ni erunt qui elidit
 principales eorum
 gladio et locis igno
 tis singuli et corpo
 ra illorum ut ne
 mo sciat ubi sint
 77a corpora illorum
 4 occidit maiores
 natu et iuvenes
 5 et non parcat tunc
 timor erit illius a
 cervus in eis in ter
 6 ram eorum et faci
 et in eis iudicia quo
 modo fecerunt in

illis aegypti per 'xxx
 et 'iiii' annos et pu
 7 niunt eos 'et . . rodu
 cit natos . . . eceden
 tes sibi breviora tem
 8 pora donarent in
 pares eorum mor
 tis venient et occi
 dentes rex potens
 quia expugnabit eos
 9 et ducent captivos
 et partem aedis ipso
 rum igni incendit
 aliquos crucifigit
 circa coloniam eorum
 b VII. ex quo facto finien
 tur tempora nomen
 to etur cursus
 a horae 'iiii' ve
 2 niant coguntur secun
 ae pos

VII. 1. *Facto*. Schmidt-Merx omit.

(*Fini*)etur. So Hilgenfeld, Volkmar, Wieseler. Schmidt-Merx and Colani read (sequ)etur.

A(ter). So Schmidt-Merx, Colani. Volkmar, quando: Hilgenfeld, a(evi).

Venient. So Hilgenfeld, Volkmar, Schmidt-Merx, from MS. veniant.

2. Though it is quite impossible to restore this verse, many scholars have made the attempt. We cannot discover the actual words of the writer: even if we knew them, their interpretation would be difficult, as they are enigmatical or symbolical. Yet certain scholars presume they know the hidden meaning of the writer, and re-

gentur secun 3. Et regnabunt de his homines pestilentiosi et impii, dicentes se esse justos. 4. Et hi concelabunt iram animorum suorum, qui erunt homines dolosi, sibi placentes, ficti in omnibus suis et omni hora diei amantes convivia, devoratores, gulae. 5. 6. (Paupe)rum bonorum comestores, dicentes se haec facere propter misericordiam suam 7. sed ut exterminarent eos, quaeru(losi), fallaces, celantes se ne possent cognosci, impii, in scelere pleni et iniquitate ab (sole)

store the text accordingly. With such a defective text to start from, they can easily read their own ideas into it, and they so manage their restorations as to make the text attest the period they have settled beforehand. Hilgenfeld restores as follows: Ex quo facto finientur tempora . momento (fini)etur cursus a(evi). horae IIII venient. Coguntur secus (septim)as . VII . pos(tumas) initiis tribus ad exitus. VIIII propter initium, tres septimae secunda, tria in tertia, duae quartae. Volkmar, Ex quo facto finientur tempora . momento (fini)etur cursus, q(ando) horae . IIII . veniant. Coguntur secun(da, medi)a, e(t sic) pos(tuma in) initiis tribus ad exitus. VIIII propter initium . tres (¶ws) septimae. Secunda tria, in tertia duae (p)eractae. Schmidt-Merx, Ex quo finientur tempora momento . (sequ)etur cursus alter; horae . IIII . venient. Coguntur secun(do septiman)ae VIIII, pos(tumae ab) initiis tribulationis ad exitus . VIIII propter (fort. tempora) initium,

tres septim(an)ae secunda, tria tertia, duae eractae. Colani, Ex quo facto finientur tempora momento . (sequ)etur cursus a(Iter) . horae IIII venient . coguntur secu(li tempor)a e(jus) pos(trema) ab initiis tribulationi)s ad exitus VIIII . propter initium tres septimae . secunda tria . in tertia duae (p)eractae. Wieseler, Horae IIII venient: cogentur secul(i septim)ae (dirae?) pos(tumae in) initiis tribus ad exitus VIIII ; propter initium tres septimae, secunda tria(s), in tertia duae h(o)ra(e)p(er)actae.

3. *Regnabunt.* Hilgenfeld and Schmidt-Merx, from MS. regnarunt. Is et regnarunt a Hebraism? i.e. יִשְׁשַׁל.

Dicentes. Hilgenfeld, from MS. docentes.

4. *Concelabunt.* The MS. reads suscitabunt. But the following word dolosi and ficti seem to show that not the rousing of their anger, but its suppression or concealment, is the thought here required.

. . . . initiis tribus ad
 exitus viiii propter
 initium tres sep
 timae secunda tria
 in tertia duae h . . ra . .
 3 tae et regnarunt
 de his homines pes
 tilentiosi et impii
 docentes se esse
 4 justos et hi susci
 tabunt iram animo
 rum suorum qui
 erunt homines do
 losi sibi placentes
 ficti in omnibus suis
 et omni hora diei
 amantes convivia
 devoratores gulae

68^a s . . . n . . . ca
 nus diis
 omnis

 u o
 rae elen
 6 tes rum bo
 norum comesto
 res dicentes se haec
 facere propter mi
 sericordiam qu . . .
 7 se et extermina
 tores quaeru . . .
 fallaces celantes se
 ne possent cognos
 ci impii in scelere
 pleni et iniquitate
 ab oriente usque ad

Sibi placentes. This does not appear to give the right sense, coming as it does between dolosi and ficti. The corruption may be traceable to the Hebrew. Sibiplacentes = εαυτοῖς ἀπέσκοντες = מבקשי הנאח עצמם. Here עצמם may be corrupt for עצומים, i.e. "the mighty." Hence we should render "pleasers of the mighty."

5. This verse, consisting of seven lines, is undecipherable.

6. (*Paupere*)rum. So Volkmar.

Suam. MS. qu . . . Volk-

mar, emends into eorum; Hilgenfeld, quare.

7. *Sed ut.* MS. se et. Volkmar, si et; Hilgenfeld, sicut; Fritzsche, sed et.

Quaeru(losi). MS. quaeru . . . Hilgenfeld, quaeru(nt); Volkmar, quaeru(nt qui); Fritzsche, queru(li et).

Ab oriente usque ad occidentem. Cf. XI. 8. Observe that this = ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνατέλλοντος μέχρι δύομένου. Thus it can equally well mean "from east to west" or "from sunrise to sunset."

oriente usque ad occidentem, 8. Dicentes: "Habebimus discubitiones et luxuriam, edentes et bibentes, et potabimus nos, tanquam principes erimus." 9. Et manus eorum et mentes immunda tractantes, et os eorum loquetur ingentia, et superdicent: 10. "Noli (tu me) tangere, ne inquines me loco in quo (ego) s(to)

VIII. Et (al)te(ra) veniet in eos ultio et ira, quae talis non fuit in illis a saeculo usque ad illud tempus, in quo suscitabit illis regem regum terrae et potentatem a potentia magna, qui confitentes circumcisionem in cruce suspendet, 2. Nam celantes torquebit et tradidit duci vinctos in

8. *Et potabimus.* So Hilgenfeld, from et putavimus. Volkmar, si mutavimus; Rönsch, perpotabimus. If with Fritzsche we emend putavimus into putabimus, we should expunge erimus and render "we shall esteem ourselves as princes."

9. *Mentes.* Hilgenfeld emends into dentes. The sentence—et manus eorum et mentes immunda tractantes et os eorum loquetur ingentia is thoroughly Hebraistic, beginning with a circumstantial clause. Cf. 1 Sam. ix. 11. (See Driver, pp. 238, 239.) ויריהם ולבכם ננעים בטמאות ופיהם ידבר נרלות.

10. *Noli (tu me) tangere.* So Volkmar.

VIII. 1. *Et (al)te(ra) veniet.* So Schmidt-Merx restore. Cf. IX. 2. Hilgenfeld and Volkmar; et cito adveniet; Fritzsche, ec(ce) ta(nte) veniet.

Quae talis non fuit in illis a saeculo usque ad illud tempus = οἷα οὐκ ἐγένετο ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἕως ἐκείνου τοῦ καιροῦ. This clause is based on Dan. xii. 1. Cf. Jer. xxx. 7. It will be observed that a saeculo usque ad illud tempus does not agree with the LXX. ἀφ' οὗ ἐγενήθησαν ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, nor with Theodotion, ἀφ' ἧς γεγένηται ἔθνος ἐν τῇ γῇ ἕως τοῦ καιροῦ ἐκείνου. It is nearer to the Syriac, which = a diebus saeculorum, which is defective here. Instead of the Massoretic סהיו גוי עד העת ההיא, our text and the Syriac imply גוי עד העת ההיא. Now it is remarkable that, in Mt. xxiv. 21, where this verse from Daniel recurs, we have practically the same text as that presupposed by the Syriac of Daniel and by our text. Mt. xxiv. 21 runs, θλίψις μεγάλη, οἷα

- 8 occidentem dicen
tes habebimus dis
cubitiones et luxu
riam edentes et
bibentes
Et putavimus nos
b tanquam principes
9 erimus et manus
eorum et mentes
immunda tractantes
et os eorum loque
tur ingentia et su
10 per dicent *noli*
tange ne inquines
me loco in quo . . . s . . .
. . . is d
su us

in
re ravi

VIII. in plebem quae s . . a.

illis *et . . ta . . ve*
niet in eos ultio *et*
ira quae talis non
fuit in illis a saeculo
usque ad illum tem
pus in quo suscita
vit illis regem regum
terrae et potesta
tem a potentia mag
na qui confitentes

67^a circumcisionem

in cruce suspendit

2 Nam necantes tor
quebit et tradidit

οὐ γέγονεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμον ἕως τοῦ νῦν. Here ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμου is probably a free rendering of מֵמִיתָ עַד. In Isa. xliii. 12, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς is the LXX. rendering of מֵמִיתָ. αἰῶνος would have been a better rendering of the Semitic original of Mt. than κόσμον. Thus there seems some connection between our text and Mt. xxiv. 21. On the other hand, we have in Rev. xvi. 18 an independent rendering of the Hebrew of Dan. xii. 1. For similar phraseology, cf. Jer. xxx. 7; Dan. ix. 12; 1 Macc. ix. 27.

Potentatem. So Rönisch, from potestatem. Yet potestatem may = τὸν ἐξουσιάζοντα = מְשִׁיחָא. Potestatem a potentia magna may = τὸν ἐξουσιάζοντα ἐξουσίᾳ μεγάλη.

Suspendet. MS. suspendit.

Illud. MS. illum. *Suscitabit.* MS. suscitavit.

2. *Celantes.* So I emend necantes of MS. Hilgenfeld, negantes; Schmidt-Merx, non negantes. Those who conceal their circumcision are set over against those who openly confess it. Or should we read (circum)-secantes, or possibly secantes

custodiam. 3. Et uxores eorum deis donabuntur (in) gentibus, et filii eorum pueri secabuntur a medicis inducere acrobistiam illis. 4. Nam illi in eis punientur in tormentis et igne et ferro, et cogentur palam baiulare idola eorum inquinata, quomodo sunt pariter continentibus ea. 5. Et a torquentibus illos pariter cogentur intrare in abditum locum eorum, et cogentur stimulis blasphemare verbum contumeliose, novissime post haec leges et quod haberent supra altarium suum.

IX. Tunc illo die erit homo de tribu Levi, cujus nomen erit Taxo, qui habens VII filios dicet ad eos rogans: 2. "Videte, filii, ecce ultio facta est in plebe altera crudelis immunda et traductio sine misericordia et eminens principatum. 3. Quae enim gens, aut quae regio, aut quis populus impiorum in Dominum, qui multa scelestia fecerunt, tanta

only, = "those who circumcise." Cf. 1 Macc. i. 61, where it is recorded that those who did this operation were put to death.

Et tradidit. If the text is correct, we have here an instance of strong vav with the perfect. Nam celantes torquebit et tradidit ואחיהםסחריים יענה= נתן. Previous editors emend tradidit into tradet. If we must change, we should probably read tradibit(?).

3. *Deis donabuntur (in) gentibus.* MS. diisdonabuntur gentibus. So Merx, but that he

reads dominis instead of deis. Haupt, disdonabuntur (= διαδοθήσονται) gentibus.

Medicis. MS. adds pueri, which I omit, with Schmidt-Merx and Fritzsche.

Secabuntur. Schmidt-Merx add et venabuntur.

Inducere acrobistiam. MS. inducere acrosisam.

5. *Novissime post haec.* These two expressions may have arisen from two alternative renderings of the same Hebrew word or phrase.

Leges et. MS. et leges. This is the simplest and, so far as I

- duci vinctos in cus
 3 todiam et uxores
 eorum diis donabun
 tur gentibus
 Et filii eorum pueri
 secabantur a medicis
 pueri inducere ac
 4 rosisam illis nam illi
 in eis punientur in
 tormentis et igne
 et ferro et cogen
 tur palam bajulare
 idola eorum iniqui
 nata quomodo sunt
 pariter continen
 5 tibus ea et a torquen
 tibus illos pariter co
 gentur intrare in
 abditum locum eo
 rum et cogentur

- b stimulis blasphema
 re verbum contu
 meliose novissime
 post haec et leges
 quod haberent su
 pra altarium suum
 IX. tunc illo dicente ho
 mo de tribu leuui
 cujus nomen erit
 taxo qui habens vii
 filios dicens ad eos
 2 rogans videte filii
 ecce ultio facta est
 in plebe altera cru
 delis immunda et
 traductio sine mi
 sericordia et emi
 nent principatum
 3 quae enim gens aut
 quae regio aut quis

see, the most satisfactory emendation of the text. Hilgenfeld emends leges into legis, and takes it as genitive dependent on quod. Volkmar changes quod into quas. Schmidt-Merx would omit et leges or read et legis (latorem et). Fritzsche reads et leges et.

IX. 1. *Die erit*. So Schmidt-Merx, from dicente. Volkmar, edicenti; Hilgenfeld, ducente.

Dicit. MS. dicens.

Transductio = ἐλεγχος. Cf. Wisdom ii. 14, xi. 8, xviii. 5 (Rönsch).

2. *Eminens principatum* = ὑπερέχων τὴν ἀρχήν. So Rönsch and Hilgenfeld, from eminent principatum. Schmidt-Merx and Fritzsche, clementia principatum.

3. *Dominum*. So Hilgenfeld. MS. domum.

mala passi sunt, quanta nobis contegerunt? 4. Nunc ergo, filii, audite me; videte enim et scite, quia nunquam temptan(te)s Deum, nec parentes (nostri), nec proavi eorum, ut praetereant mandata Illius. 5. Scitis enim quia haec sunt vires nobis. Et hoc faciemus. 6. Jejunemus triduo, et quarto die intremus in speluncam quae est in agro est, et moriamur potius, quam praetereamus mandata Domini Domimorum, Dei parentum nostrorum. 7. Hoc enim si faciemus et moriemur, sanguis noster vindicabitur coram Domino.

X. Et tunc parebit regnum illius in omni creatura
Illius

Et tunc Zabulus finem habebit,
Et tristitia cum eo abducetur.

2. Tunc implebuntur manus nuntii,
Qui erit in summo constitutus,
Qui protinus vindicabit illos ab inimicis eorum.
3. (Exur)get enim Caelestis a sede regni sui,
Et exiet de habitatione sancta sua

4. *Nunquam temptantes Deum, nec parentes (nostri), nec proavi eorum.* I have here added nostri with Schmidt-Merx, and emended temptans of the MS. into temptantes, as Volkmar. The construction is purely Semitic. The clause = the Hebrew אִנֹּם מְנַסִּים אֶת־אֱלֹהִים גַּם אֲבוֹתֵינוּ גַּם אֲבוֹתָם. The Aramaic is similar, לִיְהוֹנָן מְנַסֵּין יְהוָה. Hilgenfeld's emendation of temptans into temp-

tavimus is a strong measure, and is likewise against the context. The speaker is urging his sons to do as their fathers before them, who never tempted God nor transgressed His commandments. And so, in ver. 7, he urges them to die rather than transgress.

5. *Faciemus.* Hilgenfeld emends into faciamus.

6. *Speluncam.* MS. spelunca.

- populus impiorum
in domum qui multa scelestam fecerunt
tanta mala passi sunt
- 91a quanta nobis contegerunt
- 4 Nunc ergo filii audite
me videte enim et
scite quia nunquam
temptans deum nec patientes nec proavi
eorum ut praetereant mandata illius
- 5 scitis enim quia haec sunt vires nobis
- 6 et hoc faciemus jejuniemus triduo et quarto die intremus
in spelunca quae in agro est et moriamur potius quam praetereamus mandata domini dominorum dei
- parentum nostrorum hoc enim si faciemus et moriemur sanguis noster vindicabitur
- b coram domino
- X. Et tunc parebit regnum illius in omni creatura illius
Et tunc zabulus finem habebit et tristitiam cum eo adducetur
- 2 Tunc implebuntur manus nuntii qui est in summo constitutus qui protinus vindicavit illos ab inimicis eorum
- 3 get enim caelestis a sede regni sui et exiet de habitatione sancta sua cum

7. *Vindicabitur*. MS. vindicavitur.

X. 1. *Zabulus*, i.e. diabolus. This form is frequent in the Latin fathers. Cf. Lactant. *De mort. pers.* XVI., a te Zabulus victus est.

Tristitia. MS. tristitiam.

Abducetur. So Hilgenfeld and

Volkmar, from adducetur. Schmidt-Merx, deducetur.

2. *Implebuntur manus*. The phrase יד כלא means, to give full powers to.

Erit. MS. est.

Vindicabit. MS. vindicavit.

3. *Cum indignationem et iram*. For the emendation of

† Cum indignationem et iram † propter filios
suos :

4. Et tremebit terra, usque ad fines suas con-
cutietur,

Et alti montes humiliabuntur

Et colles concutientur et cadent.

5. (Et) cornua solis confringentur et in tenebras
convertet se,

Et luna non dabit lumen et tota convertet se
in sanguinem,

Et orbis stellarum conturbabitur.

6. Et mare usque ad abyssum decedet,

Et fontes aquarum deficient,

Et flumina exarescent ;

this corrupt text, see exegetical
note on X. 3.

4. Schmidt-Merx bracket con-
cutietur et.

Et alti montes humiliabuntur
= καὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ ταπεινωθήσεται.
This phrase is ultimately derived
from Isa. xl. 4, probably through
Eth. En. i. 5.

Et colles concutientur et cadent.
The MS. is here impossible : et
concutientur et convalles cadent.
In the first place, it would be
absurd to speak of the moun-
tains being shaken after they had
already been brought low ; and
in the next, the valleys cannot
be described as falling. Con-
valles is clearly wrong, and if
we turn to Isa. xl. 4, πᾶν ὄρος
καὶ βουνὸς ταπεινωθήσεται, and
Eth. En. i. 6, καὶ σεισθήσονται
καὶ πεσοῦνται καὶ διαλυθήσονται

ὄρη ὑψηλὰ καὶ ταπεινωθήσονται
βουνοὶ ὑψηλοὶ (Greek Version),
on which the present passage is
based, we shall see that convalles
should be colles, and that con-
cutientur should be connected
with cadent. So Eth. En. i. 6,
σεισθήσονται καὶ πεσοῦνται. This
corruption might possibly have
arisen in the Latin. It is easy
to explain it as a confusion of
נפצת with נבעת.

5. (Et) cornua solis . . . in
sanguinem. The MS. reads, sol
non dabit lumen et in tenebris
convertent se cornua lunae et
confringentur et tota convertit
se in sanguine, which Hilgenfeld
follows, merely changing con-
vertit into convertet. This verse
is clearly corrupt. Fritzsche
emended tenebris convertent into
tenebras convertet, convertit in-

indignationem et
 iram propter filios
 4 suos et tremebit
 terra usque ad fi
 nes suas concutie
 tur et alti montes
 humiliabuntur
 92^a et concutientur
 et convalles cadent

5 sol non dabit lumen
 et in tenebris con
 vertent se cornua
 lunae et confringen
 tur et tota conver
 tit se in sanguine et
 orbis stellarum con
 6 turvabitur et ma
 re usque ad abyssum

to convertet, and omits et before confringentur. Schmidt-Merx deal drastically with the text. They omit et in tenebris convertent se and et tota convertit se in sanguine as marginal glosses from Acts ii. 20. But they failed to remark that Joel ii. 31 is the source of these phrases, and not Acts ii. 20. They further object (and I believe rightly) to the expression cornua lunae, and think that cornua belongs to sol. Hence they read: et cornua solis confringentur et luna non dabit lumen. It is not necessary, however, to delete the above phrases. They are well-known O.T. expressions. This, indeed, might favour the idea of their being glosses, but the fact that their removal would destroy the vigour of the text makes for their retention. Hence the text requires to be dealt with differently. First of all, in tenebras convertet se is a phrase nearly always used of the sun. Cf. Eccles. xii. 2; Isa. xiii. 10; Joel ii. 31, iii. 15; Mt. xxiv. 29; Mk. xiii. 24; Lk. xxiii. 45; Acts ii. 20; Rev.

vi. 12, ix. 2. Hence we have good grounds for connecting it with the sun in this passage, against the MS., which relates it to the moon. Secondly, the phrase non dabit lumen is not used of the sun, but of the moon only. Cf. Ezek. xxxii. 7; Mt. xxiv. 29; Mk. xiii. 24. This may be due to the paranomasia in the phrase in Hebrew: ירה לא-אור אורו. Thirdly, tota convertet se in sanguinem is only used of the moon: Joel ii. 31; Acts ii. 20; Rev. vi. 12. Finally, I accept Merx's view that cornua confringentur must be connected with sol. Hence the passage should read—

(Et) cornua solis confringentur
 et in tenebras convertet
 se

Et luna non dabit lumen
 et tota convertet se in san
 guinem.

Conturbabitur. MS. contur
 vavitur.

6. *Decedet.* MS. decedit.

Et fontes. MS. ad fontes.

Exarescent. So Haupt, from MS. expavescent. Cf. Test. Levi iv. ὑδάτων ξηρανομένων.

7. Quia exurget Summus, Deus aeternus solus,
Et palam veniet ut vindicet gentes,
Et perdet omnia idola eorum.
8. Tunc felix eris tu Istrahel,
Et ascendes supra cervices [et alas] aquilae,
Et implebuntur (dies luctus tui).
9. Et altabit te Deus,
Et faciet te herere caelo stellarum,
† Loco habitationis eorum †:
10. Et conspicies a summo et videbis inimicos
tuos in Ge(henna),
Et cognosces illos et gaudebis,
Et ages gratias et confiteberis creatori tuo.
11. Nam tu, Jesu Nave, custodi verba haec et
hunc librum. 12. Erunt enim a morte—receptione
—m(ea) usque ad adventum illius tempora CCL quae
fient. 13. Et hic cursus (erit) horum quem con-
venient donec consummentur. 14. Ego autem ad
dormitionem patrum meorum eam. 15. Itaque tu,
Jesu Nave, (confortare, et) firma te (nam te) elegit
Deus esse mihi successorem ejusdem testamenti.

7. *Exurget.* MS. *exurgit.*
Aeternus solus. Schmidt-Merx
transpose after deus in ver. 9.

8. *Implebuntur.* In the la-
cuna already recognised by Merx
and Fritzsche, following Dr.
Cheyne's apt suggestion, I have
supplied dies luctus tui from
Isa. lx. 20, where the context,
as he points out, deals with
Israel's glorious future on earth.

9. *Altabit.* MS. *altavit.*
Faciet te herere. Herere, *i.e.*
haerere = κολλᾶσθαι, which may
be a rendering of נָנֶה or נָנִי (Job
xli. 16).

9-10. *Loco habitationis eorum.*
For my emendation of this cor-
rupt text, see exegetical note on
X. 9. Schmidt-Merx think the
words are transposed, and write
them as follows: et videbis

- decedit ad fontes
 aquarum deficient
 et flumina expaves
 7 cent' quia exurgit
 summus deus aeternus
 solus et palam ve
 niet ut vindicet gen
 tes et perdet om
 nia idola eorum
 8 Tunc felix eris tu is
 trahel et ascendes
 supra cervices et
 alas aquilae et in
 b 9 plebuntur et alta
 vit te deus et faciet te
 herere caelo stella
 rum loco habitatio
 10 nis eorum' et cons
 piges a summo et vi
 des inimicos tuos
 in terram et cognos
 ces illos et gaudebis
 et agis gratias et con
 fiteberis creatori
 11 tuo nam tu jesu na
 ue custodi verba
 haec et hunc librum
 12 erunt enim a morte
 receptionem usque
 ad adventum illius
 tempora 'ccl' quae
 13 fiunt *et hic* cursus
 . . . horum quem
 conveniunt donec
 consummentur
 14 Ego autem ad dormi
 tionem patrum me
 100a 15 orum eram itaque

inimicos tuos in terra et con
 spicies a summo locos habita
 tionis eorum.

10. *Conspicies.* MS. conspiges.
Videbis. MS. vides. *Ge(henna).*
 So I emend and restore the cor
 rupt text terram. See exegetical
 note on X. 10 for the grounds for
 so doing. *Ages.* MS. agis.

11. *Nam.* Hilgenfeld, jam.

12. *A morte* — *receptione* —
m(ea). Volkmar and Fritzsche, a
 morte et receptione mea; Hilgen-

feld, a morte mea; Schmidt-
 Merx, a receptione mea = ἀπὸ
 τῆς ἐμῆς ἀναλήψεως.

Fient. So Hilgenfeld, from
 MS. fiunt.

13. *Convenient.* MS. con
 veniunt. This is a peculiar use
 of this word. Rönisch thinks
 that it represents μεθοδεύουσιν.
 Fritzsche emends into conficent.

14. *Eam.* So all editors, from
 eram.

15. (*Confortare et*) *firma te*

XI. Et cum audisset Jesus verba Moysi tam scripta in sua scriptura (quam) omnia quae praedixerat, scidit sibi vestimenta et procidit ad pedes Monse. 2. Et hortatus est eum Monse et ploravit cum eo. 3. Et respondit illi et dixit Jesus: 4. "Quid me solaris, domine Monse? et quo genere solabor de qua locutus es voce acerba quae exivit de ore tuo, quae est plena lacrimis et gemitibus, quia tu discedis de plebe ist(a)? 5. (Sed ec)quis locus recipiet (jam) te? 6. Aut quod erit monumentum sepulturae? 7. Aut quis audebit corpus tuum transferre inde ut homo de loco in locum? 8. Omnibus enim morientibus secus aetatem sepulturae suae sunt in terris; nam tua sepultura ab oriente sole usque ad occidentem et ab austro usque ad fines aquilonis: omnis orbis terrarum

(*nam te*). So I have restored with Schmidt-Merx. For firma the MS. reads forma. The text here unquestionably goes back to the phrase with which Moses addressed Joshua in Deut. xxxi. 6, 7, 23; Josh. i. 6, 7. See critical note on I. 10. This phrase is of frequent occurrence later, 1 Chron. xix. 13, xxii. 13, xxviii. 20; 2 Chron. xxxii. 7; Dan. x. 19, xi. 1; 1 Macc. ii. 64; 1 Cor. xvi. 13.

For forma Hilgenfeld reads firma, presumably meaning firmare; Volkmar, firma te.

XI. 1. *Moysi* = Μωυση̃.

Tam. Volkmar adds dicta quam.

(*Quam*). I have added quam after scriptura; Schmidt-Merx and Fritzsche add it after omnia. Hilgenfeld makes no addition, but takes tam = οὐτω.

Praedixerat. MS. praedixerant.

Monse. MS. gives meos. Schmidt-Merx, Mose; but see crit. note on III. 11. Volkmar, Moysis; Hilgenfeld, Mosis.

2. *Hortatus est* = παρεκάλεισε.

Eum. So Rönsch, Hilgenfeld and Schmidt-Merx, from cum. *Monse*. MS. Monse. Fritzsche; Moyses.

4. *Solaris* . . . *solabor*. So Schmidt-Merx and Hilgenfeld, from MS. celares . . . celabor.

100*a* tu jesu naue forma te
elegit deus esse mihi
successorem ejusdem

XI. testamenti et cum
audisset jesus verba
moysi tam scripta
in sua scriptura om
nia quae praedixerant
scidit sibi vestimen
ta et procidit ad pe
2 des meos et horta
tus est cum monse
et ploravit cum eo
3 Et respondit illi et
4 dixit iesus quid me ce
lares domine monse
et quo genere cela
bor de qua locutus
est voce acerva que
exivit de ore tuo
quae est plena la

crimis et gemitibus
quia tu discedis de

b plebe ist

5 quis locus recipit

6 te aut quod erit mo
numentum sepul

7 turae aut quis aude
vit corpus tuum trans
ferre in eut homo
de loco in locum

8 Omnibus enim mori
entibus secus aeta
tem sepulturae su
ae sunt in terris
nam tua sepultura
ab oriente sole usque
ad occidentem et
ab austro usque ad fi
nes aquilonis omnis
orbis terrarum se
pulcrum est tuum

Volkmar, zelaris . . . zelabor.
Quid me solaris . . . solabor=
τί με παρεκαλείς καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ
παρακληθήσομαι = וְאֵיךְ נִחְמְדָנוּ לְמַעַן
עֲנֵנוּ.

De quo. Volkmar, Schmidt-
Merx, and Fritzsche emend into
de qua.

Es. MS. est.

Acerva quae. MS. acerva que.

5. *Ist(a. Sed ec)quis.* So I

restore. Hilgenfeld ist(a modo);
Volkmar, ist(a multa); Schmidt-
Merx, ist(a et jam); Fritzsche,
ist(a verum).

Recipiet (jam). So I restore
with Fritzsche. Hilgenfeld, re-
cipiendi; Schmidt-Merx, re-
cipiet (nunc).

7. *Audebit.* MS. audevit.
Inde ut. So Gutschmidt, from
in eut.

sepulcrum est tuum. 9. Domine, abis, et quis nutriet plebem istam? 10. Aut quis est qui miserebitur illis, et quis eis dux erit in via? 11. Aut quis orabit pro eis, nec patiens ne unum quidem diem, ut inducam illos in terram atavorum? 12. Quomodo ergo potero plebem hanc tanquam pater unicum filium, aut tanquam domina filiam virginem, quae paratur dari viro, quem timebit, corpus custodiens ejus a sole et ne (sint) scalciati pedes ejus ad currendum supra terram. 13. (Et quî) [de voluntate eorum] praestabo illis ciborum et potui secus voluptatem voluntatis eorum? 14.

9. *Abis.* So Schmidt-Merx and Hilgenfeld, from ab his.

Nutriet. MS. nutrit.

11. *Nec patiens ne unum diem* = οὐδὲ παριεῖς οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν. Now παριεῖς = "permitting" or "omitting." The Latin translator wrongly followed the former meaning. Hence for patiens read praetermittens. Hence there is no need to suppose a confusion of πάσχω and παρήσχω with Fritzsche, or regard patiens as a corruption of fatiscens with Schmidt-Merx. For unum, MS. reads uno.

Diem. Hilgenfeld and Schmidt-Merx change into die.

Atavorum. So Rönisch, from aravorum. Cf. I. 8. Schmidt-Merx, abavorum; Ewald, Amorreorum.

12. *Potero plebem hanc.* This I take to be = δυναστεύσω τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον = הוּא בָעַם לְאִשְׁרָאֵל. δυναστεύειν is a rendering of

לָשׂוּב in the LXX., and in 1 Chron. xvi. 21 and Dan. xi. 4 governs an accusative. Here, as in ver. 11, we have to render not the Latin word before us, but the Greek, which it presupposes. In ver. 17 we have to resolve the difficulty similarly.

For ergo potero, Hilgenfeld first suggested regere potero, then ego potero. He also suggests that potero may be corrupt for procuro. Volkmar thinks that potero = δυνήσομαι, which is corrupt for ἡγήσομαι or ὀδηγήσομαι. According to Rönisch (*Z.f. W.T.* 1868, p. 105), potero = δυνάτῃσω or δυναστεύσω; (*Z.f. W.T.* 1869, pp. 226-228), δυνήσομαι or δυναστεύσω.

Domina filiam virginem. So I emend filiam dominam virginem. Volkmar took κυρίαν = begotten of his own body, but this is impossible. Merx reads filia dominam virginem. Fritzsche, filiam domina virgi-

- 9 domine ab his
Et quis nutrit plebem
10 istam aut quis est
qui miserebitur il
lis et quis eis dux erit
99^a in via aut quis ora
bit pro eis nec pati
ens ne uno quidem
diem ut inducam il
los in terram ara
12 borum quomodo
ergo potero plebem
hanc tanquam pa
ter unicum filium
aut tanquam filiam
- dominam virginem
quae paratur tali vi
ro quae timebat cor
pus custodiet ejus
a sole et ne scalcia
ti pedes ejus ad cur
13 rendum supra ter
ram de vo
luntatem eorum
praestabo illis ci
borum et potui se
cus voluntatem
voluntatis eorum
14 enim illorum
b erant c milia nam

nem. If we could reject the second *tanquam*, we might then take *dominam* to be a rendering of *κυπταν*, and this in turn to be a corruption of *ώπαταν*. The sense then would be admirable, "as a father (his) only son or his comely virgin-daughter."

Dari viro. So I emend *tali viro*. Cf. Ecclus. vii. 25, *ἐκδοῦ θυγατέρα . . . καὶ ἀνδρὶ συνετῷ δώρησαι αὐτήν*. These words were most probably before the writer, as he has clearly drawn upon vii. 24, *πρόσσεχε τῷ σώματι αὐτῶν*. Volkmar reads (nup)t(i)-ali viro; Schmidt-Merx, thalamo viri; Rönsch, tradi viro.

Quem timebat. So Rönsch, from quae timebat, comparing Ecclus. xxvi. 28 (MSS. H., 248;

Syr. Vers. and Arab.), which seems to have been in the mind of the writer: *θυγάτηρ δὲ εὐσχήμων καὶ τὸν ἀνδρα ἐντραπήσεται*. Rönsch thus restores the Greek *παρθένον παρασκευαζομένην ἐκδοθῆναι ἀνδρὶ ὃν ἐντραπήσεται*.

13. (*Et qui*). So Volkmar and Schmidt - Merx supply the lacuna; Hilgenfeld, quid.

[*De voluntate eorum*]. I have bracketed this phrase as a ditto-graphy.

Secus voluptatem voluntatis eorum = כַּחפֿץ רְצוֹנָם. Cf. Ephes. i. 5. MS. *secus voluntatem voluntatis eorum*. Other editors read *secus voluntatem voluptatis eorum*.

14. [*Viri*]. So Hilgenfeld supplies the lacuna, comparing

(Viri) enim illorum erunt (D)C milia, nam isti in tantum increverunt in tuis orationibus, domine Monse. 15. Et quae est mihi sapientia aut intellectus in domo (Domini) verbis aut judicare aut respondere? 16. Sed et reges Amorreorum tum audebunt expugnare nos, (et) credentes jam non esse † semet † sacrum spiritum dignum Domino, multiplicem et incomprahensibilem, dominum verbi, fidelem in omnia, divinum per orbem terrarum profetem, consummatum in saeculo doctorem jam non esse in eis, dicent: 'Eamus ad eos. 17. Si inimici impie fecerunt semel adhuc in

Exod. xii. 37; Volkmar, copia; Schmidt-Merx, numerus.

Erunt. So Fritzsche, from erant.

(D) I have supplied from Exod. xii. 37.

Increverunt. So Hilgenfeld, from qui creverunt. Rönsch emends qui into quidem. Hence in tantum quidem = *εἰς τοσούτων* τι.

15. (*Domini*). So, rightly, former editors supply the lacuna in the MS.

16. *Tum audebunt expugnare nos.* So I emend cum audierint expugnare nos. This, I think, gives the right sense to expugnare nos, making nos the object of expugnare. This thought is put into the mouths of the Amorites at the close of the verse: eamus ad eos. Schmidt-Merx add audebunt after audierint: cum audierint audebunt expugnare nos.

Non esse semet. Hilgenfeld takes semet = *ἐαυτόν*, corrupt for *ἐαυτῶν*. Hence non esse semet is derived from οὐκέτι εἶναι *ἐαυτῶν* = "was no longer amongst them." Volkmar regards semet = *αὐτόν*, corrupt for *αὐτόν*, i.e. Moses. Wieseler emends it into semel, Schmidt-Merx into semen, and Rönsch into senem. Schmidt-Merx supply in eis before semen. Semet is corrupt, I think, for secum = *σὺν αὐτοῖς*, a miswriting of *σὺν αὐτοῖς*. Thus non esse cum eis is the same practically as the phrase at the close of the verse, non esse in eis.

Jam non esse in eis. Schmidt-Merx brackets. *Dicent.* MS. dicens.

17. *Inimici.* Schmidt-Merx, enim ei.

Quomodo Monse ferebat magnus nuntius. So I emend quomodo Monse erat magnus

isti in tantum qui
 creverunt in tuis
 orationibus domine mon
 15 se et quae est mihi
 sapientia aut intelle
 lectus in domo
 verbis aut judicare
 aut respondere
 16 sed et reges amor
 reorum cum audie
 rint expugnare nos
 credentes jam non
 esse semet sacrum

spiritum dignum domino
 multiplicem et in
 conpraehensibilem
 dominum verbi fidelem
 in omnia divinum
 per orbem terra
 rum profetam con
 summatum in sae
 culo doctorem jam
 non esse in eis di
 98^a cens Eamus ad e
 17 os si inimici impie
 fecerunt semel ad

nuntius; for the reading of the MS. does not give the sense required by the context. The words quomodo Moses erat must be connected either with non est defensor: "they have no advocate like unto Moses"; or with qui ferat pro eis praeces: "to offer prayers for them as Moses offered." If we pursue the latter course, we must emend erat into ferebat. Then quomodo Monses ferebat praeces will = כאשר משה נשא תפלות. This I have done above. But the latter course may be preferable. "No advocate like Moses" is more suitable to the context. Hence the error originated with the Greek translator, who misrendered כמשה המלאך הגדול = "like unto Moses the great messenger." Previous editors have failed to remark this difficulty.

Intuens potentem omnis orbis terrarum cum misericordia. The MS. gives the corrupt text, intuens homini potentem orbem terrarum cum misericordia. First of all, cum misericordia is clearly an adverbial phrase qualifying potentem. Hence potentem is to be regarded as a participle governing orbem and qualified by cum misericordia. It is thus obvious that homini cannot be compounded with it. It can only then belong to orbem terrarum. Hence we must read either omnem orbem terrarum or omnis orbis terrarum. The text thus runs: intuens potentem omnis orbis terrarum cum misericordia = ἐμβλέπων εἰς τὸν δυναστεύοντα παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἐν ἐλεημοσύνῃ = שועה על הכושל ברחמים אה-כל העולם ברחמים. See note on potero in XI. 12. For Greek expressions justifying the above,

Dominum suum, non est defensor illis qui ferat pro eis praeceps Domino, quomodo Monse ferebat magnus nuntius, qui singulis horis, diebus et noctibus, habebat genua sua infixata in terra, orans et intuens potentem omnis orbis terrarum cum misericordia et justitia, reminiscens testamentum parentum et jurejurando placando Dominum.' 18. Dicent enim: 'Non est cum eis: eamus itaque et confundamus eos a facie terrae.' 19. Quod ergo fiet plebi isti, domine Monse? "

XII. Et postquam finivit verba Jesus, iterum procidit ad pedes Monsi. 2. Et Monse prendit manum ipsius et erexit illum in cathedra ante se, et respondit et dixit illi: 3. "Jesu, te ne contemnas, sed praebe te securum et adtende verbis meis. 4. Omnes gentes quae sunt in orbe terrarum Deus

cf. 3 Macc. ii. 7, τῷ τῆς ἀπάσης κτίσεως δυναστεύοντι; v. 7, τὸν . . . πάσης δυνάμεως δυναστεύοντα; Ezra viii. 13, ὁ τὰ πάντα δυναστεύων θεός.

Previous editors tried many ways of emendation, of which the best are: Hilgenfeld, intuens omnipotentem orbem terrarum, which, he thinks, implies εἰσορῶν τὸν πάντα κρατοῦντα τὸν κόσμον. Is this conceivable? Schmidt-Merx, intuens omni potent(ia tenent)em orbem terrarum = ἀτενίσας παντὶ σθένει κτλ = Aramaic, הַכָּל בְּכָל הַכֹּחַ לֹא אֶתְּנוּ עִלְמָא. It is possible that omnem does not belong to the text at all. It may have

arisen from the corruption of ὅς into ὅς.

Reminiscens = ἀναμνήσκων. So Rönseh points out (*Z.f. W.T.* 1874, p. 562).

Placando = placans. See critical note on accipiendo poenas in V. 5.

18. *Confundamus*. We must here translate, not the Latin word, but the Greek συγχέωμεν, which it implies.

Facie. MS. faciae.

XII. 2. *Monse*. MS. Monse.

3. *Iesu te ne*. So Hilgenfeld, from Iesus et ne. Schmidt-Merx, Iesu, set ne.

4. *Orbe*. MS. ore.

Ut nos. So Rönseh, from

- huc in dominum suum
 non est defensor
 illis qui ferat pro
 eis praeces domino
 quomodo monse
 erat magnus nunti
 us qui singulis horis
 diebus et noctibus ha
 bebat genua sua in
 fixa in terra orans
 et intuens homini
 potentem orbem
 terrarum cum mi
 sericordia et jus
 titia reminiscens
 testamentum pa
 rentum et jure
 jurando placando
 18 dominum dicent enim
 non est ille cum eis
- eamus itaque et con
 b fundamus eos a fa
 19 ciae terrae quod
 ergo fiet plebi isti
 XII. domine monse et post
 quam finivit ver
 ba iesus iterum pro
 cidit ad pedes monsi
 2 Et monse prendit
 manum ipsius et e
 rexit illum in cathe
 dra ante se Et res
 pondit et dixit illi
 3 iesus et ne contem
 nas sed praebe te
 securum et adten
 4 de verbis meis om
 nes gentes quae sunt
 in ore terrarum
 deus creavit et nos

et nos. Schmidt-Merx, (illos)
 et nos. Hilgenfeld connects
 nos with praevit. Schmidt-
 Merx omit the following illos
 et nos.

Usque ad. So Gutschmidt,
 from ut ad.

Praevit et promovit cuncta.
 So I emend praevit et provovit
 cum eis; for in connection with
 praevit we require another
 verb expressive of action, as

in the preceding words, creavit
 . . . praevit, and in the clause
 immediately subsequent, provi
 dit et ecce aufertur (*i.e.* affertur).
 Foreknowledge and action, or
 thought and actuality, are one
 in the divine mind.

Volkmar reads praevit et
 pronovit cum eis; Schmidt-
 Merx, praenovit et providit
 cunctis; Hilgenfeld, praevit
 et pronovit cunctis.

creavit ut nos, praevidit illos et nos ab initio creaturae orbis terrarum usque ad exitum saeculi, et nihil est ab eo neglectum usque ad pusillum, sed omnia praevidit et promovit cuncta. 5. (Et) Dominus omnia quae futura essent in hoc orbe terrarum providit et ecce affertur (in lucem. 6. Dominu)s me constituit pro eis ut pro peccatis eorum (orarem) et in(plorare(m) pro eis. 7. Non enim propter meam virtutem aut [in]firmitatem, sed temperantius misericordiae ipsius et patientia contegerunt mihi. 8. Dico enim tibi, Jesu: Non propter pietatem plebis hujus exterminabis gentes. 9. Lumina caeli fundamenta orbis facta et probata a Deo et sub annulo dexterarum Illius sunt. 10.

5. (*Et*). Volkmar and Hilgenfeld supply the lacuna with deus; Fritzsche, with ut.

Affertur. So Volkmar, from aufertur.

5-6. (*In lucem . . . Dominu)s*, i.e. in lucem dñs. So I supply the lacuna, but there seems to be a large gap here in the work, though the MS. gives no hint of it. Hilgenfeld (itaque Dmn)s; Volkmar (sic dñ dñn)s.

6. *Ut*. Volkmar, from et.

(*Orarem*). So supplied by Volkmar.

In(pl)orare(m). So Rönsch. Volkmar in(pr)ecare(r).

7. [*In*]firmitatem. I have bracketed the in as an intrusion: the context requires this. Schmidt - Merx, in firmitate mea.

Temperantius. Over against non propter meam virtutem aut firmitatem we expect an expression of God's will or purpose: not my worth, but God's purpose or call. Now, if we retranslate our text into Hebrew, we shall find that the Hebrew thus arrived at furnishes the meaning we are in search of. First of all, temperantius = ἐπιεικῶς. Now, in the only two passages in the canonical books of the LXX. where ἐπιεικῶς occurs, it is a translation of יָאֵל. 1 Sam. xii. 22, ἐπιεικῶς κύριος προσελάβετο ὑμᾶς εὐαγῶ εἰς λαόν = הוֹאֵל יי לעֲשׂוֹת אֲחֵכֶם לִי לְעָם; and 2 Kings vi. 3, καὶ εἶπεν ὁ εἰς ἐπιεικῶς δεῦρο = וַיֹּאמֶר הָאָחֵר הוֹאֵל נָא וְלִי. Thus temperantius misericordiae ipsius . . . contigerunt

- praevidit illos et
 nos ab initio crea-
 turae orbis terra-
 rum: ut ad exitum
 saeculi et nihil est
 97^a ab eo neglectum us-
 que ad pusillum:
 sed omnia praevidit
 et provovit cum
 5 *eis* . . *dns* omnia quae
 futura essent in *hoc*
 orbe terrarum pro-
 vidit et ecce aufer-
 tur
 6 . . . s *me* consti-
 tuit pro eis et pro pec-
 catis eorum . . .
 . . . et in . . *ccare* . .
 7 pro eis: non enim
- propter meam vir-
 tutem aut infirmi-
 tatem: sed tempe-
 rantius misericor-
 diae ipsius et pati-
 entia contegerunt
 8 mihi: dico enim ti-
 bi iesu: non propter
 pietatem plebis hu-
 jus exterminabis
 b 9 gentes: omnia *caeli*
 firmamenta orbis *fac-*
ta ut provata a deo
 et sub nullo dexte-
 rae illius sunt
 10 Facientes itaque et con-
 summantes manda-
 ta ei crescunt et bo-
 nam viam exigunt

mihi = ἐπιεικῶς συνέβη μοι ἔλεος αὐτοῦ = הואיל וקרא אותי חסדו. Here we must either change וקרא into וקרא, and translate "He was pleased to make his compassion light upon me," or else insert ב or כ before חסדו, and then we have, "He was pleased to call me in His compassion" = dignatus est vocare me in misericordia ipsius.

Patientia. We should add ipsius.

9. *Lumina.* So Hilgenfeld,

from omnia. *Fundamenta.* So Hilgenfeld, from firmanenta. Schmidt-Merx read, omnia enim fundamenta orbis.

Et probata. MS. ut provata. *Annulo.* So Gutschmidt, from nullo. Rönseh compares Jer. xxii. 24, ἀποσφράγισμα (חותם) ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς δεξιᾶς μου, Ecclus. xlix. 11. Schmidt-Merx propose umbra.

10. *Crescent . . . exigent.* So Schmidt-Merx, from crescunt . . . , exigunt.

Facientes itaque et consummantes mandata Dei
crescent et bonam vitam exigent: 11. Nam
peccantibus et negligentibus mandata carebunt bona
quae praedicta sunt, et punientur a gentibus multis
tormentis: 12. Nam (ut) in totum exterminet et
extinguat eos fieri non potest. 13. Exhibet enim
Deus qui praevидit omnia in saecula, et stabilitum
est testamentum Illius et iusjurandum quod

11. <i>Carebunt bona.</i> So	12. (<i>Ut</i>). Added by Volkmar
Fritzsche, from <i>carere bonam.</i>	and Schmidt-Merx.
Volkmar, <i>carent bona ea.</i>	<i>Extinguat.</i> So I emend relin-

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>11 nam peccantibus et
neglegentibus man
data carere bonam
quae praedicta sunt
Et punientur a gen
tibus multis tormen</p> <p>12 tis nam in totum ex
terminet et relin</p> | <p>quat eos fieri non</p> <p>13 potest exivit enim
deus qui praevидit om
nia in saecula et sta
bilitum est testa
mentum illius et
jurejurando quod</p> |
|---|--|

quat, which has no meaning
after exterminet.

13. *Exibit.* So Volkmar and
Schmidt-Merx, from exivit.

Jusjurandum. MS. jure-
jurando.

ORIGINAL ASSUMPTION
OF MOSES

ORIGINAL ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

WE have already seen in the Introduction (pp. xlv-l) good grounds for regarding the Latin Fragment, *i.e.* the so-called Assumption of Moses, as constituting originally not "The Assumption," but "The Testament of Moses." We further learnt that this Fragment shows traces of editing, by means of which this Testament was adapted to and combined with another document. For the leading characteristic of this latter document we are already prepared through the insertion in X. 12, which shows that it was the editor's intention to add to the "Testament" thus edited "The Assumption of Moses." Of this original Assumption of Moses, thus foreshadowed in X. 12, not a single line has survived in the Latin Fragment; but it is not entirely lost to us, for some of its most remarkable passages have been preserved in Greek in St. Jude and several of the patristic writers. From these scattered quotations and references we are able in some degree to restore the order of its thought, and in part its actual phraseology in one or more of its most important sections.

Now, judging from the surviving Greek fragments, which we shall give *in extenso* presently, the order of

the action in the original Assumption was probably as follows :—

i. Michael is commissioned to bury Moses :

ii. Satan opposes his burial, and that on two grounds—

(a) First, he claims to be the lord of matter (hence the body rightfully should be handed over to him).

To this claim Michael rejoins : “The Lord rebuke thee, for it was God’s Spirit that created the world and all mankind.” (Hence not Satan, but God was the Lord of matter.) (b) Secondly, Satan brings the charge of murder against Moses. (The answer to this charge is wanting.)

iii. Having rebutted Satan’s accusations, Michael then proceeds to charge Satan with having inspired the serpent to tempt Adam and Eve.

iv. Finally, all opposition having been overcome, the Assumption takes place in the presence of Joshua and Caleb, and in a very peculiar way. A twofold presentation of Moses appears : one is Moses “living in the spirit,” which is carried up to heaven ; the other is the dead body of Moses, which is buried in the recesses of the mountains.

This sketch is founded, as we have observed, on quotations and references occurring in St. Jude and subsequent writers. We shall now reproduce it in the actual phraseology of these writers.

i. τελευτήσαντος ἐν τῷ ὄρει Μωυσέως ὁ ἀρχάγγελος Μιχαὴλ ἀποστέλλεται μεταθήσων τὸ σῶμα.

ii. Ὁ οὖν διάβολος ἀντεῖχε θέλων ἀπατηῆσαι, λέγων ὅτι· (a) “Ἐμὸν ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα, ὡς τῆς ὕλης δεσπόζοντι.” ὁ δὲ ἀρχάγγελος τῷ διαβόλῳ διακρινόμενος εἶπεν· “Ἐπιτιμήσαι σοι Κύριος· ἀπὸ γὰρ πνεύματος ἁγίου αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐκτίσθημεν καὶ ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξῆλθε τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐγένετο.” (b) (Τότε) ὁ διάβολος ἐπήνεγκε ἔγκλημα

διὰ τὸν τοῦ Ἀιγυπτίου φόνον, (λέγων)· φονεύς ἐστιν ὁ Μωυσῆς· διὰ τοῦτο οὐ συγχωρεῖται αὐτῷ τυχεῖν τῆς ἐννόμου ταφῆς.

iii. Τότε ὁ ἀρχάγγελος Μιχαὴλ τῷ διαβόλῳ διαλεγόμενος εἶπεν· “Σὺ ἐνέπνευσας τὸν ὄφιν ὥστε αἴτιον γενέσθαι τῆς παραβάσεως τοῦ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῆς Εὔας.

iv. Καὶ τὸν Μωυσέα ἀναλαμβάνόμενον διττὸν εἶδεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ, καὶ τὸν μὲν μετ’ ἀγγέλων, τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη περὶ τὰς φάραγγας κηδείας ἀξιούμενον. εἶδεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν θεὰν ταύτην κάτω πνεύματι ἐπαρθεῖς σὺν καὶ τῷ Χαλέβ.

The passages from which we have constructed this sketch are as follows. After each passage I enclose in brackets numbers which show to what part of the above reconstruction the passage in question belongs.

St. Jude 9. ὁ δὲ Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος, ὅτε τῷ διαβόλῳ διακρινόμενος διελέγετο περὶ τοῦ Μωσέως σώματος, οὐκ ἐτόλμησε κρίσιν ἐπενεγκεῖν βλασφημίας, ἀλλ’ εἶπεν, Ἐπιτιμῆσαι σοι Κύριος (ii.(a)).

Clement of Alexandria (Flor. 190–203 A.D.), *Strom.* vi. 15. Ἐικότως ἄρα καὶ τὸν Μωυσέα ἀναλαμβάνόμενον διττὸν εἶδεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ, καὶ τὸν μὲν μετ’ ἀγγέλων, τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη περὶ τὰς φάραγγας κηδείας ἀξιούμενον. εἶδεν δὲ Ἰησοῦς τὴν θεὰν ταύτην κάτω, πνεύματι ἐπαρθεῖς σὺν καὶ τῷ Χαλέβ· ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὁμοίως ἄμφω θεῶνται. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν καὶ θάττον κατῆλθεν, πολὺ τὸ βρῖθον ἐπαγόμενος· ὁ δὲ ἐπικατελθὼν ὕστερον τὴν δόξαν διηγείτο, ἣν ἐθεάτο διαθρῆσαι δυνηθεὶς μᾶλλον θατέρου, ἅτε καὶ καθαρώτερος γενόμενος . . . δηλούσης, οἶμαι, τῆς ἱστορίας, μὴ πάντων εἶναι τὴν γνῶσιν (iv.).

Adumbrat. in Ep. Judae (Zahn’s *Supplementum Clementinum*, p. 84). “Quando Michael archangelus cum diabolo disputans altercabatur de corpore Moysi.” Hic confirmat Assumptionem Moysi (ii.).

Origen (185–254 A.D.). *De Princip.* iii. 2. 1 (Lom-

matzsch, xxi. 303, 304). Et primo quidem in Genesi serpens Evam seduxisse describitur, de quo in Adscensione Mosis, cujus libelli meminit in epistola sua apostolus Judas, Michael archangelus cum diabolo disputans de corpore Mosis ait, a diabolo inspiratum serpentem causam exstitisse praevaricationis Adae et Evae (iii.).

In Josuam hom. ii. 1 (Lommatzsch, xi. 22). Denique et in libello quodam, licet in canone non habeatur, mysterii tamen hujus figura describitur. Refertur enim quia duo Moses videbantur, unus vivus in spiritu, alius mortuus in corpore. In quo hoc est nimirum quod adumbratur, quia si intuearis literam legis inanem et vacuum ab iis omnibus quae superius memoravimus, ipse est Moses mortuus in corpore. Si vero potes remove legem velamen, et intelligere, quia lex spiritualis est, iste est Moses, qui vivit in spiritu (iv.).

Didymus Alex. (309–394). *In Epist. Judae Enarratio* (Gallandi, *Bibliotheca Patrum*, vi. 307). In reference to Jude 9, Didymus writes: Adversarii hujus contemplationis praescribunt praesenti epistolae et Moyseos Assumptioni propter eum locum ubi significatur verbum Archangeli de corpore Moyseos ad diabolum factum (ii.(a)).

Evodius, contemporary of Augustine. *Epist. ad Augustin.* 258, vol. ii. p. 839, Ben. ed. 1836. Quanquam et in apocryphis et in secretis ipsius Moysi, quae scriptura caret auctoritate, tunc cum ascenderet in montem ut moreretur, vi corporis efficitur, ut aliud esset quod terrae mandaretur, aliud quod angelo comitanti sociaretur. Sed non satis urget me apocryphorum praeferre sententiam illis superioribus rebus definitis (iv.).

Severus, Patriarch of Antioch (512–519). (Cramer, *Cat. in Epist. Cathol.*, p. 160). Βουλόμενος ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς νοῖς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τοῦτο ὑποδείξει διὰ σωματικοῦ τύπου τινὸς,

παρεσκεύασεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Μωυσέως ταφῇ φανῆναι ὑπ' ὀφθαλμοῦς αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν περιστολὴν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ γῇ νεμομισμένην κατὰθεσιν, ἀνθιστάμενον ὥσπερ τὸν πονηρὸν δαίμονα καὶ ἀντιπράττοντα· καὶ τούτῳ τὸν Μιχαὴλ ἄγαθον ἄγγελον ὄντα προσυπαντῆσαι καὶ ἀποσοβῆσαι· καὶ μὴ ἐξουσιαστικῶς ἐπιτιμῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τῷ κυρίῳ τῶν ὅλων παραχωρῆσαι τῆς κατ' ἐκείνου κρίσεως, καὶ εἶπεν ἐπιτιμῆσαι σοι Κύριος (i. ? and ii.).

Acta Synodi Nicaen. II. 20 (Fabricius, i. 844). Ἐν βιβλίῳ δὲ Ἀναλήψεως Μωυσέως Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος διαλεγόμενος τῷ διαβόλῳ λέγει· ἀπὸ γὰρ πνεύματος ἁγίου αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐκτίσθημεν (ii.(a)).

Apollinarius (*Catena Niceph.* i. col. 1313). Σημειωτέον, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Μωυσέως ἦσαν καὶ ἄλλαι βίβλοι, αἱ νῦν εἰσὶν ἀπόκρυφοι, ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἰουδα ἐπιστολὴ· ὅπου διδάσκει καὶ περὶ τοῦ Μωυσέως σώματος καὶ ἔνθα μέμνηται ὡς ἐκ παλαιᾶς Γραφῆς, Ἰδοὺ κύριος ἦξει καὶ τὸ ἐξῆς (i.-iv.).

The following anonymous writings are from Cramer's *Catena in Epist. Cathol.*, pp. 160-163. P. 160. ὁ δὲ Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος, ὅτι τῷ διαβόλῳ διακρινόμενος διελέγετο περὶ τοῦ Μωυσέως σώματος καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Δείκνυνσι καὶ τὴν παλαιὰν συμφωνοῦσαν τῇ καινῇ, καὶ ὑφ' ἐνὸς Θεοῦ δεδομένας· ὁ γὰρ διάβολος ἀντεῖχε θέλων ἀπατῆσαι, ὅτι ἐμὸν τὸ σῶμα ὡς τῆς ὕλης δεσπόζοντι· καὶ ἤκουσε παρὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τὸ ἐπιτιμῆσαι σοι κύριος· τουτέστι ὁ Κύριος τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός (ii.(a)).

P. 161. Λέγεται ὁ Μιχαὴλ περὶ τὴν τοῦ Μωυσέως σώματος διηκονηκέναι ταφὴν· τοῦ διαβόλου πρὸς τοῦτο ἀνθισταμένου (i.-ii.).

P. 163. τελευτήσαντος ἐν τῷ ὄρει Μωυσέως, ὁ Μιχαὴλ ἀποστέλλεται μεταθήσων τὸ σῶμα, εἶτα τοῦ διαβόλου κατὰ τοῦ Μωυσέως βλασφημοῦντος, καὶ φονέα ἀναγορεύοντες διὰ τὸ πατάξαι τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, οὐκ ἐνέγκων τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ

βλασφημίαν ὁ ἄγγελος, “ἐπιτιμῆσαι σοι ὁ Θεὸς” πρὸς τὸν διάβολον ἔφη (i. and ii.(b)).

The next two scholia on Jude 9 were first printed by C. F. Matthaei (*Sept. Epp. Cathol.*, Riga 1782, pp. 238, 239), the first from D, an 11th century MS. τελευτήσαντος ἐν τῷ ὄρει Μωυσέως ὁ ἀρχάγγελος Μιχαὴλ ἀποστέλλεται μεταθήσων τὸ σῶμα. ὁ οὖν διάβολος ἀντείχεθ' ἑλθὼν ἀπατήσας, λέγων ὅτι ἐμὸν τὸ σῶμα ὡς τῆς ὑλῆς δεσπόζοντι· ἦτοι διὰ τὸ πατάξαι τὸν Αἰγύπτιον βλασφημοῦντος κατὰ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ φονέα ἀναγορεύσαντος, μὴ ἐνεγκὼν τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ βλασφημίαν ὁ ἄγγελος “Ἐπιτιμῆσαι σοι ὁ Θεός,” πρὸς τὸν διάβολον ἔφη (i. and ii.(a) + (b)). It was Rönseh that first drew attention to this and the next scholion. The second scholion is from Œcumenius (*in. Epist. Jud.*, circ. 990), which Matthaei (*l.c.*) edited from a 12th or 13th century MS. H. λέγεται ὁ Μιχαὴλ τῇ τοῦ Μωυσέως σώματος διακονικῆναι ταφῇ, τοῦ διαβόλου πρὸς τοῦτο ἀνθισταμένου (i. and ii.).

Finally, Œcumenius (*Comm. in Ep. Jud.*, p. 340, cited by Volkmar). ἡ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Μωυσέως σώματος κρίσις ἐστὶν αὕτη· λέγεται τὸν Μιχαὴλ τὸν ἀρχάγγελον τῇ τοῦ Μωυσέως ταφῇ δεδικονηκέναι. τοῦ γὰρ διαβόλου τοῦτο μὴ καταδεχομένου, ἀλλ' ἐπιφέροντος ἔγκλημα διὰ τὸν τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου φόνον, ὡς αἰτίον (so Hilgenfeld, from MS. αὐτοῦ) ὄντος τοῦ Μωυσέως, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ συγχωρεῖσθαι αὐτῷ τυχεῖν τῆς ἐννόμου ταφῆς (i. and ii.(b)).

It will be observed that in all these passages there is not a single important statement which has not been incorporated in our sketch on p. 106.

APPENDIX ON I. 8



I HAVE just discovered that the text in I. 8, *ut inducat plebem in terram*, agrees with the Samaritan text, the Syriac and Vulgate Versions of Deut. xxxi. 7, **אָחָה תְּבִיא**, **אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה אֶל־הָאָרֶץ**, against the Massoretic, LXX., and Targum of Onkelos, which have **תְּבִיא**=“thou shalt enter,” and its equivalents, instead of **תְּבִיא**, “thou shalt cause to enter” or “thou shalt bring in.”

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PREFACE.

IN the Sixth Book of the Apostolic Constitutions,* we find a severe censure of certain early works, among which are reckoned βιβλία ἀπόκρυφα Μωσέως καὶ Ἐνὼχ, καὶ Ἀδὰμ, Ἡσαίου τε καὶ Δαβίδ κ. τ. λ. "The apocryphal Books of Moses, of Enoch, of Adam, as well as those of Isaiah and David," etc. Those works, however, do not deserve all that the Apostles are made to say of them.

The apocryphal "Book of Moses," there alluded to, is probably the λεπτὴ Γένεσις or "lesser Genesis," known as having existed of old in Greek, under that name; and also under that of Ἀποκάλυψις Μ., or τὰ Ἰουβηλαῖα "the Apocalypse of Moses," or "the Book of Jubilees," quoted by S. Epiphanius,† Geo. Syncellus,‡ Geo. Cedrenus,§ and others. Of those three titles, τὰ Ἰουβηλαῖα remained little understood, until Dr. Dillmann published in 1859, the Ethiopic *Kufale*, or "Liber Jubilæorum;" so named by him, because throughout the book, said to have been revealed to Moses by "the Angel of the Face," or Michael—the division of periods of time is by jubilees of forty-nine—fifty years. The *Kufale* is often quoted in the notes to this book.

* Ch. xvi, ed. Cotel.

† *Chronogr.*, vol. i, p. 7, ed. D.

‡ *Hæres.*, xxxix, 6.

§ *Hist. Comp.*, vol. i, p. 9.

As to the "Book of Enoch," it was known only through a quotation from it by S. Jude v. 14, 15; and after him, from allusions to it by S. Hilarius, S. Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Geo. Syncellus, and others—until it was discovered in Abyssinia by Bruce, who brought several Ethiopic copies of it from thence to Europe; one of which is now in the Bodleian Library. This was published and also translated by Archbishop Lawrence, in 1838. A later and more accurate edition of it was issued by Dr. Dillmann at Leipzig, in 1851, from several MSS. brought from Abyssinia since the days of Bruce; and it has been translated more than once within the last few years. It is highly interesting, as a work of the probable date of its composition—not long before or after the coming of Christ. It is often quoted in the following pages.

As to the "Book of Adam," mentioned in the passage above given from the Apostolic Constitutions, if it is not the *Sidra l'Adam*, also called "the Book of Adam," of the Mandæans, it may be Βίος Ἀδάμ, "the Life of Adam," alluded to by Geo. Syncellus,* as distinct from the λεπτὴ Γένεσις. It is also said to exist in Syriac and in Arabic, in the Vatican Library; and "Vita Adæ et Evæ" has lately been worked out of the Ἀποκάλυψις Ἀδάμ, and of other documents in Latin, by Dr. W. Meyer, of the Academy of Munich, and published there in 1879.

Lastly, by the apocryphal "Book of Isaiah," is probably meant his "Ascension," only known in Ethiopic; and published in Ethiopic and in English, by Archbishop Lawrence, at Oxford, in 1819. It dates, probably, from the early days of the Church, and is mentioned by Origen and by S. Epiphanius,† as τὸ ἀναβατικὸν Ἡσαίου. It alludes, among other things, to the martyrdom of Isaiah, who was sawn asunder by order of Manasseh.

The present interesting work, however, has little in common with those apocrypha; among which it has no right to take

* *Chron.*, vol. i, p. 7.

† *Hæres.*, xl, 2; lxvii, 3.

place. Whereas they all are apparently of Jewish origin, this "Conflict of Adam" is altogether a Christian work, and of a later date than those writings. It is probably the work of some pious and orthodox Egyptian of the fifth or sixth century, who tells his story, or stories—some of which are also found in the Talmud and thence in the Coran and elsewhere—as they were then believed; adding here and there a good deal of his own. Yet all is told in the simple—to Western taste, perhaps, childish—style of pious Eastern writers of those days. The author's devout faith runs throughout his narrative; he seems willing and ready to believe much rather than to doubt; to take things for granted, rather than to question the truth of them.

His object then, is to connect the first Adam with the coming of the second, Christ; five thousand five hundred years* after Adam's fall in Eden, and in fulfilment of the promise then made him of a Saviour. In our author's words, Adam holds frequent intercourse with "the Word of God," who tells him of His coming in the flesh in order to save him; a promise Adam charges his children to remember and to hand down to their own children. Then, when dead, his body is embalmed, and laid in the Cave of Treasures, where he and Eve had spent their life; it is thence taken by Noah, with the gold, the incense and the myrrh brought from Eden, and laid in the ark; whence it is taken out by Melchizedec after the Flood; and brought by him, together with Shem and an angel sent to show them the way, to "the Middle of the Earth;" *ὁμφαλὸς τῆς γῆς*, to the hill "Cranium," or Golgotha. There, the rock opens of its own accord to receive the body of Adam, and then closes in again. It is the very spot on which the Saviour's cross was raised, when He was crucified.

This book, now first translated into English, and that tells much that will be new to most readers—was probably written in Arabic in Egypt; whence it was taken farther south, and

* According to the LXX.

translated into Ethiopic. At all events no Greek or Egyptian original of it, is, as yet, known to exist; neither does it betray the least vestige of Hellenism. There is, indeed, a Syriac work of the early Church, called *M'ārath gāze*, "the Cave of Treasures" mentioned by Asseman,* and ascribed to S. Ephrem by the presbyter Simeon,† who lived in the thirteenth century. Judging from its title, it may have much in common with the present work; yet in the absence of all knowledge of that Syriac MS., one can, for the present, only look upon the Arabic copy, written in Egypt, as the probable original. For the Ethiopic version, although written in good style, bears unmistakable marks of an Arabic origin.

It is, of course, as yet impossible to fix with certainty the date of either the Arabic original, or of the Ethiopic translation. Dr. Dillmann, in the preface to his German translation, seems to think this "Conflict of Adam" may date from the fifth or sixth century; and there does not seem to be any good reason for thinking otherwise. It is, however, certain that it must have been written before the ninth century; judging from the numerous extracts from it, given word for word, by Saïd Ibn-Batrik, or Eutychus, physician, and also Melkite Patriarch, who lived in the ninth century; when he wrote his *Nazam al-jawāhir*, or "String of Gems" as he called his "Annals of the World," from the creation to his own time. It is a work of merit; although, perhaps, too full of stories that cannot be received as authentic.

The present translation was made on the accurate and scholarly Ethiopic edition lately published by the great orientalist Dr. E. Trumpp, Professor at the University of Munich. He had the advantage of the Arabic original which he frequently quotes in his valuable notes, of which I have often availed myself; an advantage the "magnus Apollo," in Ethiopic lore, Dr. Dillmann, does not seem to have had,

* *Bibl. Or.*, vol. iii, p. 281, and vol. ii, p. 498.

† *Ib.*, vol. iii, p. 563

for comparison with the more or less imperfect MSS. on which he made his German translation in 1853.

As the Ethiopic text is irregularly divided in sections,—some of great length, owing to the subject in hand,—I thought more convenient to divide my translation into Books, and chapters, some of which have the same headings as those given in the text.

Book I—takes in the whole life of Adam and Eve, from the day they left Eden ; their dwelling in the Cave of Treasures ; their trials and temptations ; Satan's manifold apparitions to them, and the Word of God coming to comfort and help them. Then the birth of Cain, of Abel, and of their twin sisters ; Cain's love for his own twin sister, Luluwa, whom Adam and Eve wished to join to Abel ; hence Cain's hatred and murder of his brother ; and Adam's sorrow and death.

Book II—gives the history of the patriarchs who lived before the Flood ; the dwelling of the children of Seth on the Holy Mountain—Mount Hermon—until they were lured by Genun and by the daughters of Cain, to come down from the mountain ; and as “fallen angels,” to lose God's love for them. Then Cain's death, when slain by Lamech the blind ; and the lives of the other patriarchs, until the birth of Noah.

Book III—gives the history of the building of the ark ; of the Flood, of the settlement of Noah and his family ; and of the carrying of the body of Adam to “the Middle of the Earth ;” the growth of idolatry under Nimrud ; the destruction of idols ; and the call of Abraham.

Book IV—gives a short history of the patriarchs, judges and kings, from Abraham to the coming of Christ.

The first three Books are by far the most interesting.

The fourth professes to give genealogies that were irretrievably lost ; yet somehow, discovered and given in detail by the author. Most of the names are of pure Ethiopic origin, and others are so disfigured as not to be recognized. I have,

therefore, given them unaltered ; as they cannot be of any great moment.

I have only to add that although frequently obliged to translate freely sundry passages unfit for a more accurate rendering, I have yet kept as much as I could to the style of the original, as best in a work of this kind. I have also added a few notes from the Talmud, Midrashim and other Eastern writings, placed at the end of the volume, and numbered, to which reference is made in the text—in order either to illustrate the matter in hand, or to supply details of particular interest.

S. C. MALAN.

THE VICARAGE, BROADWINDSOR,
July 12th, 1882.

THE BOOK OF ADAM AND EVE,

ALSO CALLED

THE CONFLICT OF ADAM AND EVE WITH SATAN.

BOOK I.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost : One God.

We begin, with the help of God, to whom be glory, the writing of the Conflict of Adam and Eve, that befell them after they had come out of the garden, and while they dwelt in the Cave of Treasures, by command of God the Creator.*

CHAPTER I.

On the third day,† God planted¹ the garden² in the east of the earth, on the border of the world³ eastward, beyond which, towards the sun-rising, one finds nothing but water, that encompasses the whole world, and reaches unto the borders of heaven.^{4†}

And to the north [of the garden] there is a sea of water, clear and pure to the taste, like unto nothing else ; so that,

* The Ethiopic translator adds here—"their Creator and Ruler, to Him by name, the living God, endowed with reason and speech, Creator of all creatures—be glory."

† Of the week, *Beresh. Rab.*, sect. i, fol. 18.

‡ For the most learned work as yet published on the probable site of Eden, see *Wo lag das Paradies?* of Dr. F. Delitzsch, 1881.

through the clearness thereof, one may look into the depths of the earth.* And when a man washes himself in it, he becomes clean of the cleanness thereof, and white of its whiteness—even if he were dark.†

And God created that sea of His own good pleasure,‡ for He knew what would come of the man He should make; so that after he had left the garden, on account of his transgression,⁵ men should be born in the earth, from among whom righteous ones should die, whose souls God would raise at the last day; when they should return to their flesh; should bathe in the water of that sea, and all of them repent of [their] sins.

But when God made Adam go out of the garden,⁶ He did not place him on the border of it northward, lest he should draw near to the sea of water, and he and Eve wash themselves in it, be cleansed from their sins, forget the transgression they had committed, and be no longer reminded of it in the thought§ of their punishment.

Then, again, as to the southern side [of the garden], God was not pleased to let Adam dwell there; because, when the wind blew from the north, it would bring him, on that southern side, the delicious smell of the trees of the garden. Wherefore God did not put Adam there, lest he should smell the sweet smell of [those] trees,⁷ forget his transgression, and find consolation for what he had done, take delight in the smell of the trees, and not be cleansed from his transgression.⁸

Again, also, because God is merciful and of great pity, and governs all things in a way He alone knows—He made our father Adam dwell in the western border of the garden, because on that side the earth is very broad.⁹ And God commanded him to dwell there in a cave in a rock—the Cave of Treasures below the garden.¹⁰

* Lit. world.

† Or, black.

‡ Or, "with a deliberate plan or purpose of His own." Arab.

§ Lit. sound or echo.

CHAPTER II.

But when our father Adam, and Eve, went out of the garden,¹¹ they trod [the ground] on their feet, not knowing they were treading.

And when they came to the opening of the gate of the garden, and saw the broad earth spread before them, [covered] with stones large and small, and with sand, they feared and trembled, and fell on their faces, from the fear that came upon them; and they were as dead.

Because—whereas they had hitherto been in the garden-land, beautiful [ly planted] with all manner of trees—they now saw themselves, in a strange land, which they knew not, and had never seen.¹²

[And] because at that time they were filled with the grace of a bright nature,¹³ and they had not hearts [turned] towards earth [ly things].

Therefore had God pity on them; and when He saw them fallen before the gate of the garden, He sent His Word* unto father Adam and Eve, and raised them from their fallen state.†

CHAPTER III.

Concerning the promise‡ of the great five days and a half.

God said to Adam, “I have ordained on this earth days and years, and thou and thy seed shall dwell and walk in it, until the days and years are fulfilled; when I shall send the Word that created thee, and against which thou hast transgressed,

* By “the Word of God” throughout this book, is to be understood in general, the second person of the most Holy Trinity, ὁ λόγος (S. John i.) מִימְרָה דִּי or מִימְרָה of the Targums and Talmuds also; as abundantly shown in the book *Yezirah* (ed. Amst. 1642, p. 84, 89).

† Lit. their fall.

‡ Or, covenant.

the Word that made thee come out of the garden, and that raised thee when thou wast fallen. Yea, the Word that will again save thee when the five days and a half are fulfilled.”*

But when Adam heard these words from God, and [of] the great five days and a half, he did not understand the meaning of them.

For Adam was thinking that there would be but five days and a half for him, to the end of the world.

And Adam wept, and prayed God to explain it to him.

Then God in His mercy for Adam [who was made after] His own image and similitude, explained to him, that these were 5000 and 500 years ; and how One would then come and save him and his seed.¹⁴

But God had before that made this covenant with our father,† Adam, in the same terms, ere he came out of the garden, [when he was] by the tree whereof Eve took [the fruit] and gave it him to eat.

Inasmuch as, when our father Adam came out of the garden, he passed by‡ that tree, and saw how God had then changed the appearance of it into another form, and how it withered.

And as Adam went to it he feared, trembled and fell down ; but God in His mercy lifted him up, and then made this covenant with him.§

And, again, when Adam was by the gate of the garden, and saw the cherub with a sword of flashing fire in his hand, and the cherub grew angry and frowned at him, both Adam and Eve became afraid of him, and thought he meant to put them to death. So they fell on their faces, and trembled with fear.

But he had pity on them, and showed them mercy ; and turning [from them] went up to heaven, and prayed unto the Lord, and said :—

* According to *Cod. Nasar. III*, p. 69, this world is to last from the creation of Adam, 480,000 years.

† Or, made this promise to.

‡ Or, went away from.

§ Or, made him this promise.

“Lord, Thou didst send me to watch at the gate of the garden, with a sword of fire.

“But when Thy servants, Adam and Eve, saw me, they fell on their faces, and were as dead. O my Lord, what shall we do to Thy servants?”

Then God had pity on them, and showed them mercy, and sent His Angel to keep the garden.

And the Word of the Lord came unto Adam and Eve, and raised them up.

And the Lord said to Adam, “I told thee that at the end of five days and a half, I will send my Word and save thee.

“Strengthen thy heart, therefore, and abide in the Cave of Treasures, of which I have before spoken to thee.”

And when Adam heard this Word from God, he was comforted with that which God had told him. For He had told him how He would save him.

CHAPTER IV.

But Adam and Eve wept for having come out of the garden, their first abode.

And, indeed, when Adam looked at his flesh,* that was altered, he wept bitterly, he and Eve, over what they had done. And they walked and went gently down into the Cave of Treasures.

And as they came to it Adam wept over himself and said to Eve, “Look at this cave that is to be our prison in this world, and a place of punishment!

“What is it compared with the garden? What is its narrowness compared with the space† of the other?

“What is this rock, by the side of those groves? What is the gloom of this cavern, compared with the light of the garden?

* Or, body, and so throughout.

† Or, room, breadth.

“What is this overhanging ledge of rock to shelter us, compared with the mercy of the Lord that overshadowed us ?

“What is the soil of this cave compared with the garden-land ? This earth, strewed with stones ; and that, planted with delicious fruit-trees ?”

And Adam said to Eve, “Look at thine eyes, and at mine, which afore beheld angels in heaven, praising ; and they, too, without ceasing.

“But now we do not see as we did : our eyes have become of flesh ; they cannot see in like manner as they saw before.”

Adam said again to Eve, “What is our body to-day, [compared] to what it was in former days, when we dwelt in the garden ?”

After this Adam did not like to enter the cave, under the overhanging rock ; nor would he ever have entered it.

But he bowed to God’s orders ; and said to himself, “unless I enter the cave, I shall again be a transgressor.”

CHAPTER V.

Then Adam and Eve entered the cave, and stood praying,¹⁵ in their own tongue, unknown to us, but which they knew well.

And as they prayed, Adam raised his eyes, and saw the rock and the roof of the cave that covered [him] overhead, so that he could see neither heaven, nor God’s creatures. So he wept and smote heavily upon his breast, until he dropped, and was as dead.

And Eve sat weeping ; for she believed he was dead.

Then she arose, spread her hands towards God, suing Him for mercy and pity, and said, “O God, forgive me my sin, [the sin] which I committed, and remember it not against me.

“For I alone¹⁶ caused Thy servant to fall from the garden into this lost estate;* from light into this darkness; and from the abode of joy into this prison.

“O God, look upon this Thy servant thus fallen,† and raise him from his death, that he may weep and repent of his transgression which he committed through me.

“Take not away his soul this once; but let him [live] that he may stand after the measure of his repentance, and do Thy will, as before his death.

“But if Thou do not raise him up, then, O God, take away my own soul, [that I be] like him; and leave me not in this dungeon, one and alone; for I could not stand alone in this world, but with him [only].

“For Thou, O God, didst cause a slumber to come upon him, and didst take a bone from his side,¹⁷ and didst restore the flesh in the place of it, by Thy divine power.

“And Thou didst take me, the bone, and make me a woman, bright like him, with heart, reason, and speech;‡ and in flesh, like unto his own; and Thou didst make me after the likeness of his countenance, by Thy mercy and power.

“O Lord, I and he are one, and Thou, O God, art our Creator, Thou art [He] who made us both in one day.¹⁸

“Therefore, O God, give him life, that he may be with me in this strange land, while we dwell in it on account of our transgression.

“But if Thou wilt not give him life, then take me, even me, like him; that we both may die the same day.”§

And Eve wept bitterly, and fell upon our father Adam; from her great sorrow.

CHAPTER VI.

But God looked upon them; for they had killed themselves through great grief.

* Lit. extinction, destruction.

† *Kufale*, p. 11, 12.

‡ Or, cast down.

§ Lit. with a fervent heart.

But He would raise them and comfort them.

He, therefore, sent His Word unto them ; that they should stand and be raised forthwith.

And the Lord said unto Adam and Eve, “ You transgressed of your own free will, until you came out of the garden in which I had placed you. Of your own free will have you transgressed¹⁹ through your desire for divinity, greatness, and an exalted state, such as I have ; so that I deprived you of the bright nature in which you then were, and I made you come out of the garden to this land, rough and full of trouble.

“ If only you had not transgressed My commandment and had kept My law, and had not eaten of the [fruit of the] tree, near which I told you not to come ! And there were fruit trees in the garden better than that one.

“ But the wicked Satan²⁰ who continued not in his first estate, nor kept his faith ; in whom was no good [intent] towards Me, [and who] though I had created him, yet set Me at naught, and sought the Godhead, so that I hurled him down from heaven,—he it is who made the tree* appear pleasant in your eyes, until you ate of it, by hearkening to him.²¹

“ Thus have you transgressed My commandment, and therefore have I brought upon you all these sorrows.²²

“ For I am God the Creator, who, when I created My creatures, did not intend to destroy them. But after they had sorely roused My anger, I punished them with grievous plagues, until they repent.

“ But, if on the contrary, they still continue hardened in their transgression,† they shall be under a curse for ever.”

CHAPTER VII.

When Adam and Eve heard these words from God, they wept and sobbed yet more ; but they strengthened their hearts

* Whose fruit was either grapes, apple of Paradise, or figs. *Beresh. Rab.*, sect, xiv, fol. 18.

† Lit. are in debt of it.

in God, because they now felt that the Lord was to them like a father and a mother; and for this very reason, they wept before Him, and sought mercy from Him.

Then God had pity on them, and said: "O Adam, I have made My covenant with thee,* and I will not turn from it; neither will I let thee return to the garden, until My covenant of the great five days and a half is fulfilled."

Then Adam said unto God, "O Lord, Thou didst create us, and make us [fit] to be in the garden; and before I transgressed, Thou madest all beasts come to me, that I should name them.

"Thy grace was then on me; and I named every one according to Thy mind; and Thou madest them all subject unto me.²³

"But now, O Lord God, that I have transgressed Thy commandment, all beasts will rise against me and will devour me, and Eve Thy handmaid; and will cut off our life from the face of the earth.

"I therefore beseech Thee, O God, that, since Thou hast made us come out of the garden, and hast made us be in a strange land, Thou wilt not let the beasts hurt us."

When the Lord heard these words from Adam, He had pity on him, and felt that he had truly said that the beasts [of the field] would rise and devour him and Eve, because He, the Lord, was angry with them [two] on account of their transgression.

Then God commanded the beasts, and the birds, and all that moves upon the earth, to come to Adam and to be familiar with him,† and not to trouble him and Eve; nor yet any of the good and righteous among their posterity.

Then the beasts did obeisance to Adam, according to the commandment of God; except the serpent, against which God was wroth. It did not come to Adam, with the beasts.‡

* Or, I made thee a promise.

† Or, do obeisance to him; or to submit to him.

‡ Another reading is that God did not bring the serpent, or forbade it to come, with the other beasts, because He was angry with it.

CHAPTER VIII.

Then Adam wept and said, "[O] God, when we dwelt in the garden, and our hearts were lifted up, we saw the angels that sang praises in heaven, but now we do not see as we were used to do ;²⁴ nay, when we entered the cave, all creation became hidden from us."

Then God the Lord said unto Adam, "When thou wast under subjection [to Me], thou hadst a bright nature within thee,²⁵ and for that reason couldst thou see things afar off. But after thy transgression thy bright nature was withdrawn from thee ; and it was not left to thee to see things afar off, but only near at hand ; after the ability of the flesh ; for it is brutish."

When Adam and Eve had heard these words from God, they went their way ; praising and worshipping Him with a sorrowful heart.

And God ceased to commune with them.

CHAPTER IX.

Then Adam and Eve came out of the Cave of Treasures, and drew near to the garden gate, and there they stood to look at it, and wept for having come away from it. And Adam and Eve went from before the gate of the garden to the southern side of it, and found there the water that watered the garden, from the root of the Tree of Life, and that parted itself from thence into four rivers over the earth.*

Then they came and drew near to that water, and looked at it ; and saw† that it was the water that came forth from under the root of the Tree of Life in the garden. And Adam wept and wailed, and smote upon his breast, for being severed from the garden ; and said to Eve :—

* *Beresh. Rab.*, sect. xvi, fol. 18, 19 ; and *More Nevukim*, sect. ii, ch. 30.

† Lit. knew.

“Why hast thou brought upon me, upon thyself, and upon our seed, so [many] of [these] plagues and punishments?”

And Eve said unto him, “What is it thou hast seen, to weep and to speak to me in this wise?”

And he said to Eve, “Seest thou not this water that was with us in the garden, that watered the trees of the garden, and flowed out [thence]?”

“And we, when we were in the garden, did not care about it;* but since we came to this strange land, we love it, and turn it to use for our body.”

But when Eve heard these words from him, she wept; and from the soreness of their weeping, they fell into that water; and would have put an end to themselves in it, so as never again to return and behold the creation; for when they looked upon the work of creation, they [felt they must] put an end to themselves.†

CHAPTER X.

Then God, merciful and gracious, looked upon them thus lying in the water, and nigh unto death, and sent an angel, who brought them out of the water, and laid them on the sea-shore as dead.

Then the angel went up to God, was welcome, and said, “[O] God, Thy creatures have breathed their last.”

Then God sent His Word unto Adam and Eve, who raised them from [their] death.

And Adam said, after he was raised, “O God, while we were in the garden we did not [require, or] care for this water;‡ but since we came to this land we cannot do without it.

* It is said that “he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow” (Eccl. i. 18). So did Adam increase his sorrow when he increased his knowledge. *Beresh. Rab.*, sect. xix, fol. 20.

† i.e., from sorrow at having left the garden so much more heavenly and more beautiful.

‡ The Ethiopic translator added: “For Thy mercy was with us; we needed not this water.”

Then God said to Adam, "While thou wast under My command and wast a bright angel, thou knewest not this water.*

"But after that thou hast transgressed My commandment, thou canst not do without water, wherein to wash thy body and make it grow; for it is now like [that of] beasts, and is in want of water."

When Adam and Eve heard these words from God, they wept a bitter cry; and Adam entreated God to let him return into the garden, and look at it a second time.

But God said unto Adam, "I have made thee a promise;† when that promise is fulfilled, I will bring thee back into the garden, thee and thy righteous seed."

And God ceased to commune with Adam.

CHAPTER XI.

Then Adam and Eve felt themselves burning with thirst, and heat, and sorrow.

And Adam said to Eve, "We shall not drink of this water, even if we were to die. O Eve, when this water comes into our inner parts, it will increase our punishments and that of our children, that shall come after us."

Both Adam and Eve then withdrew from the water, and drank none of it at all; but came and entered the Cave of Treasures.

But [when in it] Adam could not see Eve; he only heard the noise she made. Neither could she see Adam, but heard the noise he made.

* Διετίλουν ὥς ἄσαρκοι, σαρκικῆς διαθέσεως οὕπω καιρὸν ἔχοντες. Cedren. *H. Comp.*, p. 14.

† Also: "I have bound thee to Me in a covenant; when that covenant is fulfilled—."

Then Adam wept, in deep affliction, and smote upon his breast; and he arose and said to Eve, "Where art thou?"

And she said unto him, "Lo, I am standing in this darkness."

He then said to her, "Remember the bright nature in which we lived, while we abode in the garden!"

"O Eve! remember the glory* that rested on us in the garden.²⁶ O Eve! remember the trees that overshadowed us in the garden while we [moved] among them.

"O Eve! remember that while we were in the garden, we knew neither night nor day. Think of the Tree of Life,† from below which flowed the water, and that shed lustre over us! Remember, O Eve, the garden-land, and the brightness thereof!

"Think, oh think of that garden in which was no darkness, while we dwelt therein.

"Whereas no sooner did we come into this Cave of Treasures than darkness compassed us round about; until we can no longer see each other; and all the pleasure of this life has come to an end."

CHAPTER XII.

Then Adam smote upon his breast, he and Eve, and they mourned the whole night until dawn drew near, and they sighed over the length of the night in Miyazia.‡

And Adam beat himself, and threw himself on the ground in the cave, from bitter grief, and because of the darkness, and lay there as dead.

But Eve heard the noise he made in falling upon the earth. And she felt about for him with her hands, and found him like a corpse.

Then she was afraid, speechless, and remained by him.

* Or, grace, favour. Arab.

† "Whose height was שנין מאה חמש מאה a walk of 500 years."—*Targ. Jonathan*, in Gen. iii.

‡ May.

But the merciful Lord looked on the death of Adam, and on Eve's silence from fear of the darkness.

And the Word of God came unto Adam and raised him from his death, and opened Eve's mouth that she might speak.

Then Adam arose in the cave and said, "O God, wherefore has light departed from us, and darkness come over us? Wherefore dost Thou leave us in [this] long darkness? Why wilt Thou plague us thus?"

"And this darkness, O Lord, where was it ere it came upon us? It is such, that we cannot see each other.

"For, so long as we were in the garden, we neither saw nor even knew [what] darkness [is]. I was not hidden from Eve, neither was she [hidden] from me, until [now that] she cannot see me; and no darkness came upon us, to separate us from each other.

"But she and I were both in one bright light. I saw her and she saw me. Yet now since we came into this cave, darkness has come upon us, and parted us asunder, so that I do not see her, and she does not see me.

"O Lord,* wilt Thou then plague us with this darkness?"

CHAPTER XIII.

Then when God, who is merciful and full of pity, heard Adam's voice, He said unto him:—

"O Adam, so long as the good angel was obedient to Me, a bright light rested on him and on his hosts.

"But when he transgressed My commandment, I deprived him of that bright nature, and he became dark.

"And when he was in the heavens, in the realms of light, he knew naught of darkness.

* Arab. adds: "but now be gracious unto us."

“But he transgressed, and I made him fall from heaven upon the earth ; and it was this darkness that came upon him.*

“And on thee, O Adam, while in My garden and obedient to Me, did that bright light rest also.

“But when I heard of thy transgression,† I deprived thee of that bright light. Yet, of My mercy, I did not turn thee into darkness, but I made thee thy body of flesh, over which I spread this skin, in order that it may bear cold and heat.‡

“If I had let My wrath fall heavily upon thee, I should have destroyed thee ; and had I turned thee into darkness, it would have been as if I killed thee.

“But in My mercy, I have made thee as thou art ; when thou didst transgress My commandment, O Adam, I drove thee from the garden, and made thee come forth into this land ; and commanded thee to dwell in this cave ; and darkness came upon thee, as it did upon him who transgressed My commandment.

“Thus, O Adam, has this night deceived thee. It is not to last for ever ; but is only of twelve hours ; when it is over, daylight will return.

“Sigh not, therefore, neither be moved ; and say not in thy heart that this darkness is long and drags on wearily ; and say not in thy heart that I plague thee with it.

“Strengthen thy heart, and be not afraid. This darkness is not a punishment. But, O Adam, I have made the day, and have placed the sun in it to give light ; in order that thou and thy children should do your work.

“For I knew thou shouldest sin and transgress, and come out into this land. Yet would I not [force thee, nor] be hard upon thee, nor shut thee up ; nor doom thee through thy fall ;§

* Arab. “upon them all together,” *i.e.*, Satan and his hosts.

† Arab. reads : “but when thou didst transgress against me,” omitting “I heard.”

‡ Arab. “to keep off heat and cold from thee.”

§ Dr. Trumpp translates this : “Yet thou wast not forced (or obliged) to transgress ; neither did I fasten thee down (seal thee) nor doom thee to the fall.”

nor through thy coming out from light into darkness ; nor yet [through thy coming] from the garden into this land.

“ For I made thee of the light ; and I willed to bring out children of light from thee, and like unto thee.

“ But thou didst not keep one day My commandment ; until I had finished the creation and blessed everything in it.

“ Then I commanded thee concerning the tree, that thou eat not thereof. Yet I knew that Satan, who deceived himself, would also deceive thee.

“ So I made known to thee by means of the tree, not to come near him.* And I told thee not to eat of the fruit thereof, nor to taste of it, nor yet to sit under it,† nor to yield to it.

“ Had I not been and spoken to thee, O Adam, concerning the tree, and had I left thee without a commandment, and thou hadst sinned—it would have been an offence on My part, for not having given [thee] any order ; thou wouldst turn round and blame Me [for it].

“ But I commanded thee, and warned thee, and thou didst fall. So that My creatures‡ cannot blame me ; but the blame rests on them alone.

“ And, O Adam, I have made the day for thee and for thy children after thee, for them to work, and toil therein. And I have made the night for them to rest in it from their work ; and for the beasts [of the field] to go forth by night and seek their food.

“ But little of darkness now remains, O Adam ; and daylight will soon appear.”

CHAPTER XIV.

Then Adam said unto God : “ O Lord, take Thou my soul, and let me not see this gloom any more ; or remove me to some place where there is no darkness.

* i.e., Satan.

† Or, haunt it.

‡ Or works.

But God the Lord said to Adam, "Verily I say unto thee, this darkness will pass from thee, every day I have determined for thee, until the fulfilment of My covenant ; when I will save thee and bring thee back again into the garden, into the abode of light thou longest for, wherein is no darkness. I will bring thee to it—in the kingdom of heaven."

Again said God unto Adam, "All this misery that thou hast been made to take upon thee because of thy transgression, will not free thee from the hand of Satan, and will not save thee."

"But I [will]. When I shall come down from heaven, and shall become flesh of thy seed, and take upon Me the infirmity from which thou sufferest, then the darkness that came upon thee in this cave shall come upon Me in the grave, when I am in the flesh of thy seed.

"And I, who am without years, shall be subject to the reckoning of years, of times, of months, and of days, and I shall be reckoned as one of the sons of men, in order to save thee."

And God ceased to commune with Adam.*

CHAPTER XV.

Then Adam and Eve wept and sorrowed by reason of God's word to them, that they should not return to the garden until the fulfilment of the days decreed upon them ; but mostly because God had told them that He should suffer for their salvation.

CHAPTER XVI.

After this Adam and Eve ceased not to stand in the cave, praying and weeping, until the morning dawned upon them.

* Lit. and God withdrew His Word from Adam.

And when they saw the light returned to them, they restrained from fear, and strengthened their hearts.

Then Adam began to come out of the cave. And when he came to the mouth of it, and stood and turned his face towards the east, and saw the sun rise in glowing rays, and felt the heat thereof on his body, he was afraid of it, and thought in his heart that this flame came forth to plague him.

He wept then, and smote upon his breast, and fell upon the earth on his face, and made his request, saying :—

“O Lord, plague me not, neither consume me, nor yet take away my life from the earth.”

For he thought the sun was God.

Inasmuch as while he was in the garden and heard the voice of God and the sound He made in the garden, and feared Him, Adam never saw the brilliant light of the sun, neither did the flaming heat thereof touch his body.

Therefore was he afraid of the sun when flaming rays of it reached him. He thought God meant to plague him therewith all the days He had decreed for him.

For Adam also said in his thoughts, As God did not plague us with darkness, behold, He has caused [this sun] to rise and to plague us with burning heat.

But while he was thus thinking in his heart, the Word of God came [unto him and said] :—

“O Adam, arise and stand up. This sun is not God ; but it has been created to give light by day, of which I spake unto thee in the cave [saying], ‘that the dawn would break forth, and there would be light by day.’

“But I am God who comforted thee in the night.”

And God ceased to commune with Adam.

CHAPTER XVII.

Then Adam and Eve came out at the mouth of the cave, and went towards the garden.

But as they drew near to it, before the western gate, from which Satan came when he deceived Adam and Eve, they found the serpent that became Satan coming at the gate, and sorrowfully licking the dust, and wriggling on its breast on the ground, by reason of the curse that fell upon it from God.²⁷

And whereas aforetime [the serpent] was the most exalted of all beasts,²⁸ now it was changed and become slippery, and the meanest of them all, and it crept on its breast and went on its belly.²⁹

And whereas it was the fairest of all beasts, it had been changed, and was become the ugliest of them all. Instead of feeding on the best food, now it turned to eat the dust. Instead of dwelling, as before, in the best places, now it lived in the dust.

And, whereas it had been the most beautiful of all beasts, all of which stood dumb at its beauty, it was now abhorred of them.

And, again, whereas it dwelt in one beautiful abode, to which all other animals came from elsewhere ; [and] where it drank, they drank also of the same ; now, after it had become venomous, by reason of God's curse, all beasts fled from its abode, and would not drink of the water it drank ; but fled from it.

CHAPTER XVIII.

When the accursed serpent saw Adam and Eve, it swelled its head, stood on its tail, and with eyes blood-red, did as if it would kill them.

It made straight for Eve, and ran after her ; while Adam standing by, wept because he had no stick in his hand³⁰ wherewith to smite the serpent, and knew not how to put [it] to death.

But with a heart burning for Eve, Adam approached the

serpent, and held it by the tail; when it turned towards him and said unto him:—

“O Adam, because of thee and of Eve, I am slippery, and go upon my belly.” Then by reason of its great strength, it threw down Adam and Eve and pressed upon them, as if it would kill them.

But God sent an angel who threw the serpent away from them, and raised them up.

Then the Word of God came to the serpent, and said unto it, “In the first instance I made thee glib, and made thee to go upon thy belly; but I did not deprive thee of speech.

“Now, however, be thou dumb; and speak no more, thou and thy race;³¹ because in the first place, has the ruin My creatures happened through thee, and now thou wishest to kill them.”*

Then the serpent was struck dumb, and spake no more.

And a wind came to blow from heaven by command of God, that carried away the serpent from Adam and Eve, threw it on the sea shore, and it landed in India.

CHAPTER XIX.

But Adam and Eve wept before God. And Adam said unto Him:—

“O Lord, when I was in the cave, I said this to Thee, my Lord, that the beasts [of the field] would rise and devour me, and cut off my life from the earth.” Then Adam, by reason of what had befallen him, smote upon his breast, and fell upon the earth like a corpse; then came to him the Word of God, who raised him, and said unto him, “O Adam, not one of these beasts will be able to hurt thee; because when I made the beasts and other moving things come to thee in the cave, I did not let the serpent come with them, lest it should rise against you, make you tremble; and the fear of it should fall

* *Kai idon entithesin upō tēn glōttan autōū*, Jos. *Ant. Jud.* Lib. i, c. i, 4.

into your hearts. For I knew that that accursed one is wicked ; therefore would I not let it come near you with the [other] beasts.

“But now strengthen thy heart and fear not. I am with thee unto the end of the days I have determined on thee.”

CHAPTER XX.

Then Adam wept and said, “O God, remove us to some other place, that the serpent may not come again near us, and rise against us. Lest it find Thy handmaid Eve alone and kill her ; for its eyes are hideous [and] evil.”

But God said to Adam and Eve, “Henceforth fear not, I will not let it come near you ; I have driven it away from you, from this mountain ; neither will I leave in it aught to hurt you.”

Then Adam and Eve worshipped before God and gave Him thanks, and praised Him for having delivered them from death.

CHAPTER XXI.

Then Adam and Eve went in search of the garden.

And the heat beat like a flame on their faces ; and they sweated from the heat, and wept before the Lord.

But the place where they wept was nigh unto a high mountain, facing the western gate of the garden.

Then Adam threw himself down from the top of that mountain ; his face was torn and his flesh was flayed ; much blood flowed from him, and he was nigh unto death.

Meanwhile Eve remained standing on the mountain weeping over him, thus lying.

And she said, “I wish not to live after him ; for all that he did to himself was through me.”

Then she threw herself after him ; and was torn and scotched by stones ; and remained lying as dead.

But the merciful God, who looks upon His creatures, looked upon Adam and Eve as they lay dead, and He sent His Word unto them, and raised them.

And said to Adam, "O Adam, all this misery which thou hast wrought upon thyself, will not avail against [My] rule, neither will it alter the covenant of the 5500 years."

CHAPTER XXII.

Then Adam said to God, "I wither in the heat ; I am faint from walking, and am loth of this world. And I know not when Thou wilt bring me out of it, to rest."

Then the Lord God said unto him, "O Adam, it cannot be at present, [not] until thou hast ended* thy days. Then shall I bring thee out of this wretched land."

And Adam said to God, "While I was in the garden I knew neither heat, nor languor, neither moving about, nor trembling, nor fear ; but now, since I came to this land, all this affliction has come upon me."

Then God said to Adam, "So long as thou wast keeping My commandment, My light and My grace rested on thee. But when thou didst transgress My commandment, sorrow and misery befell thee in this land."

And Adam wept and said, "O Lord, do not cut me off for this, neither smite me with heavy plagues, nor yet repay me according to my sin ; For we, of our own will, did transgress Thy commandment, and forsook Thy law, and sought to become gods like unto Thee, when Satan the enemy† deceived us."

Then God said again unto Adam, "Because thou hast borne fear and trembling in this land, languor and suffering, treading

* Lit. paid, redeemed.

† Lit. hater.

and walking about,* going upon this mountain, and dying [from it], I will take all this upon Myself in order to save thee."

CHAPTER XXIII.

First offering made by Adam.

Then Adam wept more and said, "O God, have mercy on me, so far as to take upon Thee, that which I will do."

But God took His Word from Adam and Eve.

Then Adam and Eve stood on their feet; and Adam said to Eve, "Gird thyself,† and I also will gird myself." And she girded herself, as Adam told her. Then Adam and Eve took stones and placed them in the shape of an altar;‡ and they took leaves from the trees outside the garden, with which they wiped, from the face of the rock, the blood they had spilled. But that which had dropped on the sand, they took together with the dust [wherewith it was mingled] and offered it upon the altar as an offering unto God.

Then Adam and Eve stood under the altar§ and wept, thus entreating God, "Forgive us our trespass and our sin, and look upon us with Thine eye of mercy. For when we were in the garden our praises and our hymns went up before Thee without ceasing.

"But when we came into this strange land, pure praise was no longer ours, nor righteous prayer, nor understanding hearts, nor sweet thoughts, nor just counsels, nor long discernment, nor upright feelings, neither is our bright nature left us. But our body is changed from the similitude in which it was at first, when we were created.

* Arab. 'toil, labour.'

† This is the literal rendering in Ethiopic of the Arabic word that means also "brace, or strengthen thyself."

‡ Lit. of an ark, the middle part of a church in Abyssinia.

§ Lit. the sanctuary or temple; literal rendering of the probable Arabic original. It is a canopy over the Holy Table, on which the *tābūt*, or ark, is placed.

“Yet now look upon our blood which is offered upon these stones, and accept it at our hands, like the praises we used to sing unto Thee at first, when in the garden.”

And Adam began to make more requests unto God.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Then the merciful God, good and lover of men, looked upon Adam and Eve, and upon their blood, which they had held up as an offering unto Him ; without an order from Him [for so doing]. But He wondered at them ; and accepted their offerings.

And God sent from His presence a bright fire, that consumed their offering.

He smelt the sweet savour of their offering, and showed them mercy.

Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said unto him, “O Adam, as thou hast shed thy blood, so will I shed My own blood when I become flesh of thy seed ; and as thou didst die, O Adam, so also will I die. And as thou didst build an altar, so also will I make for thee an altar on the earth ; and as thou didst offer thy blood upon it, so also will I offer My blood upon an altar on the earth.”

“And as thou didst sue for forgiveness through that blood, so also will I make My blood forgiveness of sins, and blot out transgressions in it.

“And now, behold, I have accepted thy offering, O Adam, but the days of the covenant, wherein I have bound thee, are not fulfilled. When they are fulfilled, then will I bring thee back into the garden.

“Now, therefore, strengthen thy heart ; and when sorrow comes upon thee, make Me an offering, and I will be favourable to thee.”

CHAPTER XXV.

But God knew that Adam had in his thoughts, that he should often kill himself and make an offering to Him of his blood.

Therefore did He say unto him, "O Adam, do not again kill thyself as thou didst, by throwing thyself down from that mountain."

But Adam said unto God, "It was in my mind to put an end to myself at once, for having transgressed Thy commandments, and for my having come out of the beautiful garden; and for the bright light of which Thou hast deprived me; and for the praises which poured forth from my mouth without ceasing, and for the light that covered me.

"Yet of Thy goodness, O God, do not away with me altogether; but be favourable to me every time I die, and bring me to life.

"And thereby it will be made known that Thou art a merciful God, who willest not that one should perish; who lovest not that one should fall; and who dost not condemn any one cruelly, badly, and by whole destruction."

Then Adam remained silent.

And the Word of God came unto him, and blessed him, and comforted him, and covenanted with him, that He would save him at the end of the days determined upon him.

This, then, was the first offering Adam made unto God; and so it became his custom to do.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Then Adam took Eve, and they began to return to the Cave of Treasures where they dwelt. But when they neared it and saw it from afar, heavy sorrow fell upon Adam and Eve when they looked at it.

Then Adam said to Eve, "When we were on the mountain we were comforted by the Word of God that conversed with us ; and the light that came from the east, shone over us.

"But now the Word of God is hidden from us ; and the light that shone over us is so changed as to disappear, and [let] darkness and sorrow come upon us.

"And we are forced to enter this cave [which is] like a prison, wherein darkness covers us, so that we are parted from each other ; and thou canst not see me, neither can I see thee."

When Adam had said these words, they wept and spread their hands before God ; for they were full of sorrow.

And they entreated God to bring the sun to them, to shine on them, so that darkness return not upon them, and they come not again under this covering of rock. And they wished to die rather than see the darkness.

Then God looked upon Adam and Eve and upon their great sorrow, and upon all they had done with a fervent heart, on account of all the [trouble] they were in, instead of their former well-being, and on account of all the misery that came upon them in a strange land.

Therefore God was not wroth with them ; nor impatient with them ; but He was long-suffering and forbearing towards them, as [towards] the children He had created.

Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said unto him, "Adam, as for the sun, if I were to take it [and bring it to thee],* days, hours, years and months would all come to naught, and the covenant I have made with thee, would never be fulfilled.

"But thou shouldest then be turned and left in a long plague, and no salvation would be left to thee for ever.

"Yea, rather, bear long and calm thy soul while thou abidest night and day ; until the fulfilment of the days, and the time of My covenant is come.

* Also—"to withhold it, days," &c.

"Then shall I come and save thee, O Adam, for I do not wish that thou be afflicted.

"And when I look at all the good things in which thou didst live, and why thou camest out of them, then would I willingly show thee mercy.

"But I cannot alter the covenant that has gone out of My mouth; else would I have brought thee back into the garden.

"When, however, the covenant is fulfilled, then shall I show thee and thy seed mercy, and bring thee into a land of gladness, where there is neither sorrow nor suffering; but abiding joy and gladness, and light that never fails, and praises that never cease; and a beautiful garden that shall never pass away."

And God said again unto Adam, "Be long suffering and enter the cave, for the darkness of which thou wast afraid, shall only be twelve hours long; and when ended, light shall arise."

Then when Adam heard these words from God, he and Eve worshipped before Him, and their hearts were comforted. They returned into the cave after their custom, while tears flowed from their eyes, sorrow and wailing came from their hearts, and they wished their soul would leave their body.

And Adam and Eve stood praying, until the darkness of night came upon them, and Adam was hid from Eve, and she from him.

And they remained standing in prayer.

CHAPTER XXVII.

First apparition of Satan to Adam.

When Satan, the hater of all good, saw how they continued in prayer, and how God communed with them, and comforted them, and [how He had] accepted their offering—Satan made

an apparition. He began with transforming his hosts ; in his hands was a flashing fire, and they were in a great light.

He then placed his throne near the mouth of the cave because he could not enter into it by reason of their prayers. And he shed light into the cave, until the cave glistened over Adam and Eve ; while his hosts began to sing praises.

And Satan did this, in order that when Adam saw the light, he should think within himself that it was a heavenly light, and that [Satan's] hosts were angels ; and that God had sent them to watch at the cave, and to give him light in the darkness.

So that when Adam came out of the cave and saw them, and Adam and Eve bowed to Satan, then he would overcome* Adam thereby, and a second time humble him before God.

When, therefore, Adam and Eve saw the light, fancying it was real, they strengthened their hearts ; yet, as they were trembling, Adam said to Eve :—

“ Look at that great light, and at those many songs of praise, and at that host standing outside that do not come in to us, do not tell us what they say, or whence they come, or what is the meaning of this light ; what those praises are ; wherefore they have been sent hither, and why they do not come in.

“ If they were from God, they would come to us in the cave, and would tell us their errand.”

Then Adam stood up and prayed unto God with a fervent heart, and said :—

“ O Lord, is there in the world another god than Thou, who created angels and filled them with light, and sent them to keep us, who would come with them ?

“ But, lo we see these hosts that stand at the mouth of the cave ; they are in a great light ; they sing loud praises. If

* Or, sway.

they are of some other god than Thou, tell me ; and if they are sent by Thee, inform me of the reason for which Thou hast sent them."

No sooner had Adam said this, than an angel from God appeared unto him in the cave, who said unto him, "O Adam, fear not. This is Satan and his hosts ; he wishes to deceive you as he deceived you at first. For the first time, he was hidden in the serpent ; but this time he is come to you in the similitude of an angel of light ; in order that, when you worshipped him, he might enthrall you, in the very presence of God."

Then the angel went from Adam, and seized Satan at the opening of the cave, and stripped him of the feint he had assumed, and brought him in his own hideous form to Adam and Eve ; who were afraid of him when they saw him.

And the angel said to Adam, "This hideous form has been his ever since God made him fall [from heaven]. He could not have come near you in it ; therefore did he transform himself into an angel of light."

Then the angel drove away Satan and his hosts from Adam and Eve, and said unto them, "Fear not ; God who created you, will strengthen you."

And the angel went from them.

But Adam and Eve remained standing in the cave ; no consolation came to them ; they were divided [in their thoughts].

And when it was morning they prayed ; and then went out to seek the garden. For their hearts were towards it, and they could get no consolation for having left it.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Second apparition of Satan to Adam and Eve.

But when the wily Satan saw them, that they were going to

the garden, he gathered together his host, and came in appearance upon a cloud, intent on deceiving them.

But when Adam and Eve saw him thus in a vision, they thought they were angels of God come to comfort them about their having left the garden, or to bring them back again into it.

And Adam spread his hands unto God, beseeching Him to make him understand what they were.

Then Satan, the hater of all good, said unto Adam, "O Adam, I am an angel of the great God; and, behold the hosts that surround me.

"God has sent me and them to take thee and bring thee to the border of the garden northwards; to the shore of the clear sea, and bathe thee and Eve in it, and raise you to your former gladness, that ye return again to the garden."

These words sank into the heart of Adam and Eve.

Yet God withheld His Word from Adam, and did not make him understand at once, but waited to see his strength; whether he would be overcome as Eve was when in the garden, or whether he would prevail.

Then Satan called to Adam and Eve, and said, "Behold, we go to the sea of water," and they began to go.

And Adam and Eve followed them at some little distance.

But when they came to the mountain to the north of the garden, a very high mountain, without any steps to the top of it, the Devil* drew near to Adam and Eve, and made them go up to the top in reality, and not in a vision; wishing, as he did, to throw them down and kill them, and to wipe off their name from the earth; so that this earth should remain to him and his hosts alone.

CHAPTER XXIX.

But when the merciful God saw that Satan wished to kill

* Lit. Diabolos.

Adam with his manifold devices, and saw that Adam was meek and without guile, God spake unto Satan in a loud voice, and cursed him.

Then he and his hosts fled, and Adam and Eve remained standing on the top of the mountain, whence they saw below them the wide world, high above which they were. But they saw none of the host which anon were by them.

They wept, both Adam and Eve, before God, and begged for forgiveness of Him.

Then came the Word from God to Adam, and said unto him, "Know thou and understand concerning this Satan, that he seeks to deceive thee and thy seed after thee."

And Adam wept before the Lord God, and begged and entreated Him to give him something from the garden, as a token to him, wherein to be comforted.³²

And God looked upon Adam's thought, and sent the angel Michael as far as the sea that reaches unto India, to take from thence golden rods and bring them to Adam.

This did God in His wisdom, in order that these golden rods, being with Adam in the cave, should shine forth with light in the night around him, and put an end to his fear of the darkness.

Then the angel Michael went down by God's order, took golden rods, as God had commanded him, and brought them to God.

CHAPTER XXX.

After these things, God commanded the angel Gabriel to go down to the garden, and say to the cherub who kept it, "Behold, God has commanded me to come into the garden, and to take thence sweet smelling incense, and give it to Adam."

Then the angel Gabriel went down by God's order to the garden, and told the cherub as God had commanded him.

The cherub then said, "Well." And [Gabriel] went in and took the incense.

Then God commanded His angel Raphael to go down to the garden, and speak to the cherub about some myrrh, to give to Adam.

And the angel Raphael went down and told the cherub as God had commanded him, and the cherub said, "Well." Then [Raphael] went in and took the myrrh.

The golden rods were from the Indian sea, where there are precious stones. The incense was from the eastern border of the garden; and the myrrh from the western border, whence bitterness came upon Adam.

And the angels brought these three things to God, by the Tree of Life, in the garden.

Then God said to the angels, "Dip them in the spring of water; then take them and sprinkle their water over Adam and Eve, that they be a little comforted in their sorrow, and give them to Adam and Eve.

And the angels did as God had commanded them, and they gave all those things to Adam and Eve on the top of the mountain upon which Satan had placed them, when he sought to make an end of them.

And when Adam saw the golden rods, the incense and the myrrh, he was rejoiced and wept because he thought that the gold was a token of the kingdom whence he had come, that the incense was a token of the bright light which had been taken from him, and that the myrrh was a token of the sorrow in which he was.

CHAPTER XXXI.

After these things God said unto Adam, "Thou didst ask of Me something from the garden, to be comforted therewith, and I have given thee these three tokens as a consolation to thee; that thou trust in Me and in My covenant with thee.

“For I will come and save thee; and kings*³³ shall bring me [when] in the flesh, gold, incense and myrrh; gold as a token of My kingdom;† incense as a token of My divinity; and myrrh as a token of My sufferings and of My death.³⁴

“But, O Adam, put these by thee in the cave; the gold that it may shed light over thee by night; the incense, that thou smell its sweet savour; and the myrrh, to comfort thee in thy sorrow.”

When Adam heard these words from God, he worshipped before Him. He and Eve worshipped Him and gave Him thanks, because He had dealt mercifully with them.

Then God commanded the three angels, Michael, Gabriel and Raphael, each to bring what he had brought, and give it to Adam. And they did so, one by one.

And God commanded Suriyel and Salathiel to bear up Adam and Eve, and bring them down from the top of the high mountain, and to take them to the Cave of Treasures.

There they laid the gold on the south side of the cave, the incense on the eastern side, and the myrrh on the western side. For the mouth of the cave was on the north side.

The angels then comforted Adam and Eve, and departed.

The gold was seventy rods; the incense, twelve pounds; and the myrrh, three pounds.

These remained by Adam in the House‡ of Treasures; therefore was it called “of concealment.” But other interpreters say it was called the “Cave of Treasures,” by reason of the bodies of righteous men that were in it.

These three things did God give to Adam, on the third day after he had come out of the garden, in token of the three days the Lord should remain in the heart of the earth.

* Three magi-kings came to worship Him. Tchamitch. *Hist. Armen.* vol. i, p. 277. See the note at the end of this work.

† i.e., of My being king.

‡ The word *bât*, cave, and *bet*, house, were probably mistaken the one for the other.

And these three things, as they continued with Adam in the cave, gave him light by night; and by day they gave him a little relief from his sorrow.*

CHAPTER XXXII.

And Adam and Eve remained in the Cave of Treasures until the seventh day; they neither ate of the fruit of the earth, nor drank water.

And when it dawned on the eighth day, Adam said to Eve, "O Eve, we prayed God to give us somewhat from the garden, and He sent His angels who brought us what we had desired.

"But now, arise, let us go to the sea of water we saw at first, and let us stand in it, praying that God will again be favourable to us and take us back to the garden; or give us something; or that He will give us comfort in some other land than this in which we are."

Then Adam and Eve came out of the cave, went and stood on the border of the sea in which they had before thrown themselves, and Adam said to Eve:—

"Come, go down into this place, and come not out of it until the end of thirty days, when I shall come to thee. And pray to God with a fervent heart and a sweet voice, to forgive us.

"And I will go to another place, and go down into it, and do like thee."

Then Eve went down into the water, as Adam had commanded her. Adam also went down into the water; and they stood praying; and besought the Lord to forgive them their offence, and to restore them to their former state.

And they stood thus praying, unto the end of the five-and-thirty days.

* See note 38.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Third apparition of Satan to Adam and Eve.

But Satan, the hater of all good, sought them in the cave, but found them not, although he searched diligently for them.

But he found them standing in the water praying, and thought within himself, "Adam and Eve are thus standing in that water beseeching God to forgive them their transgression, and to restore them to their former estate, and to take them from under my hand.

"But I will deceive them so that they shall come out of the water, and not fulfil their vow."*

Then the hater of all good, went not to Adam, but he went to Eve, and took the form of an angel of God, praising and rejoicing, and said to her:—

"Peace be unto thee! Be glad and rejoice! God is favourable unto you, and He sent me to Adam. I have brought him the glad tidings of salvation, and of his being filled with bright light as he was at first.

"And Adam, in his joy for his restoration, has sent me to thee, that thou come to me, in order that I crown thee with light like him. And he said to me, 'Speak unto Eve; if she does not come with thee, tell her of the sign when we were on the top of the mountain; how God sent His angels who took us and brought us to the Cave of Treasures; and laid the gold on the southern side; incense, on the eastern side; and myrrh on the western side.' Now come to him."

When Eve heard these words from him, she rejoiced greatly. And thinking that [Satan's] appearance† was real, she came out of the sea.

He went before, and she followed him until they came to Adam. Then Satan hid himself from her, and she saw him no more.

* Or, desire.

† Lit. sign.

She then came and stood before Adam, who was standing by the water and rejoicing in God's forgiveness.

And as she called to him, he turned round, found her [there] and wept when he saw her, and smote upon his breast; and from the bitterness* of his grief, he sank into the water.

But God looked upon him and upon his misery, and upon his being about to breathe his last. And the Word of God came from heaven, raised him out of the water, and said unto him, "Go up the high bank to Eve." And when he came up to Eve he said unto her, "Who said to thee 'come hither?'"

Then she told him the discourse of the angel who had appeared unto her and had given her a sign.

But Adam grieved, and gave her to know it was Satan. He then took her and they both returned to the cave.

These things happened to them the second time they went down to the water, seven days after their coming out of the garden.

They fasted in the water thirty-five days; altogether forty-two days since they had left the garden.³⁵

CHAPTER XXXIV.

And on the morning of the forty-third day, they came out of the cave, sorrowful and weeping. Their bodies were lean, and they were parched from hunger and thirst, from fasting and praying, and from their heavy sorrow on account of their transgression.

And when they had come out of the cave they went up the mountain to the west of the garden.

There they stood and prayed and besought God to grant them forgiveness of their sins.

And after their prayers Adam began to entreat God, saying, "O my Lord, my God, and my Creator, Thou didst command

* Lit. greatness.

the four elements to be gathered together,* and they were gathered together by Thine order.

“Then Thou spreadest Thy hand and didst create me out of one element, that of dust of the earth; and Thou didst bring me into the garden at the third hour, on a Friday, and didst inform me of it in the cave.

“Then, at first, I knew neither night nor day, for I had a bright nature; neither did the light in which I lived ever leave me to know night or day.

“Then, again, O Lord, in that third hour in which Thou didst create me, Thou broughtest to me all beasts, and lions, and ostriches, and fowls of the air, and all things that move in the earth, which Thou hadst created at the first hour [before me] of the Friday.

“And Thy will was that I should name them all, one by one, with a suitable name. But Thou gavest me understanding and knowledge, and a pure heart and a right mind from Thee, that I should name them after Thine own mind regarding [the naming of them].

“O God, Thou madest them obedient to me, and [didst order] that not one of them break from my sway, according to Thy commandment, and to the dominion which Thou hast given me over them. But now they are all estranged from me.

“Then it was in that third hour of Friday, in which Thou didst create me, and didst command me concerning the tree, to which I was neither to draw near, nor to eat thereof; for Thou saidst to me in the garden, ‘When thou eatest of it, of death thou shalt die.’

“And if Thou hadst punished† me as Thou saidst, with death, I should have died that very moment.‡

“Moreover, when Thou commandedst me regarding the tree, I was neither to approach nor to eat thereof, Eve was not with me; Thou hadst not yet created her, neither hadst Thou yet

* See note 8.

† Lit. judged, sentenced.

‡ Lit. in my hour, or time.

taken her out of my side ; nor had she yet heard this order from Thee.

“Then, at the end of the third hour of that Friday, O Lord, Thou didst cause a slumber and a sleep to come over me, and I slept, and was overwhelmed in sleep.

“Then Thou didst draw a rib out of my side, and created it after my own similitude and image. Then I awoke ; and when I saw her and knew who she was, I said, ‘This is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh ; henceforth she shall be called woman.’

“It was of Thy good will, O God, that Thou broughtest a slumber and a sleep over me, and [that Thou] didst forthwith bring Eve out of my side, until she was out, so that I did not see how she was made ; neither could I witness, O my Lord, how awful and great are Thy goodness and glory.

“And of Thy goodwill, O Lord, Thou madest us both with bodies of a bright nature, and Thou madest us two, one ; and Thou gavest us Thy grace, and didst fill* us with praises of the Holy Spirit ; that we should be neither hungry nor thirsty, nor know what sorrow is, nor [yet] faintness of heart ; neither suffering, fasting, nor weariness.

“But now, O God, since we transgressed Thy commandment and broke Thy law, Thou hast brought us out into a strange land, and has caused suffering, and faintness, hunger and thirst to come upon us.

“Now, therefore, O God, we pray Thee, give us something to eat from the garden,³⁶ to satisfy our hunger with it ; and something wherewith to quench our thirst.

“For, behold, many days, O God, we have tasted nothing and drunk nothing, and our flesh is dried up, and our strength is wasted, and sleep is gone from our eyes from faintness and weeping.

“Then, O God, we dare not gather aught of the fruit of

* Lit. satisfy.

trees, from fear of Thee. For when we transgressed at first Thou didst spare us, and didst not make us die.

“But now, we thought in our hearts, if we eat of the fruit of trees, without God’s order, He will destroy us this time, and will wipe us off from the face of the earth.

“And if we drink of this water, without God’s order, He will make an end of us, and root us up at once.

“Now, therefore, O God, that I am come to this place with Eve, we beg Thou wilt give us of the fruit of the garden, that we may be satisfied with it.

“For we desire the fruit that is on the earth, and all [else] that we lack in it.”

CHAPTER XXXV.

Then God looked again upon Adam and his weeping and groaning, and the Word of God came to him, and said unto him :—

“O Adam, when thou wast in My garden, thou knewest neither eating nor drinking ; neither faintness nor suffering ; neither leanness of flesh, nor change ; neither did sleep depart from thine eyes. But since thou transgressedst, and camest into this strange land, all these trials are come upon thee.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Then God commanded the cherub, who kept the gate of the garden with a sword of fire in his hand, to take some of the fruit of the fig-tree, and to give it to Adam.

The cherub obeyed the command of the Lord God, and went into the garden and brought two figs on*two twigs, each fig hanging to its leaf ; they were from two of the trees among which Adam and Eve hid themselves when God went to walk

* Lit. and.

in the garden, and the Word of God came to Adam and Eve and said unto them, "Adam, Adam, where art thou?" And Adam answered, "O God, here am I. I hid myself among fig-trees; and when I heard the sound of Thee and Thy voice, I hid myself, because I am naked."

Then the cherub took two figs and brought them to Adam and to Eve. But he threw them to them from afar; for they might not come near the cherub by reason of their flesh, that could not come near the fire.

At first, angels trembled at the presence of Adam and were afraid of him.* But now Adam trembled before the angels and was afraid of them.

Then Adam drew near and took one fig, and Eve also came in turn and took the other.

And as they took them up in their hands, they looked at them, and knew they were from the trees among which they had hidden themselves.

And Adam and Eve wept sore.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Then Adam said to Eve, "Seest thou not these figs and their leaves, with which we covered ourselves when we were stripped of our bright nature? But now, we know not what misery and suffering may come upon us from eating them.

"Now, therefore, O Eve, let us restrain ourselves and not eat of them, thou and I; and let us ask God to give us of the fruit of the Tree of Life."

Thus did Adam and Eve restrain themselves, and did not eat of those figs.

But Adam began to pray to God and to beseech Him to give him of the fruit of the Tree of Life, saying thus: "O God, when we transgressed Thy commandment at the sixth

* See note 24.

hour of Friday, we were stripped of the bright nature we had,³⁷ and did not continue in the garden after our transgression, more than three hours.

“But on the evening Thou madest us come out of it. O God, we transgressed against Thee one hour, and all these trials and sorrows have come upon us until this day.

“And those days together with this the forty-third day, do not redeem* that one hour in which we transgressed !

“O God, look upon us with an eye of pity, and do not requite us according to our transgression of Thy commandment, in presence of Thee.

“O God, give us of the fruit of the Tree of Life, that we may eat of it, and live, and turn not to see sufferings and other [trouble], in this earth ; for Thou art God.

“When we transgressed Thy commandment, Thou madest us come out of the garden, and didst send a cherub to keep the Tree of Life, lest we should eat thereof, and live ; and know nothing of faintness after we transgressed.

“But now, O Lord, behold, we have endured all these days, and have borne sufferings. Make these forty-three days an equivalent† for the one hour in which we transgressed.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

After these things the Word of God came to Adam, and said unto him :—

“O Adam, as to the fruit of the Tree of Life, for which thou askest, I will not give it thee now, but when the 5500 years are fulfilled. Then will I give thee of the fruit of the Tree of Life, and thou shalt eat, and live for ever, thou, and Eve, and thy righteous seed.

* Or, make up for.

† Even with.

“But these forty-three days cannot make amends* for the hour in which thou didst transgress My commandment.

“O Adam, I gave thee to eat of the fig-tree in which thou didst hide thyself. Go and eat of it, thou and Eve.

“I will not deny† thy request, neither will I disappoint thy hope; therefore, bear up unto the fulfilment of the covenant I made with thee.”

And God withdrew His Word from Adam.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Then Adam returned to Eve, and said to her, “Arise, and take a fig for thyself, and I will take another; and let us go to our cave.”

Then Adam and Eve took [each a fig] and went towards the cave; the time was about the setting of the sun; and their thoughts made them long to eat of the fruit.

But Adam said to Eve, “I am afraid to eat of this fig. I know not what may come upon me from it.”

So Adam wept, and stood praying before God, saying, “Satisfy my hunger, without my having to eat this fig; for after I have eaten it, what will it profit me? And what shall I desire and ask of Thee, O God, when it is gone?”

And he said again, “I am afraid to eat of it; for I know not what will befall me through it.”

CHAPTER XL.

Then the Word of God came to Adam, and said unto him, “O Adam, why hadst thou not this dread, neither this fasting, nor this care ere this? And why hadst thou not this fear before thou didst transgress?

* Or, redeem.

† Or, reject, turn back.

“But when thou camest to dwell in this strange land, thy animal body could not be on earth without earthly food, to strengthen it and to restore its powers.”

And God withdrew His Word from Adam.

CHAPTER XLI.

Then Adam took the fig, and laid it on the golden rods. Eve also took [her] fig, and put it upon the incense.³⁸

And the weight of each fig was that of a water-melon; for the fruit of the garden was much larger than the fruit of this land.

But Adam and Eve remained standing and fasting the whole of that night, until the morning dawned.

When the sun rose they were at their prayers, and Adam said to Eve, after they had done praying:—

“O Eve, come, let us go to the border of the garden looking south; to the place whence the river flows, and is parted into four heads.* There we will pray to God, and ask Him to give us to drink of the Water of Life.

“For God has not fed us with the Tree of Life, in order that we may not live. We will, therefore, ask Him to give us of the Water of Life, and to quench our thirst with it, rather than with a drink of water of this land.”†

When Eve heard these words from Adam, she agreed; and they both arose and came to the southern border of the garden, upon the brink of the river of water at some little distance from the garden.

And they stood and prayed before the Lord, and asked Him to look upon them this once, to forgive them, and to grant them their request.

* Or, streams.

† As read by Dillmann, it may also mean, that we may do without the water of this land—or, of this earth.

After this prayer from both of them, Adam began [to pray] with [his] voice before God, and said :—

“ O Lord, when I was in the garden and saw the water that flowed from under the Tree of Life, my heart did not desire, neither did my body require to drink of it ; neither did I know thirst, for I was living ; and above that which I am now.

“ So that in order to live I did not require any Food of Life, neither did I drink of the Water of Life.

“ But now, O God, I am dead ; my flesh is parched with thirst. Give me of the Water of Life that I may drink of it and live.

“ Of Thy mercy, O God, save me from these plagues and trials, and bring me into another land different from this, if Thou wilt not let me dwell in Thy garden.”

CHAPTER XLII.

Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said unto him :—

“ O Adam, as to what thou sayest, ‘ Bring me into a land where there is rest,’ it is not another land than this, but it is the kingdom of heaven where [alone] there is rest.

“ But thou canst not make thy entrance into it at present ; but [only] after thy judgment* is past and fulfilled.

“ Then will I make thee go up into the kingdom of heaven, thee and thy righteous seed ; and I will give thee and them the rest thou askest for at present.

“ And if thou saidst, ‘ Give me of the Water of Life that I may drink and live’—it cannot be this day, but on the day that I shall descend into hell, and break the gates of brass, and bruise in pieces the kingdoms of iron.

“ Then will I in mercy save thy soul and the souls of the righteous, [to give them] rest in My garden. And that shall be when the end of the world is come.

* i.e., thy sentence—or, punishment.

“And, again, as regards the Water of Life thou seekest, it will not be granted thee this day ; but on the day that I shall shed My blood upon thy head in the land of Golgotha.

“For My blood shall be the Water of Life unto thee, at that time, and not to thee alone, but unto all those of thy seed who shall believe in Me ; that it be unto them for rest for ever.”

The Lord said again unto Adam, “O Adam, when thou wast in the garden, these trials did not come to thee.

“But since thou didst transgress My commandment, all these sufferings have come upon thee.

“Now, also, does thy flesh require food and drink ; drink [then] of that water that flows by thee on the face of the earth.”

Then God withdrew His Word from Adam.

And Adam and Eve worshipped the Lord, and returned from the river of water to the cave. It was noon-day ; and when they drew near to the cave, they saw a large fire by it.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Fourth apparition of Satan to Adam and Eve.

Then Adam and Eve were afraid, and stood still. And Adam said to Eve, “What is that fire by our cave ? We do nothing in it to bring about this fire.

“We neither have bread to bake therein, nor broth* to cook there. As to this fire, we know not the like, neither do we know what to call it.

“But ever since God sent the cherub with a sword of fire that flashed and lightened in his hand, from fear of which we fell down and were like corpses [have we not seen the like].

“But now, O Eve, behold, this is the same fire that was in

* Or, soup, mess, cooking.

the cherub's hand, which God has sent to keep the cave in which we dwell.

"O Eve, [it is] because God is angry with us, and will drive us from it.

"O Eve, we have again transgressed [His] commandment in that cave, so that He has sent this fire to [burn] around it, and to prevent us from going into it.*

"If this be really so, O Eve, where shall we dwell? and whither shall we flee from before the face of the Lord? Since, as regards the garden, He will not let us abide in it, and He has deprived us of the good things thereof; but He has placed us in this cave, in which we have borne darkness, trials and hardships, until [at last] we found comfort therein.

"But now that He has brought us out into another land, who knows what may happen in it? And who knows but that the darkness of that land may be far greater than the darkness of this land?

"Who knows what may happen in that land by day or by night? And who knows whether it will be far or near, O Eve? Where it will please God to put us, [may be] far from the garden, O Eve! or where God will prevent us from beholding Him, because we have transgressed His commandment, and because we have made requests unto Him at all times?

"O Eve, if God will bring us into a strange land other than this, in which we find consolation, it must be to put our souls† to death, and blot out our name from the face of the earth.

"O Eve, if we are farther estranged from the garden and from God, where shall we find Him again, and ask Him to give us gold, incense, myrrh, and some fruit of the fig-tree?

"Where shall we find Him, to comfort us a second time? Where shall we find Him, that He may think of us, as regards the covenant He has made on our behalf?"‡

* Or, and He will not let us enter into it.

† Or, "us."

‡ Or, "the promise He has made us."

Then Adam said no more. And they kept looking, he and Eve, towards the cave, and at the fire that flared up around it.

But that fire was from Satan. For he had gathered trees and dry grasses, and had carried and brought them to the cave, and had set fire to them, in order to consume the cave and what was in it.

So that Adam and Eve should be left in sorrow, and he should cut off their trust in God, and make them deny Him.

But by the mercy of God he could not burn the cave,* for God sent His angel round the cave to guard it from such a fire, until it went out.

And this fire lasted from noon-day until the break of day. That was the forty-fifth day.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Yet Adam and Eve were standing and looking at the fire, and unable to come near the cave from their dread of the fire.

And Satan kept on bringing trees and throwing them into the fire, until the flame thereof rose up on high, and covered the whole cave, thinking, as he did in his own mind, to consume the cave with much fire. But the angel of the Lord was guarding it.

And yet he could not curse Satan, nor injure him by word, because he had no authority over him, neither did he take to doing so with words from his mouth.

Therefore did the angel bear with him, without saying one bad word, until the Word of God came who said to Satan, "Go hence; once before didst thou deceive My servants, and this time thou seekest to destroy them.

"Were it not for My mercy I would have destroyed thee

* The Arabic here adds, "for God defeated the thoughts of that deceiver, so that the fire did not hurt the cave; but the angel," &c.

and thy hosts from off the earth. But I have had patience with thee,* unto the end of the world."

Then Satan fled from before the Lord. But the fire went on burning around the cave like a coal-fire the whole day; which was the forty-sixth day Adam and Eve had spent since they came out of the garden.

And when Adam and Eve saw that the heat of the fire had somewhat cooled down, they began to walk towards the cave to get into it as they were wont; but they could not, by reason of the heat of the fire.

Then they both took to weeping because of the fire that made separation between them and the cave, and that drew towards them, burning. And they were afraid.

Then Adam said to Eve, "See this fire of which we have a portion in us: which formerly yielded to us, but no longer does so, now that we have transgressed the limit of creation, and changed our condition, and our nature is altered. But the fire is not changed in its nature, nor altered from its creation. Therefore has it now power over us; and when we come near it, it scorches our flesh."

CHAPTER XLV.

Then Adam rose and prayed unto God, saying, "See, this fire has made separation between us and the cave in which Thou hast commanded us to dwell; but now, behold, we cannot go into it."

Then God heard Adam, and sent him His Word, that said:—

"O Adam, see this fire! how [different] the flame and heat thereof are from the garden of delights and the good things in it!

"When thou wast under My control, all creatures yielded to

* Or, "respired thee."

thee ; but after thou hast transgressed My commandment, they all rise over thee."

Again said God unto him, " See, O Adam, how Satan has exalted thee ! He has deprived thee of the Godhead, and of an exalted state like unto Me, and has not kept his word to thee ; but, after all, is become thy foe. It is he who made this fire in which he meant to burn thee and Eve.

" Why, O Adam, has he not kept his agreement with thee, not even one day ; but has deprived thee of the glory that was on thee—when thou didst yield to his command ?

" Thinkest thou, Adam, that he loved thee when he made this agreement with thee ? Or, that he loved thee and wished to raise thee on high ?

" But no, Adam, he did not do all that out of love to thee ; but he wished to make thee come out of light into darkness ; and from an exalted state to degradation ; from glory to abasement ; from joy to sorrow ; and from rest to fasting and fainting."

God said also to Adam, " See this fire kindled by Satan around thy cave ; see this wonder that surrounds thee ; and know that it will encompass about both thee and thy seed, when ye hearken to his behest ; that he will plague you with fire ; and that ye shall go down into hell after ye are dead.

" Then shall ye see the burning of his fire, that will thus be burning around you and your seed. There shall be no deliverance from it for you, but at My coming ; in like manner as thou canst not now go into thy cave, by reason of the great fire [around it] ; [not] until My Word shall come that will make a way for thee on the day My covenant is fulfilled.

" There is no way for thee at present to come from hence to rest, not until My Word comes, who is My Word.* Then will He make a way for thee, and thou shalt have rest." Then God called with His Word to that fire that burned around the

* The Arabic original here reads more definitely: " not until My voice comes, which is My Word," *i.e.*, God speaking to us through His Son.

cave, that it part itself asunder, until Adam had gone through it. Then the fire parted itself by God's order, and a way was made for Adam.

And God withdrew His Word from Adam.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Then Adam and Eve began again to come into the cave.

And when they came to the way between the fire, Satan blew into the fire like a whirlwind, and made on Adam and Eve a burning coal-fire ; so that their bodies were singed ; and the coal-fire scorched them.

And from the burning of the fire Adam and Eve cried aloud, and said, " O Lord, save us ! Leave us not to be consumed and plagued by this burning fire ; neither requite us for having transgressed Thy commandment."

Then God looked upon their bodies, on which Satan had caused fire to burn, and God sent His angel that stayed the burning fire. But the wounds remained on their bodies.

And God said unto Adam, " See Satan's love for thee, who pretended to give thee the Godhead and greatness ; and, behold, he burns thee with fire, and seeks to destroy thee from off the earth.

" Then look at Me, O Adam ; I created thee, and how many times have I delivered thee out of his hand ? If not, would he not have destroyed thee ?

God said again to Eve, " What is that he promised thee in the garden, saying, ' At the time ye shall eat of the tree, your eyes will be opened, and you shall become like gods, knowing good and evil.' But lo ! he has burnt your bodies with fire, and has made you taste the taste of fire, for the taste of the garden ; and has made you see the burning of fire, and the evil thereof, and the power it has over you.

“Your eyes have seen the good he has taken from you, and in truth he has opened your eyes; and you have seen the garden in which ye were with Me, and ye have also seen the evil that has come upon you from Satan. But as to the God-head he cannot give it you, neither fulfil his speech to you. Nay, he was bitter against you and your seed, that will come after you.”

And God withdrew His Word from them.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Then Adam and Eve came into the cave, yet trembling at the fire that had scorched their bodies. So Adam said to Eve:—

“Lo, the fire has burnt our flesh in this world; but how will it be when we are dead, and Satan shall punish* our souls? Is not our deliverance long and far off, unless God come, and in mercy to us fulfil His promise?”

Then Adam and Eve passed into the cave, blessing themselves for coming into it once more. For it was in their thoughts, that they never should enter it, when they saw the fire around it.

But as the sun was setting the fire was [still] burning and nearing Adam and Eve in the cave, so that they could not sleep in it. After the sun had set, they went out of it. This was the forty-seventh day after they came out of the garden.

Adam and Eve then came under the top of hill by† the garden to sleep, as they were wont.

And they stood and prayed God to forgive them their sins, and then fell asleep under the summit of the mountain.

But Satan, the hater of all good, thought within himself: Whereas God has promised salvation to Adam by covenant, and that He would deliver him out of all the hardships that

* Lit. judge, or sentence.

† Lit. of.

have befallen him—but has not promised me by covenant, and will not deliver me out of [my] hardships; nay, since He has promised him that He should make him and his seed dwell in the kingdom in which I [once] was—I will kill Adam. The earth shall be rid of him; and shall be left to me alone; so that when he is dead he may not have any seed left to inherit the kingdom that shall remain my own realm; God will then be in want of me, and He will restore me to it with my hosts.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Fifth apparition of Satan to Adam and Eve.

After this Satan called to his hosts, all of which came to him, and said unto him:—

“O, our Lord, what wilt thou do?”

He then said unto them, “Ye know that this Adam, whom God created out of the dust, is he who has taken our kingdom. Come, let us gather together and kill him; or hurl a rock at him and at Eve, and crush them under it.”

When Satan’s hosts heard these words, they came to the part of the mountain where Adam and Eve were asleep.

Then Satan and his hosts took a huge rock, broad and even, and without blemish, thinking within himself, “If there should be a hole in the rock, when it fell on them, the hole in the rock might come upon them, and so they would escape and not die.”

He then said to his hosts, “Take up this stone, and throw it flat upon them, so that it roll not from them to somewhere else. And when ye have hurled it, flee and tarry not.” And they did as he bid them. But as the rock fell down from the mountain upon Adam and Eve, God commanded it to become a kind of shed over them, that did them no harm. And so it was by God’s order.

But when the rock fell, the whole earth quaked with it, and was shaken from the size of the rock.

And as it quaked and shook, Adam and Eve awoke from sleep, and found themselves under a rock like a shed.* But they knew not how it was; for [when they fell asleep] they were under the sky, and not under a shed; and when they saw it, they were afraid.

Then Adam said to Eve, "Wherefore has the mountain bent [itself], and the earth quaked and shaken on our account? And why has this rock spread itself over us like a tent?"

"Does God intend to plague us and to shut us up in this prison? Or will He close the earth upon us?"

"He is angry with us for our having come out of the cave, without His order; and for our having done so of our own accord, without consulting Him, when we left the cave and came to this place."

Then Eve said, "If, indeed, the earth quaked for our sake, and this rock forms a tent over us because of our transgression, then woe be to us, O Adam, for our punishment will be long."

"But arise and pray to God to let us know concerning this, and what this rock is, that is spread over us like a tent."

Then Adam stood up and prayed before the Lord, to let him know about this strait. And Adam thus stood praying until the morning.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Then the Word of God came and said:—

"O Adam, who counselled thee, when thou camest out of the cave, to comest to this place?"

And Adam said unto God, "O Lord, we came to this place

* Tent or awning.

† Lit. and camest.

because of the heat of the fire, that came upon us inside the cave."

Then the Lord God said unto Adam, "O Adam, thou darest the heat of fire for one night, but how will it be when thou dwellest in hell?*

"Yet, O Adam, fear not, neither say in thy heart that I have spread this rock as an awning over thee, to plague thee therewith.

"It came from Satan, who had promised thee the Godhead and majesty. It is he who threw down this rock to kill thee under it, and Eve with thee, and thus to prevent you from living upon the earth.

"But, in mercy for you, just as that rock was falling down upon you, I commanded it to form an awning over you; and the rock under you, to lower itself.

"And this sign, O Adam, will happen to Me at My coming upon earth: Satan will raise the people of the Jews to put Me to death; and they will lay Me in a rock, and seal a large stone upon Me, and I shall remain within that rock three days and three nights.

"But on the third day I shall rise again, and it shall be salvation to thee, O Adam, and to thy seed, to believe in Me. But, O Adam, I will not bring thee from under this rock until three days and three nights are passed."

And God withdrew His Word from Adam.

But Adam and Eve abode under the rock three days and three nights, as God had told them.

And God did so to them because they had left their cave and had come to this same place without God's order.

But, after three days and three nights, God opened the rock and brought them out from under it. Their flesh was dried up, and their eyes and their hearts were troubled from weeping and sorrow.

* Also Arab.: how would it be if thou wert dwelling or abiding in hell?

CHAPTER L.

Then Adam and Eve went forth and came into the Cave of Treasures, and they stood praying in it the whole of that day, until the evening.

And this took place at the end of fifty days after they had left the garden.

But Adam and Eve rose again and prayed to God in the cave the whole of that night, and begged for mercy from Him.

And when the day dawned, Adam said unto Eve, "Come! let us go and do some work for our bodies."

So they went out of the cave, and came to the northern border of the garden, and they sought something to cover their bodies withal. But they found nothing, and knew not how to do the work. Yet their bodies were stained,* and they were speechless from cold and heat.

Then Adam stood and asked God to show him something wherewith to cover their bodies.

Then came the Word of God and said unto him, "O Adam, take Eve and come to the sea-shore, where ye fasted before. There ye shall find skins of sheep, whose flesh was devoured by lions, and whose skins were left. Take them and make raiment for yourselves, and clothe yourselves withal.

CHAPTER LI.

When Adam heard these words from God, he took Eve and removed from the northern end of the garden to the south of it, by the river of water, where they [once] fasted.

But as they were going in the way, and before they reached that place, Satan the wicked one, had heard the Word of God communing with Adam respecting his covering.

* Lit. dyed.

It grieved him, and he hastened to the place where the sheep-skins were, with the intention of taking them and throwing them into the sea, or of burning them with fire, that Adam and Eve should not find them.

But as he was about to take them, the Word of God came from heaven, and bound him by the side of those skins until Adam and Eve came near him. But as they neared him they were afraid of him, and of his hideous look.

Then came the Word of God to Adam and Eve, and said to them, "This is he who was hidden in the serpent, and who deceived you, and stripped you of the garment of light and glory in which you were.

"This is he who promised you majesty and divinity. Where, then, is the beauty that was on him? Where is his divinity? Where is his light? Where is the glory that rested on him?

"Now his figure is hideous; he is become abominable among angels; and he has come to be called Satan.

"O Adam, he wished to take from you this earthly garment of sheepskins, and to destroy it, and not let you be covered with it.

"What, then, is his beauty that you should have followed him? And what have you gained by hearkening to him? See his evil works and then look at Me; at Me, your Creator, and at the good deeds I do you.

"See, I bound him until you came and saw him and beheld his weakness, that no power is left with him."

And God released him from his bonds.

CHAPTER LII.

After this Adam and Eve said no more, but wept before God on account of their creation, and of their bodies that required an earthly covering.

Then Adam said unto Eve, "O Eve, this [is the] skin of beasts with which we shall be covered. But when we have put it on, behold, a token of death shall have come upon us, inasmuch as the owners of these skins have died, and have wasted away. So also shall we die, and pass away."

Then Adam and Eve took the skins, and went back to the Cave of Treasures; and when in it, they stood and prayed as they were wont.

And they thought how they could make garments of those skins; for they had no skill for it.

Then God sent to them His angel to show them how to work it out. And the angel said to Adam, "Go forth, and bring some palm-thorns." Then Adam went out, and brought some, as the angel had commanded him.

Then the angel began before them to work out the skins, after the manner of one who prepares a shirt. And he took the thorns and stuck them into the skins, before their eyes.

Then the angel again stood up and prayed God that the thorns in those skins should be hidden, so as to be, as it were, sewn with one thread.

And so it was, by God's order; they became garments for Adam and Eve, and He clothed them withal.³⁹

From that time the nakedness of their bodies was covered from the sight of each other's eyes.

And this happened at the end of the fifty-first day.

Then when Adam and Eve's bodies were covered, they stood and prayed, and sought mercy of the Lord, and forgiveness, and gave Him thanks for that He had had mercy on them, and had covered their nakedness. And they ceased* not from prayer the whole of that night.

Then when the morn dawned at the rising of the sun, they said† their prayers after their custom; and then went out of the cave.

* Lit. moved.

† Lit. prayed.

And Adam said unto Eve, "Since we know not what there is to the westward of this cave, let us go forth and see it to-day." Then they came forth and went towards the western border.

CHAPTER LIII.

Sixth apparition of Satan to Adam and Eve.

They were not very far from the cave, when Satan came towards them, and hid himself* between them and the cave, under the form of two ravenous lions three days [without food], that came towards Adam and Eve, as if to break them in pieces and devour them.

Then Adam and Eve wept, and prayed God to deliver them from their paws.

Then the Word of God came to them, and drove away [the lions] from them.

And God said unto Adam, "O Adam, what seekest thou on the western border? And why hast thou left of thine own accord the eastern border, in which was thy dwelling-place?"

"Now, then, turn back to thy cave, and remain in it, that Satan do not deceive thee, nor work his purpose† upon thee.

"For in this western border, O Adam, there will go from thee a seed, that shall replenish it; and that will defile themselves with their sins, and with their yielding to the behests of Satan, and by following his works.

"Therefore will I bring upon them the waters of a flood, and overwhelm them all. But I will deliver what is left of the righteous among them; and I will bring them to a distant land, and the land in which thou dwellest now shall remain desolate and without one inhabitant in it."

After God had thus discoursed to them, they went back to

* Arab. "he stepped, or placed himself."

† Or, counsel.

the Cave of Treasures. But their flesh was dried up, and their strength failed from fasting and praying, and from the sorrow they felt at having trespassed against God.

CHAPTER LIV.

Then Adam and Eve stood up in the cave and prayed the whole of that night until the morning dawned. And when the sun was risen they both went out of the cave; their heads wandering from heaviness of sorrow, and they not knowing whither they went.

And they walked thus unto the southern border of the garden. And they began to go up that border until they came to the eastern border [beyond] which there was no [farther] space.

And the cherub who guarded the garden was standing at the western gate, and guarding it against Adam and Eve, lest they should suddenly come into the garden. And the cherub turned round, as if to put them to death; according to the commandment God had given him.

When Adam and Eve came to the eastern border of the garden—thinking in their hearts that the cherub was not watching—as they were standing by the gate as if wishing to go in, suddenly came the cherub with a flashing sword of fire in his hand; and when he saw them, he went forth to kill them. For he was afraid lest God should destroy him if they went into the garden without His order.

And the sword of the cherub seemed to flame afar off. But when he raised it over Adam and Eve, the flame thereof did not flash forth. Therefore did the cherub think that God was favourable to them, and was bringing them back into the garden. And the cherub stood wondering.

He could not go up to Heaven to ascertain God's order regarding their getting into the garden; he therefore abode

standing by them, unable as he was to part from them ; for he was afraid lest they should enter the garden without leave from God, who [then] would destroy him.

When Adam and Eve saw the cherub coming towards them with a flaming sword of fire in his hand, they fell on their faces from fear, and were as dead.

At that time the heavens and the earth shook ; and other cherubim came down from heaven to the cherub who guarded the garden, and saw him amazed and silent.

Then, again, other angels came down nigh unto the place where Adam and Eve were. They were divided between joy and sorrow.

They were glad, because they thought that God was favourable to Adam, and wished him to return to the garden ; and [wished to] restore him to the gladness he once enjoyed.

But they sorrowed over Adam, because he was fallen like a dead [man], he and Eve ; and they said in their thoughts, “ Adam has not died in this place ; but God has put him to death, for his having come to this place, and wishing to get into the garden without His leave.”

CHAPTER LV.

Then came the Word of God to Adam and Eve, and raised them from their dead state, saying unto them, “ Why came ye up hither ? Do you intend to go into the garden, from which I brought you out ? It can not be to-day ; but [only] when the covenant I have made with you is fulfilled.”

Then Adam, when he heard the Word of God, and the fluttering of the angels whom he did not see, but only hear the sound of them with his ears, he and Eve wept, and said to the angels :—

“ O Spirits, who wait upon God, look upon me, and upon my

being unable to see you! For when I was in my former bright nature, then I could see you. I sang praises as you do; and my heart was far above you.

But now, that I have transgressed, that bright nature is gone from me, and I am come to this miserable state.* And now am I come to this, that I cannot see you, and you do not serve me as you were wont. For I am become animal flesh.

“Yet now, O angels of God, ask God with me, to restore me to that wherein I was formerly; to rescue me from this misery, and to remove from me the sentence of death He passed upon me, for having trespassed against Him.”

Then, when the angels heard these words, they all grieved over him; and cursed Satan who had beguiled Adam, until he came from the garden to misery; from life to death; from peace to trouble; and from gladness to a strange land.

Then the angels said unto Adam, “Thou didst hearken to Satan, and didst forsake the Word of God who created thee; and thou didst believe that Satan would fulfil all he had promised thee.

“But now, O Adam, we will make known to thee, what came upon us through him, before his fall from heaven.

“He gathered together his hosts, and deceived them, promising them to give them a great kingdom, a divine nature; and other promises he made them.

“His hosts believed that his word was true, so they yielded to him, and renounced the glory of God.

“He then sent for us—according to the orders† in which we were—to come under his command, and to hearken to his vain promise. But we would not, and we took not his advice.

“Then after he had fought with God, and had dealt frowardly with Him, he gathered together his hosts, and made war with us. And if it had not been for God’s strength that was with us, we could not have prevailed against him to hurl him from heaven.

* Or, figure.

† Ranks, or dignities.

“But when he fell from among us, there was great joy in heaven, because of his going down from us. For had he continued in heaven, nothing, not even one angel would have remained in it.

“But God in His mercy, drove him from among us to this dark earth ; for he had become darkness itself and a worker of unrighteousness.

“And he has continued, O Adam, to make war against thee, until he beguiled thee and made thee come out of the garden, to this strange land, where all these trials have come to thee. And death, which God brought upon him he has also brought to thee, O Adam, because thou didst obey him, and didst transgress against God.”

Then all the angels rejoiced and praised God; and asked Him not to destroy Adam this time, for his having sought to enter the garden ; but to bear with him until the fulfilment of the promise ; and to help him in this world until he was free from Satan’s hand.

CHAPTER LVI.

Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said unto him :—

“O Adam, look at that garden of joy and at this earth of toil, and behold the angels who are in the garden—that is full of them, and [see] thyself alone on this earth, with Satan whom thou didst obey.

“Yet, if thou hadst submitted, and been obedient to Me, and hadst kept My Word, thou wouldst be with My angels in My garden.

“But when thou didst transgress and hearken to Satan, thou didst become his guest among his angels, that are full of wickedness ; and thou camest to this earth, that brings forth to thee thorns and thistles.

“ O Adam, ask him who deceived thee, to give thee the divine nature he promised thee, or to make thee a garden as I had made for thee ; or to fill thee with that same bright nature with which I had filled thee.

“ [Ask him] to make thee a body like the one I made thee, or to give thee a day of rest as I gave thee ; or to create within thee a reasonable soul, as I did create for thee ; or to remove thee hence to some other earth than this one which I gave thee. But, O Adam, he will not fulfil even one of the things he told thee.

“ Acknowledge, then, My favour towards thee, and My mercy on thee, My creature ; that I have not requited thee for thy transgression against Me, but in My pity for thee I have promised thee that at the end of the great five days and a half I will come and save thee.”

Then God said again to Adam and Eve, “ Arise, go down hence, lest the cherub with a sword of fire in his hand destroy you.”

But Adam’s heart was comforted by God’s words to him, and he worshipped before Him.

And God commanded His angels to escort Adam [and Eve] to the cave with joy, instead of the fear that had come upon them.

Then the angels took up Adam and Eve, and brought them down from the mountain by the garden, with songs and psalms, until they brought them to the cave. There the angels began to comfort and to strengthen them, and then departed from them towards heaven, to their Creator, who had sent them.

But, after the angels were gone from Adam and Eve, came Satan, with shamefacedness, and stood at the entrance of the cave in which were Adam and Eve. He then called to Adam, and said, “ O Adam, come, let me speak to thee.”

Then Adam came out of the cave, thinking he was one of God’s angels that was come to give him some good counsel.

CHAPTER LVII.

Seventh apparition of Satan to Adam and Eve.

But when Adam came out and saw his hideous figure, he was afraid of him, and said unto him, "Who art thou?"

Then Satan answered and said unto him, "It is I, who hid myself within the serpent, and who talked to Eve, and beguiled her until she hearkened to my command. I am he who sent her, through the wiles of my speech, to deceive thee, until thou and she ate of the fruit of the tree, and ye came away from under the command of God."

But when Adam heard these words from him, he said unto him, "Canst thou make me a garden as God made for me? Or canst thou clothe me in the same bright nature in which God had clothed me?"

"Where is the divine nature thou didst promise to give me? Where is that fair speech of thine, thou didst hold with us at first, when we were in the garden?"

Then Satan said unto Adam, "Thinkest thou, that when I have spoken to one about anything, I shall ever bring it to him or fulfil my word? Not so. For I myself have never even thought of obtaining what I asked.

"Therefore did I fall, and did I make you fall by that for which I myself fell; and [with you] also, whosoever accepts my counsel, falls thereby.

"But now, O Adam, by reason of thy fall thou art under my rule,* and I am king over thee; because thou hast hearkened to me, and hast transgressed against thy God. Neither will there be any deliverance from my hands until the day promised thee by thy God."

Again he said, "Inasmuch as we do not know the day agreed upon with thee by thy God, nor the hour in which thou

* Sentence, or judgment.

shalt be delivered, for that reason will we multiply war and murder upon thee and thy seed after thee.

“This is our will and our good pleasure, that we may not leave one of the sons of men to inherit our orders* in heaven.

“For as to our abode, O Adam, it is in burning fire; and we will not cease our evil doing, no, not one day nor one hour. And I, O Adam, shall sow fire upon thee when thou comest into the cave to dwell there.”

When Adam heard these words he wept and mourned, and said unto Eve, “Hear what he said; that he will not fulfil aught of what he told thee in the garden. Did he really [then] become king over us?

“But we will ask God, who created us, to deliver us out of his hands.”

CHAPTER LVIII.

Then Adam and Eve spread their hands unto God, praying and entreating Him to drive Satan away from them; that he do them no violence, and do not force them to deny God.

Then God sent to them at once His angel, who drove away Satan from them. This happened about sunset, on the fifty-third day† after they had come out of the garden.

Then Adam and Eve went into the cave, and stood up and turned their faces to the earth, to pray to God.

But ere they prayed Adam said unto Eve, “Lo, thou hast seen what temptations‡ have befallen us in this land. Come, let us arise, and ask God to forgive us the sins we have committed; and we will not come out until the end of the day next to the fortieth. And if we die herein, He will save us.”

Then Adam and Eve arose, and joined together in entreating God.

* Ranks, or stations. † There is confusion of numbers in the text. ‡ Or, trials.

They abode thus praying in the cave ; neither did they come out of it, by night or by day, until their prayers went up out of their mouths, like a flame of fire.

CHAPTER LIX.

Eighth apparition of Satan to Adam and Eve.

But Satan, the hater of all good, did not allow them to end their prayers. For he called to his hosts, and they came, all of them. He then said to them, " Since Adam and Eve, whom we beguiled, have agreed together to pray to God night and day, and to entreat Him to deliver them, and [since they] will not come out of the cave until the end of the fortieth day.

" And since they will continue their prayers as they have both agreed to do, that He will deliver them out of our hands, and restore them to their [former] state, see what we shall do unto them." And his hosts said unto him, " Power is thine, O our Lord, to do what thou listest."

Then Satan, great in wickedness, took his hosts and came into the cave, in the thirtieth night of the forty days and one ; and he smote Adam and Eve, until he left them dead.

Then came the Word of God unto Adam and Eve, who raised them from their suffering, and God said unto Adam, " Be strong, and be not afraid of him who has just come to thee."

But Adam wept and said, " Where wast Thou, O my God, that they should smite me with such blows, and that this suffering should come upon us ; upon me and upon Eve, Thy handmaid ? "

Then God said unto him, " O Adam, see, he is lord and master* of all thou hast, he who said, he would give thee

* Or, steward, trustee, patron, master of all thou hast.

divinity. Where is his love for thee? And where is the gift he promised?

“For once has it pleased him, O Adam, to come to thee, to comfort thee, and to strengthen thee, and to rejoice with thee, and to send his hosts to guard thee; because thou hast hearkened to him, and hast yielded to his counsel; and hast transgressed My commandment but has followed his behest?”

Then Adam wept before the Lord, and said, “O Lord because I transgressed a little, Thou hast sorely plagued me in return for it, I ask Thee to deliver me out of his hands; or else have pity on me, and take my soul out of my body now in this strange land.”

Then God said unto Adam, “If only there had been this sighing and praying before, ere thou didst transgress! Then wouldst thou have rest from the trouble in which thou art now.”

But God had patience with Adam, and let him and Eve remain in the cave until they had fulfilled the forty days.

But as to Adam and Eve, their strength and flesh withered from fasting and praying, from hunger and thirst; for they had not tasted either food or drink since they left the garden; nor were the functions of their bodies yet settled; and they had no strength left to continue in prayer from hunger, until the end of the next day to the fortieth. They were fallen down in the cave; yet what speech escaped from their mouths, was only in praises.

CHAPTER LX.

Ninth apparition of Satan to Adam and Eve.

Then on the eighty-ninth day, Satan came to the cave, clad in a garment of light,⁴⁰ and girt about with a bright girdle.

In his hands was a staff of light, and he looked most awful : but his face was pleasant and his speech was sweet.

He thus transformed himself in order to deceive Adam and Eve, and to make them come out of the cave, ere they had fulfilled the forty days.

For he said within himself, "Now that when they had fulfilled the forty days' fasting and praying, God would restore them to their [former] estate ; but if He did not do so, He would still be favourable to them ; and even if He had not mercy on them, would He yet give them something from the garden to comfort them ; as already twice before."

Then Satan drew near the cave in this fair appearance, and said :—

"O Adam, rise ye, stand up, thou and Eve, and come along with me, to a good land ; and fear not. I am flesh and bones like you ; and at first I was a creature that God created.

"And it was so, that when He had created me, He placed in a garden in the north,* on the border of the world.

"And He said to me, 'Abide here.' And I abode there according to His Word, neither did I transgress His commandment.

"Then He made a slumber to come over me, and He brought thee, O Adam, out of my side, but did not make thee abide by me.

"But God took thee in His divine hand, and placed thee in a garden to the eastward.

"Then I grieved because of thee, for that while God had taken thee out of my side, He had not let thee abide with me.

"But God said unto me : 'Grieve not because of Adam, whom I brought out of thy side ; no harm will come to him.

"'For now I have brought out of his side a help-meet for him ; and I have given him joy by so doing.'"

Then Satan said again, "I did not know how it is ye are in

* Lit. of the north ; i.e., the northern paradise or garden.

this cave, nor anything about this trial that has come upon you—until God said to me, ‘Behold, Adam has transgressed, he whom I had taken out of thy side, and Eve also, whom I took out of his side; and I have driven them out of the garden; I have made them dwell in a land of sorrow and misery, because they transgressed against Me, and have hearkened to Satan. And lo, they are in suffering unto this day, the eightieth.’

“Then God said unto me, ‘Arise, go to them, and make them come to thy place, and suffer not that Satan come near them, and afflict them. For they are now in great misery; and lie helpless* from hunger.’

“He further said to me, ‘When thou hast taken them to thyself, give them to eat of the fruit of the Tree of Life, and give them to drink of the water of peace; and clothe them in a garment of light, and restore them to their former state of grace, and leave them not in misery, for they came from thee. But grieve not over them, nor repent† of that which has come upon them.’

“But when I heard this, I was sorry; and my heart could not patiently bear it for thy sake, O my child.

“But, O Adam, when I heard the name of Satan, I was afraid, and I said within myself,‡ I will not come out, lest he ensnare me, as he did my children, Adam and Eve.

“And I said, ‘O God, when I go to my children, Satan will meet me in the way, and war against me, as he did against them.’

“Then God said unto me, ‘Fear not; when thou findest him, smite him with the staff that is in thine hand, and be not afraid of him, for thou art [of] old [standing], and he shall not prevail against thee.’

“Then I said, ‘O my Lord, I am old, and cannot go. Send Thy angels to bring them.’

* Or, prostrate.

† Or, regret, grieve over.

‡ Lit. my thoughts, or mind.

“ But God said unto me, ‘ Angels, verily, are not like them ; and they will not consent to come with them. But I have chosen thee, because they are thy offspring, and like thee, and will hearken to what thou sayest.’

“ God said further to me, ‘ If thou hast not strength to walk, I will send a cloud to carry thee and alight thee at the entrance of their cave ; then the cloud will return and leave thee [there].

“ ‘ And if they will come with thee, I will send a cloud to carry thee and them.’

“ Then He commanded a cloud, and it bare me up and brought me to you ; and then went back.

“ And now, O my children, Adam and Eve, look at my hoar hairs and at my feeble estate, and at my coming from that distant place. Come, come with me, to a place of rest.”

Then he began to weep and to sob before Adam and Eve, and his tears poured upon the earth like water.

And when Adam and Eve raised their eyes and saw his beard, and heard his sweet talk,* their hearts softened towards him ; they hearkened unto him, for they believed he was true.

And it seemed to them that they really were his offspring, when they saw that his face was like their own ; and they trusted him.

CHAPTER LXI.

Then he took Adam and Eve by the hand, and began to bring them out of the cave.

But when they were come a little way out of it, God knew that Satan had overcome them, and had brought them out ere the forty days were ended, to take them to some distant place, and to destroy them.

Then the Word of the Lord God again came and cursed Satan, and drove him away from them.

* Or, speech.

And God began to speak unto Adam and Eve, saying to them, "What made you come out of the cave, unto this place?"

Then Adam said unto God, "Didst thou create a man before us? For when we were in the cave there suddenly came unto us a good old man who said to us, 'I am a messenger from God unto you, to bring you back to some place of rest.'

"And we did believe, O God, that he was a messenger from Thee; and we came out with him; and knew not whither we should go with him."

Then God said unto Adam, "See, that is the father of evil arts,* who brought thee and Eve out of the Garden of Delights. And now, indeed, when he saw that thou and Eve both joined together in fasting and praying, and that you came not out of the cave before the end of the forty days, he wished to make your purpose vain, to break† your mutual bond; to cut off all hope from you, and to drive you to some place where he might destroy you.

"Because he was unable to do aught to you, unless he showed himself in the likeness of you.

"Therefore did he come to you with a face like your own, and began to give you tokens as if they were all true.‡

"But I in mercy and with the favour I had unto you, did not allow him to destroy you; but I drove him away from you.

"Now, therefore, O Adam, take Eve, and return to your cave, and remain in it until the morrow of the fortieth day.§ And when ye come out, go towards the eastern gate of the garden."

Then Adam and Eve worshipped God, and praised and blessed Him for the deliverance that had come to them from Him. And they returned towards the cave. This happened at eventide of the thirty-ninth day.

* Or, wiles.

† Lit. alter.

‡ i.e., to show you tokens that appeared true.

§ The fulfilment of the fortieth day.

Then Adam and Eve stood up [and] with great zeal,* prayed to God, to be brought out of their want† of strength; for their strength had departed from them, through hunger and thirst and prayer. But they watched the whole of that night praying, until morning.

Then Adam said unto Eve, "Arise, let us go towards the eastern gate of the garden as God told us."

And they said their prayers as they were wont to do every day; and they went out of the cave, to go near to the eastern gate of the garden.

Then Adam and Eve stood up and prayed, and besought God to strengthen them, and to send them something to satisfy their hunger.⁴¹

But when they had ended their prayers, they remained [where they were] by reason of their failing strength.

Then came the Word of God again, and said unto them, "O Adam, arise, go and bring hither two figs."

Then Adam and Eve arose, and went until they drew near to the cave.

CHAPTER LXII.

Tenth apparition of Satan to Adam and Eve, about the figs.

But Satan the wicked, was envious, because of the consolation God had given them.‡

So he prevented them, and went into the cave and took the two figs, and buried them outside the cave, so that Adam and Eve should not find them. He also had in his thoughts to destroy them.

But by God's mercy, as soon as those two figs were in the earth, God defeated Satan's counsel regarding them; and

* Lit. labour, fervour, or toil.

† Lack, or poverty.

‡ Or, because God had comforted them.

made them into two fruit-trees, that overshadowed the cave. For Satan had buried them on the eastern side of it.

Then when the two trees were grown, and were covered with fruit, Satan grieved and mourned, and said, "Better were it to have left those figs as they were; for now, behold, they have become two fruit-trees, whereof Adam will eat all the days of his life. Whereas I had in mind, when I buried them, to destroy them entirely, and to hide them for aye.

"But God has overturned my counsel; and would not that this sacred fruit should perish; and He has made plain my intention, and has defeated the counsel I had formed against His servants."

Then Satan went away ashamed, of not having wrought out his design.

CHAPTER LXIII.

But Adam and Eve, as they drew near to the cave, saw two fig-trees, covered with fruit, and overshadowing the cave.

Then Adam said to Eve, "It seems to me we have gone astray. When did these two trees grow here? It seems to me that the enemy wishes to lead us astray. Sayest thou that there is in the earth another cave than this?"

"Yet, O Eve, let us go into the cave, and find in it the two figs; for this is our cave, in which we were. But if we should not find the two figs in it, then it cannot be our cave."

They went then into the cave, and looked into the four corners of it, but found not the two figs.

And Adam wept, and said to Eve, "Are we come to a wrong cave, then, O Eve? It seems to me these two fig-trees are the two figs that were in the cave." And Eve said, "I, for my part, do not know."

Then Adam stood up and prayed and said, "O God, Thou

didst command us to come back to the cave, to take the two figs, and then to return to Thee.

“But now, we have not found them. O God, hast Thou taken them, and sown these two trees, or have we gone astray in the earth; or has the enemy deceived us? If it be real, then, O God, reveal to us the secret of these two trees and of the two figs.”

Then came the Word of God to Adam, and said unto him, “O Adam, when I sent thee to fetch the figs, Satan went before thee to the cave, took the figs, and buried them outside, eastward of the cave, thinking to destroy them; and not sowing them with good intent.

“Not for his mere sake, then, have these trees grown up at once; but I had mercy on thee and I commanded them to grow. And they grew to be two large trees, that you be overshadowed by their branches, and find rest; and that I make you see My power and My marvellous works.

“And, also, to show you Satan’s meanness, and his evil works, for ever since ye came out of the garden, he has not ceased, no, not one day, from doing you some harm. But I have not given him power over you.”

And God said, “Henceforth, O Adam, rejoice on account of the trees, thou and Eve; and rest under them when ye feel weary. But eat not of their fruit, nor come near them.”

Then Adam wept, and said, “O God, wilt Thou again kill us, or wilt Thou drive us away from before Thy face, and cut our life from off the face of the earth?”

“O God, I beseech Thee, if Thou knowest that there be in these trees either death or some other evil, as at the first time,* root them up from near our cave, and wither them; and leave us to die of the heat, of hunger and of thirst.

“For we know Thy marvellous works, O God, that they are great, and that by Thy power Thou canst bring one thing out

* In the garden.

of another, without one's wish.* For Thy power can make rocks to become trees, and trees to become rocks."

CHAPTER LXIV.

Then God looked upon Adam and upon his strength of mind, upon his endurance of hunger and thirst, and of the heat. And he changed the two fig-trees into two figs, as they were at first, and then said to Adam and to Eve, "Each of you may take one fig." And they took them, as the Lord commanded them.

And he said to them, "Go ye into the cave, and eat the figs, and satisfy your hunger, lest ye die."

So, as God commanded them, they went into the cave, about the time when the sun was setting. And Adam and Eve stood up and prayed at the time of the setting sun.

Then they sat down to eat the figs; but they knew not how to eat them; for they were not accustomed to eat earthly food. They feared also lest, if they ate, their stomach should be burdened and their flesh thickened, and their hearts take to liking earthly food.

But while they were thus seated, God, out of pity for them, sent them His angel, lest they should perish of hunger and thirst.

And the angel said unto Adam and Eve, "God says to you that ye have not strength to fast until death; eat, therefore, and strengthen your bodies; for ye are now animal flesh, that cannot subsist without food and drink."

Then Adam and Eve took the figs and began to eat of them. But God had put into them a mixture as of savoury bread and blood.

Then the angel went from Adam and Eve, who ate of the figs until they had satisfied their hunger. Then they put by what remained; but by the power of God, the figs became full

* Lit. my will, or wish.

as before, because God blessed them. After this Adam and Eve arose, and prayed with a joyful heart and renewed strength, and praised and rejoiced abundantly the whole of that night. And this was the end of the eighty-third day.

CHAPTER LXV.

And when it was day, they rose and prayed, after their custom, and then went out of the cave.

But as they felt great trouble from the food they had eaten, and to which they were not used, they went about in the cave saying to each other:—

“What has happened to us through eating, that this pain should have come upon us? Woe be to us, we shall die! Better for us to have died than to have eaten; and to have kept our bodies pure, than to have defiled them [with food].”

Then Adam said to Eve, “This pain did not come to us in the garden, neither did we eat such bad food there. Thinkest thou, O Eve, that God will plague us through the food that is in us, or that our inwards will come out; or that God means to kill us with this pain before He has fulfilled His promise to us?”

Then Adam besought the Lord and said, “O Lord, let us not perish through the food we have eaten. O Lord, smite us not; but deal with us according to Thy great mercy, and forsake us not until the day of the promise Thou hast made us.”

Then God looked upon them, and at once fitted them for eating food; as unto this day; so that they should not perish.

Then Adam and Eve came back into the cave sorrowful and weeping because of the alteration in their nature. And they both knew from that hour that they were altered [beings], that their hope of returning to the garden was now cut off; and that they could not enter it.

For that now their bodies had strange functions; and all flesh that requires food and drink for its existence, cannot be in the garden.

Then Adam said to Eve, "Behold, our hope is now cut off; and so is our trust to enter the garden. We no longer belong to the inhabitants of the garden; but henceforth we are earthy and of the dust, and of the inhabitants of the earth. We shall not return to the garden, until the day in which God has promised to save us, and to bring us again into the garden, as He promised us."

Then they prayed to God that He would have mercy on them; after which, their mind was quieted, their hearts were broken, and their longing was cooled down; and they were like strangers on earth. That night Adam and Eve spent in the cave, where they slept heavily by reason of the food they had eaten.

CHAPTER LXVI.

When it was morning, the day after they had eaten food, Adam and Eve prayed in the cave, and Adam said unto Eve, "Lo, we asked for food of God, and He gave it. But now let us also ask Him to give us a drink of water."

Then they arose, and went to the bank of the stream of water, that was on the south border of the garden, in which they had before thrown themselves. And they stood on the bank, and prayed to God that He would command them to drink of the water.

Then the Word of God came to Adam, and said unto him, "O Adam, thy body is become brutish, and requires water to drink. Take ye, and drink, thou and Eve; give thanks and praise."

Adam and Eve then drew near, and drank of it, until their bodies felt refreshed. After having drunk, they praised God

and then returned to their cave, after their former custom. This happened at the end of eighty-three days.

Then on the eighty-fourth day, they took two figs and hung them in the cave, together with the leaves thereof, to be to them a sign and a blessing from God. And they placed them there until there should arise a posterity to them, who should see the wonderful things God had done to them.

Then Adam and Eve again stood outside the cave, and besought God to show them some food wherewith to nourish their bodies.

Then the Word of God came and said unto him, "O Adam, go down to the westward of the cave, as far as a land of dark soil,* and there thou shalt find food."

And Adam hearkened unto the Word of God, took Eve, and went down to a land of dark soil, and found there wheat growing, in the ear and ripe, and figs to eat; and Adam rejoiced over it.

Then the Word of God came again to Adam, and said unto him, "Take of this wheat and make thee bread of it, to nourish thy body withal." And God gave Adam's heart wisdom, to work out the corn until it became bread.

Adam accomplished all that, until he grew very faint and weary. He then returned to the cave; rejoicing at what he had learned of what is done with wheat, until it is made into bread for one's use.

Further details would lengthen too much the description of them; we therefore cut short [our narrative].

CHAPTER LXVII.

First wonder that happened to Adam and Eve with Satan, respecting the wheat.

But when Adam and Eve went down to the land of black

* Or, black mud.

mud, and came near to the wheat God had showed them, and saw it ripe* and ready for reaping, as they had no sickle to reap it withal—they girt themselves, and began to pull up the wheat, until it was all done. Then they made it into a heap; and, faint from heat and from thirst, they went under a shady tree, where the breeze fanned them to sleep.

But Satan saw what Adam and Eve had done. And he called his hosts, and said to them, “Since God has shown to Adam and Eve all about this wheat, wherewith to strengthen their bodies—and, lo, they are come and have made a heap of it, and faint from [the toil] are now asleep—come, let us set fire to [this heap of corn], and burn it, and let us take that bottle of water that is by them, and empty it out, so that they may find nothing to drink, and we kill them with hunger and thirst.

“Then, when they wake up from their sleep, and seek to return to the cave, we will come to them in the way, and will lead them astray; so that they die of hunger and thirst; when they may, perhaps, deny God, and He destroy them. So shall we be rid of them.”†

Then Satan and his hosts threw fire upon the wheat and consumed it.

But from the heat of the flame Adam and Eve awoke from their sleep, and saw the wheat burning, and the bucket of water by them, poured out.

Then they wept and went back to the cave.

But as they were going up from below the mountain [where they were], Satan and his hosts met them in the form of angels, praising [God].

Then Satan said to Adam, “O Adam, why art thou so pained with hunger and thirst? It seems to me that Satan has burnt up the wheat.” And Adam said to him, “Ay.”

Again Satan said to Adam, “Come back with us; we are

* Lit. dry.

† Lit. have rest from them.

angels of God. God sent us to thee, to show thee another field of corn, better than that ; and beyond it is a fountain of good water, and many trees, where thou shalt dwell near it, and work the corn-field to better [purpose] than that which Satan has consumed.”

Adam thought that he was true, and that they were angels who talked with him ; and he went back with them.

Then Satan began to lead astray Adam and Eve eight days, until they both fell down as if dead, from hunger, thirst, and faintness. Then he fled with his hosts, and left them.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

Then God looked upon Adam and Eve, and upon what had come upon them from Satan, and how he had made them perish.

God, therefore, sent His Word, and raised up Adam and Eve from their state of death.

Then, Adam, when he was raised, said, “ O God, Thou hast burnt [and taken] from us the corn Thou hadst given us, and Thou hast emptied out the bucket of water. And Thou hast sent Thy angels, who have waylaid us from the corn-field. Wilt Thou make us perish ? If this be from Thee, O God, then take away our souls ; but punish us not.”

Then God said to Adam, “ I did not burn down the wheat, and I did not pour the water out of the bucket, and I did not send My angels to lead thee astray.

“ But it is Satan, thy master [who did it] ; he to whom thou hast subjected thyself ; My commandment being [meanwhile] set aside. He it is, who burnt down the corn, and poured out the water, and who has led thee astray ; and all the promises he has made you, verily are but feint, and deceit, and a lie.

“ But now, O Adam, thou shalt acknowledge My good deeds done to thee.”

And God told His angels to take Adam and Eve, and to bear them up to the field of wheat,* which they found as before, with the bucket full of water. There they saw a tree, and found on it solid manna; and wondered at God's power. And the angels commanded them to eat of the manna when they were hungry.

And God adjured Satan with a curse, not to come again, and destroy the field of corn.

Then Adam and Eve took of the corn, and made of it an offering,† and took it and offered it up on the mountain, the place where they had offered up their first offering of blood.

And they offered this oblation again on the altar they had built at first. And they stood up and prayed, and besought the Lord saying, "Thus, O God, when we were in the garden, did our praises go up to Thee, like this offering; and our innocence‡ went up to the like incense. But now, O God, accept this offering from us, and turn us not back, reft§ of Thy mercy.||

Then God said to Adam and Eve, "Since ye have made this oblation and have offered it to Me, I shall make it My flesh,¶ when I come down upon earth to save you; and I shall cause it to be offered continually upon an altar, for forgiveness and for mercy, unto those who partake of it duly."

And God sent a bright fire upon the offering of Adam and Eve, and filled it with brightness, grace, and light; and the Holy Ghost came down upon that oblation.

Then God commanded an angel to take fire-tongs, like a spoon,** and with it to take an offering and bring it to Adam

* Lit. place.

† 'Ο σίτος δὲ καὶ ὁ ὄλκος τῶν ἀγίων μυστηρίων αἰνίγματα. S. Athan., *Quæst.* lxvii, vol. ii, p. 414.

‡ Or, purity.

§ Or, bare.

|| The Arabic adds: And God wondered at Adam's wisdom, and Adam's deed pleased him.

¶ Or, body.

** Used at the Eucharist in the East.

and Eve. And the angel did so, as God had commanded him, and offered it to them.

And the souls of Adam and Eve were brightened, and their hearts were filled with joy and gladness and with the praises of God.

And God said to Adam, "This shall be unto you a custom, to do so, when affliction and sorrow come upon you. But your deliverance and your entrance into the garden, shall not be until the days are fulfilled, as [agreed] between you and Me; were it not so, I would, of My mercy and pity for you, bring you back to My garden and to My favour for the sake of the offering you have just made to My name."

Adam rejoiced at these words which he heard from God; and he and Eve worshipped before the altar, to which they bowed, and then went back to the Cave of Treasures.

And this took place at the end of the twelfth day after the eightieth day, from the time Adam and Eve came out of the garden.

And they stood up the whole night praying until morning; and then went out of the cave.

Then Adam said to Eve, with joy of heart, because of the offering they had made to God, and that had been accepted of Him, "Let us do this three times every week, on the fourth day [Wednesday], on the preparation day [Friday], and on the Sabbath [Sunday], all the days of our life."

And as they agreed to these words between themselves, God was pleased with their thoughts, and with the resolution they had each taken with the other.

After this, came the Word of God to Adam, and said, "O Adam, thou hast determined beforehand the days in which sufferings shall come upon Me, when I am made flesh; for they are the fourth [Wednesday], and the preparation day [Friday].

"But as to the first day, I created in it all things, and I raised the heavens. And, again, through My rising again on

this day, will I create joy, and raise them on high, who believe in Me; O Adam, offer this oblation, all the days of thy life.”

Then God withdrew His Word from Adam.

But Adam continued to offer this oblation thus, every week three times, until the end of seven weeks. And on the first day, which is the fiftieth, Adam made an offering as he was wont, and he and Eve took it and came to the altar before God, as He had taught them.

CHAPTER LXIX.

Twelfth apparition of Satan to Adam and Eve, while Adam was praying over the offering upon the altar; when Satan smote him.

Then Satan, the hater of all good, envious of Adam and of his offering through which he found favour with God, hastened and took a sharp stone from among sharp iron-stones; appeared in the form of a man, and went and stood by Adam and Eve.

Adam was then offering on the altar, and had begun to pray, with his hands spread unto God.

Then Satan hastened with the sharp iron-stone he had with him, and with it pierced Adam on the right side, whence flowed blood and water, then Adam fell upon the altar like a corpse. And Satan fled.

Then Eve came, and took Adam and placed him below the altar. And there she stayed, weeping over him; while a stream of blood flowed from Adam's side upon his offering.

But God looked upon the death of Adam. He then sent His Word, and raised him up and said unto him, “Fulfil thy offering, for indeed, Adam, it is worth much, and there is no shortcoming* in it.”

God said further unto Adam, “Thus will it also happen to

* Also: lack, or imperfection, defect, or deficiency.

Me, on the earth, when I shall be pierced and blood shall flow, blood and water from My side, and run over My body, which is the true offering; and which shall be offered on the altar as a perfect offering."

Then God commanded Adam to finish his offering, and when he had ended it he worshipped before God, and praised Him for the signs He had showed him.

And God healed Adam in one day, which is the end of the seven weeks; and that is the fiftieth day.

Then Adam and Eve returned from the mountain, and went into the Cave of Treasures, as they were used to do. This completed for Adam and Eve, one hundred and forty days since their coming out of the garden.

Then they both stood up that night and prayed to God. And when it was morning, they went out, and went down westward of the cave, to the place where their corn was, and there rested under the shadow of a tree, as they were wont.

But [when there] a multitude of beasts came all round them. It was Satan's doing, in his wickedness; in order to wage war against Adam through marriage.

CHAPTER LXX.

Thirteenth apparition of Satan to Adam and Eve, to make war against him, through his marriage with Eve.

After this Satan, the hater of all good, took the form of an angel, and with him two others, so that they looked like the three angels who had brought to Adam, gold, incense, and myrrh.

They passed before Adam and Eve while they were under the tree, and greeted Adam and Eve with fair words that were full of guile.

But when Adam and Eve saw their comely mien, and [heard]

their sweet speech, Adam rose, welcomed them, and brought them to Eve, and they remained all together; Adam's heart the while, being glad because he thought concerning them, that they were the same angels, who had brought him gold, incense, and myrrh.

Because, when they came to Adam the first time, there came upon him from them, peace and joy, through their bringing him good tokens; so Adam thought that they were come a second time to give him other tokens for him to rejoice withal. For he did not know it was Satan; therefore did he receive them with joy and companied with them.

Then Satan, the tallest of them, said, "Rejoice, O Adam, and be glad. Lo, God has sent us to thee to tell thee something."

And Adam said, "What is it?" Then Satan answered, "It is a light thing, yet it is a word of God, wilt thou hear it from us and do it? But if thou hearest not, we will return to God, and tell Him that thou wouldest not receive His word."

And Satan said again to Adam, "Fear not, neither let a trembling come upon thee; dost not thou know us?"

But Adam said, "I know you not."

Then Satan said to him, "I am the angel who brought thee gold, and took it to the cave; this other one is he who brought thee incense; and that third one, is he who brought thee myrrh [when thou wast] on the top of the mountain, and who carried thee to the cave.

But as to [the other angels] our fellows, who bare you to the cave, God has not sent them with us this time; for He said to us, "You suffice."

So when Adam heard these words he believed them, and said to these angels, "Speak the word of God, that I may receive it."

And Satan said unto him, "Swear, and promise me that thou wilt receive it."

Then Adam said, "I know not how to swear and promise."

And Satan said to him, "Hold out thy hand, and put it inside my hand."

Then Adam held out his hand, and put it into Satan's hand; when Satan said unto him, "Say, now—so true* as God is living, rational, and speaking, who raised the heavens in the space, and established the earth upon the waters, and has created me out of the four elements, and out of the dust of the earth—I will not break† my promise, nor renounce my word." And Adam swore thus.

Then Satan said to him, "Lo, it is now some time since thou camest out of the garden, and thou knowest neither wickedness nor evil. But now God says to thee, to take Eve who came out of thy side, and to wed her, that she bear thee children, to comfort thee, and to drive from thee trouble and sorrow; now this thing is not difficult, neither is there any scandal in it to thee."

CHAPTER LXXI.

But when Adam heard these words from Satan, he sorrowed much, because of his oath and of his promise, and said, "Shall I commit adultery with my [flesh and my] bones, and shall I sin against myself, for God to destroy me, and to blot me out from off the face of the earth?"

"Since, when at first, I ate of the tree, He drove me out of the garden into this strange land, and deprived me of [my] bright nature, and brought death upon me. If, then, I should do this, He will cut off my life from the earth, and He will cast me into hell, and will plague me there a long time.

"But God never spoke the words thou hast told me; and ye are not God's angels, nor yet sent from Him. But ye are devils, come to me under the false appearance of angels. Away from me; ye cursed of God!"

* Lit. as indeed.

† Lit. foul.

Then those devils fled from before Adam. And he and Eve arose, and returned to the Cave of Treasures, and went into it.

Then Adam said to Eve, "If thou sawest what I did, tell it not; for I sinned against God in swearing by His great name, and I have placed my hand another time into that of Satan." Eve, then, held her peace, as Adam told her.

Then Adam arose, and spread his hands unto God, beseeching and entreating Him with tears, to forgive him what he had done. And Adam remained thus standing and praying forty days and forty nights. He neither ate nor drank until he dropped down upon the earth from hunger and thirst.

Then God sent His Word unto Adam, who raised him up from where he lay, and said unto him, "O Adam, why hast thou sworn by My name, and why hast thou made agreement with Satan another time?"

But Adam wept, and said, "O God, forgive me, for I did this unwittingly; believing they were God's angels."

And God forgave Adam, saying to him, "Beware of Satan."

And He withdrew His Word from Adam.

Then Adam's heart was comforted; and he took Eve, and they went out of the cave, to make some food for their bodies.

But from that day Adam struggled in his mind about his wedding Eve; afraid as he was to do it, lest God should be wroth with him.

Then Adam and Eve went to the river of water, and sat on the bank, as people do when they enjoy themselves.

But Satan was jealous of them; and would destroy them.

CHAPTER LXXII.

Fourteenth apparition of Satan to Adam and Eve; as coming up out of the river, in the similitude of young maidens.

Then Satan, and ten from his hosts, transformed themselves into maidens, unlike any others in the whole world for grace.

They came up out of the river in presence of Adam and Eve, and they said among themselves, "Come, we will look at the faces of Adam and of Eve, who are of the men upon earth. How beautiful they are, and how different is their look from our own faces." Then they came to Adam and Eve, and greeted them; and stood wondering at them.

Adam and Eve looked at them also, and wondered at their beauty, and said, "Is there, then, under us, another world, with such beautiful creatures as these in it?"

And those maidens said to Adam and Eve, "Yes, indeed, we are an abundant creation."

Then Adam said to them, "But how do you multiply?"

And they answered him, "We have husbands who wedded us, and we bear them children, who grow up, and who in their turn wed and are wedded, and also bear children; and thus we increase. And if so be, O Adam, thou wilt not believe us, we will show thee our husbands and our children."

Then they shouted over the river as if to call their husbands and their children, who came up from the river, men and children; and every one came to his wife, his children being with him.

But when Adam and Eve saw them, they stood dumb, and wondered at them.

Then they said to Adam and Eve, "You see our husbands and our children, wed Eve as we wed our wives, and you shall have children the same as we." This was a device of Satan to deceive Adam.

Satan also thought within himself, "God at first commanded Adam concerning the fruit of the tree, saying to him, 'Eat not of it; else of death thou shalt die.' But Adam ate of it, and yet God did not kill him; He only decreed upon him death, and plagues and trials, until the day he shall come out of his body.

"Now, then, if I deceive him to do this thing, and to wed Eve without God's commandment, God will kill him then."

Therefore did Satan work this apparition before Adam and Eve; because he sought to kill him, and to make him disappear from off the face of the earth.

Meanwhile the fire of sin came upon Adam, and he thought of committing sin. But he restrained himself, fearing lest if he followed this advice [of Satan] God would put him to death.

Then Adam and Eve arose, and prayed to God, while Satan and his hosts went down into the river, in presence of Adam and Eve; to let them see that they were going back to their own regions.

Then Adam and Eve went back to the Cave of Treasures, as they were wont; about evening time.

And they both arose and prayed to God that night. Adam remained standing in prayer, yet not knowing how to pray, by reason of the thoughts of his heart regarding his wedding Eve; and he continued so until morning.

And when light arose, Adam said unto Eve, "Arise let us go below the mountain, where they brought us gold, and let us ask the Lord concerning this matter."

Then Eve said, "What is that matter, O Adam?"

And he answered her, "That I may request the Lord to inform me about wedding thee; for I will not do it without His order, lest He make us perish, thee and me. For those devils have set my heart on fire, with thoughts of what they showed us, in their sinful apparitions."

Then Eve said to Adam, "Why need we go below the mountain? Let us rather stand up and pray in our cave to God, to let us know whether this counsel is good or not."

Then Adam rose up in prayer and said, "O God, Thou knowest that we transgressed against Thee, and from the moment we transgressed, we were bereft of our bright nature; and our body became brutish, requiring food and drink; and with animal desires.

"Command us, O God, not to give way to them without Thy

order, lest Thou bring us to nothing. For if Thou give us not the order, we shall be overpowered, and follow that advice [of Satan] ; and Thou wilt again make us perish.

“ If not, then take our souls from us ; let us be rid of this animal lust. And if Thou give us no order respecting this thing, then sever Eve from me, and me from her ; and place us each far away from the other.

“ Yet again, O God, when Thou hast put us asunder from each other, the devils will deceive us with their apparitions, and destroy our hearts, and defile our thoughts towards each other. Yet if it is not each of us towards the other, it will, at all events, be through their appearance when they show themselves to us.” Here Adam ended his prayer.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

Then God looked upon the words of Adam that they were true, and that he could long await [His order], respecting the counsel of Satan.

And God approved Adam in what he had thought concerning this, and in the prayer he had offered in His presence ; and the Word of God came unto Adam and said to him, “ O Adam, if only thou hadst had this caution at first, ere thou camest out of the garden into this land ! ”

After that, God sent His angel who had brought gold, and the angel who had brought incense, and the angel who had brought myrrh to Adam, that they should inform him respecting his wedding Eve.

Then those angels said to Adam, “ Take the gold and give it to Eve as a wedding gift, and betroth her ; then give her some incense and myrrh as a present ; and be ye, thou and she, one flesh.”

Adam hearkened to the angels, and took the gold and put

it into Eve's bosom in her garment ; and bethrothed her with his hand.

Then the angels commanded Adam and Eve, to arise and pray forty days and forty nights ; and after that, that Adam should come in to his wife ; for then this would be an act pure and undefiled ; and he should have children who would multiply, and replenish the face of the earth.

Then both Adam and Eve received the words of the angels ; and the angels departed from them.

Then Adam and Eve began to fast and to pray, until the end of the forty days ; and then they came together, as the angels had told them. And from the time Adam left the garden until he wedded Eve, were two hundred and twenty-three days, that is seven months and thirteen days.

Thus was Satan's war with Adam defeated.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

And they dwelt on the earth working, in order to continue in the well-being of their bodies ; and were so until the nine months of Eve's child-bearing were ended, and the time drew near when she must be delivered.

Then she said unto Adam, "This cave is a pure spot by reason of the signs [wrought in] it since [we left] the garden ; and we shall again pray in it. It is not meet, then, that I should bring forth in it ; let us rather repair to that of the sheltering rock, which Satan hurled at us, when he wished to kill us with it ; but that was held up and spread as an awning over us by the command of God ; and formed a cave."

Then Adam removed Eve to that cave ; and when the time came that she should bring forth, she travailed much. So was Adam sorry, and his heart suffered for her sake ; for she was nigh unto death ; that the word of God to her should be

fulfilled: "In suffering shalt thou bear a child, and in sorrow shalt thou bring forth thy child."

But when Adam saw the strait in which Eve was, he arose and prayed to God, and said, "O Lord, look upon me with the eye of Thy mercy, and bring her out of her distress."

And God looked at His maid-servant Eve, and delivered her, and she brought forth her first-born son, and with him a daughter. Then Adam rejoiced at Eve's deliverance, and also over the children she had borne him. And Adam ministered unto Eve in the cave, until the end of eight days; when they named the son Cain,* and the daughter Luluwa.†⁴¹

The meaning of Cain is "hater," because he hated his sister in their mother's womb; ere they came out of it. Therefore did Adam name him Cain.

But Luluwa means "beautiful," because she was more beautiful than her mother.

Then Adam and Eve waited until Cain and his sister were forty days old, when Adam said unto Eve, "We will make an offering and offer it up in behalf of the children."

And Eve said, "We will make one offering for the first-born son; and afterwards we shall make one for the daughter."

CHAPTER LXXV.

Then Adam prepared an offering, and he and Eve offered it up for their children, and brought it to the altar they had built at first.

And Adam offered up the offering, and besought God to accept his offering.

Then God accepted Adam's offering, and sent a light from heaven that shone upon the offering. And Adam and the son drew near to the offering, but Eve and the daughter did not approach unto it.

* Eth. Cail.

† "Luluwa" is the Arabic for "a pearl."

Then Adam came down from upon the altar, and they were joyful; and Adam and Eve waited until the daughter was eighty days old; then Adam prepared an offering and took it to Eve and to the children; and they went to the altar, where Adam offered it up, as he was wont, asking the Lord to accept his offering.

And the Lord accepted the offering of Adam and Eve. Then Adam, Eve, and the children, drew near together, and came down from the mountain, rejoicing.

But they returned not to the cave in which they were born; but came to the Cave of Treasures, in order that the children should go round it, and be blessed with the tokens [brought] from the garden.

But after they had been blessed with these tokens, they went back to the cave in which they were born.

However, before Eve had offered up the offering, Adam had taken her, and had gone with her to the river of water, in which they threw themselves at first; and there they washed themselves. Adam washed his body and Eve [hers also] clean, after the suffering and distress that had come upon them.

But Adam and Eve, after washing themselves in the river of water, returned every night to the Cave of Treasures, where they prayed and were blessed; and then went back to their cave, where the children were born.

So did Adam and Eve until the children had done sucking. Then, when they were weaned, Adam made an offering for the souls of his children; other than the three times he made an offering for them, every week.

When the days of nursing the children were ended, Eve again conceived, and when her days were accomplished she brought forth another son and daughter; and they named the son Abel, and the daughter Aklemia.

Then at the end of forty days, Adam made an offering for the son, and at the end of eighty days he made another offering

for the daughter, and did by them, as he had done before by Cain and his sister Luluwa.

He brought them to the Cave of Treasures, where they received a blessing, and then returned to the cave where they were born. After the birth of these, Eve ceased from child-bearing.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

And the children began to wax stronger, and to grow in stature; but Cain was hard-hearted, and ruled over his younger brother.

And oftentimes when his father made an offering, he would remain [behind] and not go with them, to offer up.

But, as to Abel, he had a meek heart, and was obedient to his father and mother, whom he often moved to make an offering, because he loved it; and prayed and fasted much.

Then came this sign to Abel. As he was coming into the Cave of Treasures, and saw the golden rods, the incense and the myrrh, he inquired of his parents Adam and Eve concerning them, and said unto them, "How did you come by these?"

Then Adam told him all that had befallen them. And Abel felt deeply about what his father told him.

Furthermore his father Adam told him of the works of God, and of the garden; and after that, he remained behind his father the whole of that night in the Cave of Treasures.

And that night, while he was praying, Satan appeared unto him under the figure of a man, who said to him, "Thou hast oftentimes moved thy father to make an offering, to fast and to pray, therefore I will kill thee, and make thee perish from this world."

But as for Abel, he prayed to God, and drove away [Satan] from him; and believed not the words of the devil. Then when

it was day, an angel of God appeared unto him, who said to him, "Shorten neither fasting, prayer, nor offering up an oblation unto thy God. For, lo, the Lord has accepted thy prayer. Be not afraid of the figure which appeared unto thee in the night, and who cursed thee unto death." And the angel departed from him.

Then when it was day, Abel came to Adam and Eve, and told them of the vision he had seen. But when they heard it, they grieved much over it, yet said nothing to him [about it] ; they only comforted him.

But as to hard-hearted Cain, Satan came to him by night, showed himself and said unto him, "Since Adam and Eve love thy brother Abel much more than they love thee, and wish to join him in marriage to thy beautiful sister, because they love him ; but wish to join thee in marriage to his ill-favoured sister, because they hate thee ;

"Now, therefore, I counsel thee, when they do that, to kill thy brother ; then thy sister will be left for thee ; and his sister will be cast away."

And Satan departed from him. But the wicked One remained [behind] in the heart of Cain, who sought many a time, to kill his brother.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

But when Adam saw that the elder brother hated the younger, he endeavoured to soften their hearts, and said unto Cain, "Take, O my son, of the fruits of thy sowing, and make an offering unto God, that He may forgive thee thy wickedness and thy sin."

He said also to Abel, "Take thou of thy sowing* and make an offering and bring it to God, that He may forgive thy wickedness and thy sin."

* Different from Gen. iv, 4.

Then Abel hearkened unto his father's voice, and took of his sowing, and made a good offering, and said to his father, Adam, "Come with me, to show me how to offer it up."

And they went, Adam and Eve with him, and showed him how to offer up his gift upon the altar. Then after that, they stood up and prayed that God would accept Abel's offering.

Then God looked upon Abel and accepted his offering. And God was more pleased with Abel than with his offering, because of his good heart and pure body. There was no trace of guile in him.

Then they came down from the altar, and went to the cave in which they dwelt. But Abel, by reason of his joy at having made his offering, repeated it three times a week, after the example of his father Adam.

But as to Cain, he took no pleasure in offering; but after much anger on his father's part, he offered up his gift once; and when he did offer up, his eye was on the offering he made,⁴² and he took the smallest of his sheep for an offering, and his eye was again on it.

Therefore God did not accept his offering, because his heart was full of murderous* thoughts.

And they all thus lived together in the cave in which Eve had brought forth, until Cain was fifteen years old, and Abel twelve years old.†

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

Then Adam said to Eve, "Behold the children are grown up; we must think of finding wives for them."

Then Eve answered, "How can we do it?"

* Lit. destruction.

† *Midr. Tankhuma* (fol. 5), however, says that Cain and Abel were then about forty years old.

Then Adam said to her, "We will join Abel's sister in marriage to Cain,* and Cain's sister to Abel."

Then said Eve to Adam, "I do not like Cain because he is hard-hearted; but let them bide until we offer up unto the Lord in their behalf."

And Adam said no more.

Meanwhile Satan came to Cain in the figure of a man of the field, and said to him, "Behold Adam and Eve have taken counsel together about the marriage of you two; and they have agreed to marry Abel's sister to thee, and thy sister to him.

"But if it was not that I love thee, I would not have told thee this thing. Yet if thou wilt take my advice, and hearken to me, I will bring thee on thy wedding day beautiful robes, gold and silver in plenty, and my relations will attend† thee."

Then Cain said with joy, "Where are thy relations?"

And Satan answered, "My relations are in a garden in the north, whither I once meant to bring thy father Adam; but he would not accept my offer.

"But thou, if thou wilt receive my [words] and if thou wilt come unto me after thy wedding, thou shalt rest from the misery in which thou art; and thou shalt rest and be better off than thy father Adam."

At these words of Satan Cain opened his ears, and leant towards his speech.

And he did not remain in the field, but he went to Eve, his mother, and beat her, and cursed her, and said to her, "Why are ye about taking my sister to wed her to my brother? Am I dead?"

His mother, however, quieted‡ him, and sent him to the field where he had been.

* Adam did so, in order to avoid marrying the brother to his sister of the same birth, and thus to prevent, as far as possible, consanguinity. Masudi., ch. iii, p. 63.

† Lit. assist or help.

‡ Or, beguiled.

Then when Adam came, she told him of what Cain had done.

But Adam grieved and held his peace, and said not a word.

Then on the morrow Adam said unto Cain his son, "Take of thy sheep, young and good,⁴³ and offer them up unto thy God ; and I will speak to thy brother, to make unto his God an offering of corn."

They both hearkened to their father Adam, and they took their offerings, and offered them up on the mountain by the altar.

But Cain behaved haughtily towards his brother, and thrust him from the altar, and would not let him offer up his gift upon the altar ; but he offered his own upon it, with a proud heart, full of guile, and fraud.

But as for Abel, he set up stones [that were] near at hand, and upon that, he offered up his gift with a heart humble and free from guile.

Cain was then standing by the altar on which he had offered up his gift ; and he cried unto God to accept his offering ; but God did not accept it from him ; neither did a divine fire come down to consume his offering.

But he remained standing over against the altar, out of humour and wroth, looking towards his brother Abel, to see if God would accept his offering or not.

And Abel prayed unto God to accept his offering. Then a divine fire came down and consumed his offering. And God smelled the sweet savour of his offering ; because Abel loved Him and rejoiced in Him.

And because God was well pleased with him He sent him an angel of light in the figure of man who had partaken of his offering, because He had smelled the sweet savour of his offering, and they comforted Abel and strengthened his heart.

But Cain was looking on all that took place at his brother's offering, and was wroth on account of it.

Then he opened his mouth and blasphemed God, because He had not accepted his offering.

But God said unto Cain, "Wherefore is thy countenance sad?⁴⁴ Be righteous, that I may accept thy offering. Not against Me hast thou murmured, but against thyself."

And God said this to Cain in rebuke, and because He abhorred him and his offering.

And Cain came down from the altar, his colour changed and of a woeful countenance, and came to his father and mother and told them all that had befallen him. And Adam grieved much because God had not accepted Cain's offering.

But Abel came down rejoicing, and with a gladsome heart, and told his father and mother how God had accepted his offering. And they rejoiced at it and kissed his face.

And Abel said to his father, "Because Cain thrust me from the altar, and would not allow me to offer my gift upon it, I made an altar for myself and offered [my] gift upon it."

But when Adam heard this he was very sorry, because it was the altar he had built at first, and upon which he had offered his own gifts.

As to Cain, he was so sullen and so angry that he went into the field, where Satan came to him and said to him, "Since thy brother Abel has taken refuge with thy father Adam, because thou didst thrust him from the altar, they have kissed his face, and they rejoice over him, far more than over thee."

When Cain heard these words of Satan, he was filled with rage; and he let no one know. But he was laying wait to kill his brother, until he brought him into the cave, and then said to him:—*

"O brother, the country is so beautiful, and there are such beautiful and pleasurable trees in it, and charming to look at! But brother, thou hast never been one day in the field to take thy pleasure therein.

* Lit. field.

“To-day, O, my brother, I very much wish thou wouldest come with me into the field,⁴⁵ to enjoy thyself and to bless our fields and our flocks, for thou art righteous, and I love thee much, O, my brother! but thou hast estranged thyself from me.”

Then Abel consented to go with his brother Cain into the field.

But before going out, Cain said to Abel, “Wait for me, until I fetch a staff, because of wild beasts.”

Then Abel stood [waiting] in his innocence. But Cain, the froward, fetched a staff and went out.

And they began, Cain and his brother Abel, to walk in the way; Cain talking to him, and comforting him, to make him forget everything.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

Murder of Abel the Just, whom his brother, Cain the Infidel, did kill.

And so they went on, until they came to a lonely place, where there were no sheep; then Abel said to Cain, “Behold, my brother, we are weary of walking; for we see none of the trees, nor of the fruits, nor of the verdure, nor of the sheep, nor any one of the things of which thou didst tell me. Where are those sheep of thine thou didst tell me to bless?”

Then Cain said to him, “Come on, and presently thou shalt see many beautiful things, but go before me, until I come up to thee.”

Then went Abel forward, but Cain remained behind him.

And Abel was walking in his innocence, without guile; not believing his brother would kill him.

Then Cain, when he came up to him, comforted him with

[his] talk, walking a little behind him ; then he hastened, and smote him with the staff, blow upon blow, until he was stunned.

But when Abel fell down upon the ground, seeing that his brother meant to kill him, he said to Cain, "O, my brother, have pity on me. By the breasts we have sucked, smite me not ! By the womb that bare us and that brought us into the world, smite me not unto death with that staff ! If thou wilt kill me, take one of these large stones, and kill me outright."

Then Cain, the hard-hearted, and cruel murderer, took a large stone, and smote his brother with it upon the head,⁴⁶ until his brains oozed out, and he weltered in his blood, before him. And Cain repented not of what he had done.

But the earth, when the blood of righteous Abel fell upon it, trembled, as it drank his blood, and would have brought Cain to naught [for it].

And the blood of Abel cried mysteriously to God, to avenge him of his murderer.

Then Cain began at once to dig the earth [wherein to lay] his brother ;⁴⁷ for he was trembling from the fear that came upon him, when he saw the earth tremble on his account.

He then cast his brother into the pit [he made], and covered him with dust.⁴⁸ But the earth would not receive him ; but it threw him up at once.

Again did Cain dig the earth and hid his brother in it ; but again did the earth throw him up on itself ; until three times did the earth thus throw up on itself the body of Abel. The muddy earth threw him up the first time, because he was not the first creation ; and it threw him up the second time and would not receive him, because he was righteous and good, and was killed without a cause ; and the earth threw him up the third time and would not receive him, that there might remain before his brother a witness against him.

And so did the earth mock Cain, until the Word of God, came to him concerning his brother.

Then was God angry, and much displeased* at Abel's death; and He thundered from heaven, and lightnings went before Him, and the Word of the Lord God came from heaven to Cain, and said unto him, "Where is Abel thy brother?"

Then Cain answered with a proud heart and a gruff voice, "How, O God? am I my brother's keeper?"

Then God said unto Cain, "Cursed be the earth that has drunk the blood of Abel thy brother; and thou, be thou trembling and shaking; and this will be a sign unto thee, that whosoever finds thee, shall kill thee."

But Cain wept because God had said those words to him; and Cain said unto Him, "O God, whosoever finds me shall kill me, and I shall be blotted out from the face of the earth."

Then God said unto Cain, "Whosoever shall find thee shall not kill thee;" because before this, God had been saying to Cain, "I shall forego seven punishments on him who kills Cain." For as to the word of God to Cain, "Where is thy brother?" God said it in mercy for him, to try and make him repent.

For if Cain had repented at that time, and had said, "O God, forgive me my sin, and the murder of my brother," God would then have forgiven him his sin.

And as to God saying to Cain, "Cursed be the ground that has drunk the blood of thy brother"⁴⁹ that also, was God's mercy on Cain. For God did not curse him, but He cursed the ground; although it was not the ground that had killed Abel, and had committed iniquity.

For it was meet that the curse should fall upon the murderer; yet in mercy did God so manage His thoughts as that no one should know it, and turn away from Cain.

And He said to him, "Where is thy brother?" To which he answered and said, "I know not." Then the Creator said to him, "Be trembling and quaking."

* Lit. sighed over, was grieved.

Then Cain trembled and became terrified ; and through this sign did God make him an example*⁵⁰ before all the creation, as the murderer of his brother. Also did God bring trembling and terror upon him, that he might see the peace in which he was at first, and see also the trembling and terror he endured at the last ; so that he might humble himself before God, and repent of his sin, and seek the peace he enjoyed at first.

And [in] the word of God that said, "I will forego seven punishments on whomsoever kills Cain," God was not seeking to kill Cain with the sword, but He sought to make him die of fasting, and praying and weeping by hard rule, until the time that he was delivered from his sin.

And the seven punishments are the seven generations during which God awaited Cain for the murder of his brother.

But as to Cain, ever since he had killed his brother, he could find no rest in any place ; but went back to Adam and Eve, trembling, terrified, and defiled with blood.

When they saw him they grieved and wept, not knowing whence came his trembling and terror, and the blood with which he was bespattered.

Cain, then, came running to his sister that was born with him. But when she saw him, she was affrighted, and said unto him, "O, my brother, wherefore art thou come thus trembling ?" And he said to her, "I have killed my brother Abel in a certain place."

* Or, notorious.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

WHEN Luluwa heard Cain's words, she wept and went to call her father and mother, and told them how that Cain had killed his brother Abel.

Then they all cried aloud and lifted up their voices, and slapped their faces, and threw dust upon their heads, and rent asunder their garments, and went out and came to the place where Abel was killed.

And they found him lying on the earth, killed, and beasts around him ; while they wept and cried because of this just one. From his body, by reason of its purity, went forth a smell of sweet spices. And Adam carried him, his tears streaming down his face ; and went to the Cave of Treasures, where he laid him, and wound him up with sweet spices and myrrh.

And Adam and Eve continued by the burial of him in great grief a hundred and forty days. Abel was fifteen and a half years old, and Cain seventeen years and a half.¹

As for Cain, when the mourning for his brother was ended, he took his sister Luluwa² and married her, without leave from his father and mother ; for they could not keep him from her, by reason of their heavy heart.

He then went down to the bottom of the mountain, away from the garden, near to the place where he had killed his brother.

And in that place were many [fruit] trees and forest trees. His sister bare him children, who [in their turn] began to multiply by degrees until they filled that place.

But as for Adam and Eve, they came not together after Abel's funeral, for seven years. After this, however, Eve conceived; and while she was with child, Adam said to her, "Come, let us take an offering and offer it up unto God, and ask Him to give us a fair child, in whom we may find comfort, and whom we may join in marriage to Abel's sister.

Then they prepared an offering and brought it up to the altar, and offered it before the Lord, and began to entreat Him to accept their offering, and to give them a good offspring.

And God heard Adam and accepted his offering. Then, they worshipped, Adam, Eve, and their daughter, and came down to the Cave of Treasures and placed a lamp in it, to burn by night and by day, before the body of Abel.

Then Adam and Even continued fasting and praying until Eve's time came that she should be delivered, when she said to Adam, "I wish to go to the cave in the rock, to bring forth in it."

And he said, "Go, and take with thee thy daughter to wait on thee; but I will remain in this Cave of Treasures before the body of my son Abel."

Then Eve hearkened to Adam, and went, she and her daughter. But Adam remained by himself in the Cave of Treasures.

CHAPTER II.

And Eve brought forth a son perfectly beautiful in figure and in countenance. His beauty was like that of his father Adam, yet more beautiful.³

Then Eve was comforted when she saw him, and remained

eight days in the cave ; then she sent her daughter unto Adam [to tell him] to come and see the child and name him. But the daughter stayed in his place by the body of her brother, until Adam returned. So did she.

But when Adam came and saw the child's good looks, his beauty, and his perfect figure, he rejoiced over him, and was comforted for Abel. Then he named the child Seth,⁴ that means, "that God has heard my prayer, and has delivered me out of my affliction." But it means also "power and strength."

Then after Adam had named the child, he returned to the Cave of Treasures; and his daughter went back to her mother.

But Eve continued in her cave, until forty days were fulfilled, when she came to Adam, and brought with her the child and her daughter.

And they came to a river of water, where Adam and his daughter washed themselves, because of their sorrow for Abel; but Eve and the babe washed for purification.

Then they returned, and took an offering, and went to the mountain and offered it up, for the babe; and God accepted their offering, and sent His blessing upon them, and upon their son Seth; and they came back to the Cave of Treasures.

As for Adam, he knew not again his wife Eve, all the days of his life; neither was any more offspring born of them; but only those five, Cain, Luluwa, Abel, Aklia,* and Seth† alone.‡

But Seth waxed in stature and in strength; and began to fast and pray, fervently.§

CHAPTER III.

Fifteenth apparition of Satan to Adam and Eve, above the roof of the cave.

As for our father Adam, at the end of seven years from the day he had been severed from his wife Eve, Satan envied him,

* Or, Aclemia.

† This does not agree with other accounts. See Fabric. *Cod. Apoc. V. T.*, vol. i.

‡ i.e., without a twin sister.

§ Lit. with hard labour.

when he saw him thus separated from her ; and strove to make him live with her again.⁵

Then Adam arose and went up above the Cave of Treasures ; and continued to sleep there night by night. But as soon as it was light every day he came down to the cave, to pray there and to receive a blessing from it.

But when it was evening he went up on the roof of the cave, where he slept by himself, fearing lest Satan should overcome him. And he continued thus apart thirty-nine days.

Then Satan, the hater of all good, when he saw Adam thus alone, fasting and praying, appeared unto him in the form of a beautiful woman, who came and stood before him in the night of the fortieth day, and said unto him :—

“O Adam, from the time ye have dwelt in this cave, we have experienced great peace from you, and your prayers have reached us, and we have been comforted about you.

“But now, O Adam, that thou hast gone up over the roof of the cave to sleep, we have had doubts about thee, and a great sorrow has come upon us because of thy separation from Eve. Then again, when thou art on the roof of this cave, thy prayer is poured out, and thy heart wanders from side to side.

“But when thou wast in the cave thy prayer was like fire gathered together ; it came down to us, and thou didst find rest.

“Then I also grieved over thy children who are severed from thee ; and my sorrow is great about the murder of thy son Abel ; for he was righteous ; and over a righteous man every one will grieve.

“But I rejoiced over the birth of thy son Seth ; yet after a little while I sorrowed greatly over Eve, because she is my sister. For when God sent a deep sleep over thee, and drew her out of thy side, He brought me out also with her. But He raised her by placing her with thee, while He lowered me.

“I rejoiced over my sister for her being with thee. But God had made me a promise before, and said, ‘Grieve not ; when

Adam has gone up on the roof of the Cave of Treasures, and is separated from Eve his wife, I will send thee to him, thou shalt join thyself to him in marriage, and bear him five children, as Eve did bear him five.'

"And now, lo ! God's promise to me is fulfilled ; for it is He who has sent me to thee for the wedding ; because if thou wed me, I shall bear thee finer and better children than those of Eve.

"Then again, thou art as yet but a youth ; end not thy youth in this world in sorrow ; but spend the days of thy youth in mirth and pleasure. For thy days are few and thy trial is great. Be strong ; end thy days in this world in rejoicing. I shall take pleasure in thee, and thou shalt rejoice with me in this wise, and without fear.

"Up, then, and fulfil the command of thy God," she then drew near to Adam, and embraced him.

But when Adam saw that he should be overcome by her, he prayed to God with a fervent heart to deliver him from her.

Then God sent His Word unto Adam, saying, "O Adam, that figure is the one that promised thee the Godhead, and majesty ; he is not favourably disposed towards thee ; but shows himself to thee at one time in the form of a woman ; another moment, in the likeness of an angel ; on another occasion, in the similitude of a serpent ; and at another time, in the semblance of a god ; but he does all that only to destroy thy soul.

"Now, therefore, O Adam, understanding thy heart, I have delivered thee many a time from his hands ; in order to show thee that I am a merciful God ; and that I wish thy good, and that I do not wish thy ruin."

CHAPTER IV.

Then God ordered Satan to show himself to Adam plainly, in his own hideous form.

But when Adam saw him, he feared, and trembled at the sight of him.

And God said to Adam, "Look at this devil,* and at his hideous look, and know that he it is who made thee fall from brightness into darkness, from peace and rest to toil and misery. And look, O Adam, at him, who said of himself that he is God! Can God be black? Would God take the form of a woman? Is there any one stronger than God? And can He be overpowered?"

"See, then, O Adam, and behold him bound in thy presence, in the air, unable to flee away! Therefore, I say unto thee, be not afraid of him; henceforth take care, and beware of him, in whatever he may do to thee."

Then God drove Satan away from before Adam, whom He strengthened, and whose heart He comforted, saying to him, "Go down to the Cave of Treasures, and separate not thyself from Eve; I will quell in you all animal lust. From that hour it left Adam and Eve, and they enjoyed rest by the commandment of God. But God did not the like to any one of Adam's seed; but only to Adam and Eve.

Then Adam worshipped before the Lord, for having delivered him, and for having layed his passions. And he came down from above the cave, and dwelt with Eve as aforetime. This ended the forty days of his separation from Eve.

CHAPTER V.

As for Seth, when he was seven years old, he knew good and evil, and was consistent in fasting and praying, and spent all his nights in entreating God for mercy and forgiveness.

He also fasted when bringing up his offering every day, more than his father did; for he was of a fair countenance, like unto an angel of God. He also had a good heart,

* Lit. Diabolos.

preserved the finest qualities of his soul; and for this reason he brought up his offering every day.

And God was pleased with his offering; but He was also pleased with his purity.* And he continued thus in [doing] the will of God, and of his father and mother, until he was seven years old.

After that, as he was coming down from the altar, having ended his offering, Satan appeared unto him in the form of a beautiful angel, brilliant with light; with a staff of light in his hand, himself girt about with a girdle of light.

He greeted Seth with a beautiful smile, and began to beguile him with fair words, saying to him, "O Seth, why abidest thou in this mountain? For it is rough, full of stones and of sand, and of trees with no good fruit on them; a wilderness without habitations and without towns; no good place to dwell in. But all is heat, weariness, and trouble."

He said further, "But we dwell in beautiful places, in another world than this earth. Our world is one of light and our condition is† of the best; our women are handsomer than any others; and I wish thee, O Seth, to wed one of them; because I see that thou art fair to look upon, and in this land there is not one woman good enough for thee. Besides, all those who live in this world, are only five souls.

"But in our world there are very many men and many maidens, all more beautiful one than another. I wish, therefore, to remove thee hence, that thou mayest see my relations and be wedded to which ever thou likest.

"Thou shalt then abide by me and be at peace; thou shalt be filled with splendour and light, as we are.

"Thou shalt remain in our world, and rest from this world and the misery of it; thou shalt never again feel faint and weary; thou shalt never bring up an offering, nor sue for mercy; for thou shalt commit no more sin, nor be swayed by passions.

* Or, innocence.

† Lit. conditions are.

“And if thou wilt hearken to what I say, thou shalt wed one of my daughters ; for with us it is no sin so to do ; neither is it reckoned animal lust.

“For in our world we have no God ; but we all are gods ; we all are of the light, heavenly, powerful, strong and glorious.”

CHAPTER VI.

When Seth heard these words he was amazed, and inclined his heart to Satan’s treacherous speech, and said to him, “Saidst thou there is another world created than this ; and other creatures more beautiful than the creatures that are in this world ?”

And Satan said, “Yes ; behold thou hast heard me ; but I will yet praise them and their ways, in thy hearing.”

But Seth said to him, “Thy speech has amazed me ; and thy beautiful description [of it all].

“Yet I cannot go with thee to-day ; not until I have gone to my father Adam and to my mother Eve, and told them all thou hast said to me. Then if they give me leave to go with thee, I will come.”

Again Seth said, “I am afraid of doing any thing without my father’s and mother’s leave, lest I perish like my brother Cain, and like my father Adam, who transgressed the commandment of God. But, behold, thou knowest this place ; come, and meet me here to-morrow.”

When Satan heard this, he said to Seth, “If thou tellest thy father Adam what I have told thee, he will not let thee come with me. But hearken to me ; do not tell thy father and mother what I have said to thee ; but come with me to-day, to our world ; where thou shalt see beautiful things and enjoy thyself there, and revel this day among my children, beholding them and taking thy fill of mirth ; and rejoice ever-

more. Then I shall bring thee back to this place to-morrow ; but if thou wouldest rather abide with me, so be it."

Then Seth answered, "The spirit of my father and of my mother, hangs on me ; and if I hide from them one day, they will die, and God will hold me guilty of sinning against them.*

"And except that they know I am come to this place to bring up to it [my] offering, they would not be separated from me one hour ; neither should I go to any other place, unless they let me. But they treat me most kindly, because I come back to them quickly."

Then Satan said to him, "What will happen to thee if thou hide thyself from them one night, and return to them at break of day?"

But Seth, when he saw how he kept on talking, and that he would not leave him—ran, and went up to the altar, and spread his hands unto God, and sought deliverance from Him.

Then God sent His Word, and cursed Satan, who fled from Him.

But as for Seth, he had gone up to the altar, saying thus in his heart, "The altar is the place of offering, and God is there ; a divine fire shall consume it ; so shall Satan be unable to hurt me, and shall not take me away thence."

Then Seth came down from the altar and went to his father and mother, whom he found in the way, longing to hear his voice ; for he had tarried a while.

He then began to tell them what had befallen him from Satan, under the form of an angel.

But when Adam heard his account, he kissed his face, and warned him against that angel, telling him it was Satan who thus appeared to him. Then Adam took Seth, and they went to the Cave of Treasures, and rejoiced therein.

But from that day forth Adam and Eve never parted from

* Lit. of their sin.

him, to whatever place he might go, whether for his offering or for any thing else.

This sign happened to Seth, when he was nine years old.

CHAPTER VII.

When our father Adam saw that Seth was of a perfect heart, he wished him to marry ; lest the enemy should appear to him another time, and overcome him.

So Adam said to his son Seth, "I wish, O my son, that thou wed thy sister Aklia, Abel's sister, that she may bear thee children, who shall replenish the earth, according to God's promise to us.

"Be not afraid, O my son ; there is no disgrace in it. I wish thee to marry, from fear lest the enemy overcome thee."

Seth, however, did not wish to marry ; but in obedience to his father and mother, he said not a word.

So Adam married him to Aklia.* And he was fifteen years old.

But when he was twenty years of age,† he begat a son, whom he called Enos;‡ and then begat other children than him.

Then Enos grew up, married, and begat Cainan.

Cainan also grew up, married, and begat Mahalaleel.

Those fathers were born during Adam's life-time, and dwelt by the Cave of Treasures.

Then were the days of Adam nine hundred and thirty years, and those of Mahalaleel one hundred. But Mahalaleel, when he was grown up, loved fasting, praying, and with hard labour,§ until the end of our father Adam's days drew near.

* Called Ὠραία by the Sethians. S. Epiph. *Hæres.* xxxix, c. 5. Adam gave to Seth, Owain, Abel's sister, in marriage. Eutyck. *Nazam al-jaw.*, p. 18, see note p. 106.

† A hundred and five years old. Eutyck. *Nazam al-jaw.*, p. 18.

‡ Τὴν ἰδίαν ἀδελφὴν Ἀσσοῦαμ καλουμένην γήμας, ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἐνῶς. Cedren. i, *Hist. Comp.*, p. 17.

§ i.e., continually and earnestly.

CHAPTER VIII.

When our father Adam saw that his end was near,⁶ he called his son Seth, who came to him in the Cave of Treasures, and he said unto him :—

“ O Seth, my son, bring me thy children and thy children’s children, that I may shed my blessing on them ere I die.”

When Seth heard these words from his father Adam, he went from him, shed a flood of tears over his face,* and gathered together his children and his children’s children, and brought them to his father Adam.

But when our father Adam saw them around him, he wept at having to be separated from them.

And when they saw him weeping, they all wept together, and fell upon his face saying, “ How shalt thou be severed from us, O our father ? And how shall the earth receive thee and hide thee from our eyes ? ” Thus did they lament much, and in like words.†

Then our father Adam blessed them all, and said to Seth, after he had blessed them :—

“ O Seth, my son, thou knowest this world—that it is full of sorrow, and of weariness ; and thou knowest all that has come upon us, from our trials in it. I therefore now command thee in these words : to keep innocency, to be pure and just, and trusting in God ; and lean not to the discourses of Satan, nor to the apparitions in which he will show himself to thee. But keep the commandments that I give thee this day ; then give the same to thy son Enos ; and let Enos give it to his son Cainan ; and Cainan to his son Mahalaleel ; so that this commandment abide firm among all your children.⁷

“ O Seth, my son, the moment I am dead take ye my body and wind it up with myrrh, aloes, and cassia, and leave me here

* Lit. down his cheeks.

† Or, strains.

in this Cave of Treasures in which are all these tokens which God gave us from the garden.

“O my son, hereafter shall a flood come^s and overwhelm all creatures, and leave out only eight souls.

“But, O my son, let those whom it will leave out from among your children at that time, take my body with them out of this cave; and when they have taken it with them, let the oldest among them command his children to lay my body in a ship until the flood has been assuaged, and they come out of the ship. Then they shall take my body and lay it in the middle of the earth, shortly after they have been saved from the waters of the flood.

“For the place where my body shall be laid, is the middle of the earth; God shall come from thence and shall save all our kindred.

“But now, O Seth, my son, place thyself at the head of thy people; tend them and watch over them in the fear of God; and lead them in the good way. Command them to fast unto God; and make them understand they ought not to hearken to Satan, lest he destroy them.

“Then, again, sever thy children and thy children's children from Cain's children; do not let them ever mix with those, nor come near them either in their words or in their deeds.”

Then Adam let his blessing descend upon Seth, and upon his children, and upon all his children's children.

He then turned to his son Seth, and to Eve his wife, and said to them, “Preserve this gold, this incense, and this myrrh, that God has given us for a sign; for in days that are coming, a flood will overwhelm the whole creation. But those who shall go into the ark shall take with them the gold, the incense, and the myrrh, together with my body; and will lay the gold, the incense, and the myrrh, with my body in the midst of the earth.

“Then, after a long time, the city in which the gold, the incense, and the myrrh are found with my body, shall be plun-

dered. But when it is spoiled, the gold, the incense, and the myrrh shall be taken care of with the spoil that is kept; and naught of them shall perish, until the Word of God, made man shall come; when kings shall take them,* and shall offer to Him, gold in token of His being King; incense, in token of His being God of heaven and earth; and myrrh, in token of His passion.

“Gold also, as a token of His overcoming Satan, and all our foes; incense as a token that He will rise from the dead, and be exalted above things in heaven and things in the earth; and myrrh, in token that He will drink bitter gall; and [feel] the pains of hell from Satan.

“And now, O Seth, my son, behold I have revealed unto thee hidden mysteries, which God had revealed unto me. Keep my commandment, for thyself, and for thy people.”

CHAPTER IX.

When Adam had ended his commandment to Seth, his limbs were loosened, his hands and feet lost all power, his mouth became dumb, and his tongue ceased altogether to speak. He closed his eyes and gave up the ghost.⁹

But when his children saw that he was dead; they threw themselves over him, men and women, old and young, weeping.

The death of Adam took place at the end of nine hundred and thirty years that he lived upon the earth; on the fifteenth day of Barmudeh, after the reckoning of an epact of the sun, at the ninth hour. It was on a Friday,¹⁰ the very day on which he was created, and on which he rested; and the hour at which he died, was the same as that at which he came out of the garden.

Then Seth wound him up well, and embalmed him with plenty of sweet spices, from sacred trees and from the Holy

* *i.e.*, the gold, the incense, and the myrrh.

Mountain ; and he laid his body on the eastern side of the inside of the cave, the side of the incense ; and placed in front of him a lamp-stand kept burning.

Then his children stood before him weeping and wailing over him the whole night until break of day.

Then Seth and his son Enos, and Cainan, the son of Enos, went out and took good offerings to present unto the Lord, and they came to the altar upon which Adam offered gifts to God, when he did offer.

But Eve said to them, " Wait until we have first asked God to accept our offering, and to keep by Him the soul of Adam His servant, and to take it up to rest."

And they all stood up and prayed.¹¹

CHAPTER X.

And when they had ended their prayer, the Word of God came and comforted them concerning their father Adam.

After this, they offered their gifts for themselves and for their father.

And when they had ended their offering, the Word of God came to Seth, the eldest among them, saying unto him, " O Seth, Seth, Seth, three times. As I was with thy father, so also shall I be with thee, until the fulfilment of the promise I made him—thy father [saying], I will send My Word and save thee and thy seed.

" But as to thy father Adam, keep thou the commandment he gave thee ; and sever thy seed from that of Cain thy brother."

And God withdrew His Word from Seth.

Then Seth, Eve, and their children, came down from the mountain to the Cave of Treasures.

But Adam was the first whose soul died in the land of

Eden,* in the Cave of Treasures; for no one died before him, but his son Abel, who died murdered.

Then all the children of Adam rose up, and wept over their father Adam, and made offerings to him, one hundred and forty days.

CHAPTER XI.

After the death of Adam and of Eve,¹² Seth severed his children, and his children's children, from Cain's children. Cain and his seed went down and dwelt westward, below the place where he had killed his brother Abel.¹³

But Seth and his children, dwelt northwards upon the mountain of the Cave of Treasures, in order to be near to their father Adam. And Seth the elder, tall and good, with a fine soul, and of a strong mind, stood at the head of his people; and tended them in innocence, penitence, and meekness, and did not allow one of them to go down to Cain's children. But because of their own purity, they were named "Children of God," and they were with God, instead of the hosts of angels who fell; for they continued in praises to God, and in singing psalms unto Him, in their cave—the Cave of Treasures.

Then Seth stood before the body of his father Adam, and of his mother Eve, and prayed night and day, and asked for mercy towards himself and his children; and that when he had some difficult dealing with a child, He would give him counsel.

But Seth and his children did not like earthly work, but gave themselves to heavenly things;¹⁴ for they had no other thought than praises, doxologies, and psalms unto God. Therefore did they at all times hear the voices of angels, praising and glorifying God; from within the garden, or when they were sent [by God] on an errand, or when they were going up to heaven.

* In the land in which he was created (the land of Eden). Kufale, p. 19.

For Seth and his children, by reason of their own purity, heard and saw those angels. Then, again, the garden was not far above them, but only some fifteen spiritual cubits. Now one spiritual cubit answers to three cubits of man;* altogether forty-five cubits.

Seth and his children dwelt on the mountain below the garden; they sowed not, neither did they reap; they wrought no food for the body, not even wheat; but only offerings. They ate of the fruit and of trees well flavoured [that grew] on the mountain where they dwelt.

Then Seth often fasted every forty days, as did also his eldest children. For the family of Seth smelled the smell of the trees in the garden, when the wind blew [that way]. They were happy, innocent, without sudden fear, there was no jealousy, no evil action, no hatred among them. There was no animal passion; from no mouth among them went forth either foul words or curse; neither evil counsel nor fraud. For the men of that time never swore, but under hard circumstances, when men must swear, they swore by the blood of Abel the just.†

But they constrained their children and their women every day in the cave to fast and pray, and to worship the most High God. They blessed themselves in the body of their father Adam, and anointed themselves with it. And they did so until the end of Seth drew near.

CHAPTER XII.

Then Seth, the just, called his son Enos, and Cainan, son of Enos, and Mahalaleel, son of Cainan, and said unto them:—

“As my end is near, I wish to build a roof over the altar on which gifts are offered.”

* Lit. of the arm.

† They dwelt on Mount Hermon leading a life of purity, and abstaining from marriage; wherefore were they called *Watchers* and *Sons of God*. Bar. Hebr. Dyn., p. 4.

They hearkened to his commandment and went out, all of them, both old and young, and worked hard at it, and built a beautiful roof over the altar.

And Seth's thought, in so doing, was that a blessing should come upon his children on the mountain; and that he should present an offering for them before his death.

Then when the building of the roof was completed, he commanded them to make offerings. They worked diligently at these, and brought them to Seth their father, who took them and offered them upon the altar; and prayed God to accept their offerings, to have mercy on the souls of his children, and to keep them from the hand of Satan.

And God accepted his offering, and sent His blessing upon him and upon his children. And then God made a promise to Seth, saying, "At the end of the great five days and a half, concerning which I have made a promise to thee and to thy father, I will send My Word and save thee and thy seed."

Then Seth and his children, and his children's children, met together, and came down from the altar, and went to the Cave of Treasures—where they prayed, and blessed themselves in the body of our father Adam, and anointed themselves with it.

But Seth abode in the Cave of Treasures, a few days, and then suffered—sufferings unto death.

Then Enos, his first-born son, came to him, with Cainan, his son, and Mahalaleel, Cainan's son, and Jared, the son of Mahalaleel, and Enoch, Jared's son, with their wives and children to receive a blessing from Seth.

Then Seth prayed over them, and blessed them, and adjured them by the blood of Abel the just,¹⁵ saying, "I beg of you, my children, not to let one of you go down from this Holy and pure Mountain. Make no fellowship with the children of Cain the murderer and the sinner, who killed his brother; for ye know, O my children, that we flee from him,

and from all his sin with all our might because he killed his brother Abel.”

After having said this, Seth blessed Enos, his first-born son, and commanded him habitually to minister in purity before the body of our father Adam, all the days of his life ; then, also, to go at times to the altar which he [Seth] had built. And he commanded him to feed his people in righteousness, in judgment and purity all the days of his life.

Then the limbs of Seth were loosened ; his hands and feet lost all power ; his mouth became dumb and unable to speak ; and he gave up the ghost and died the day after his nine hundred and twelfth year ; on the twenty-seventh day of the month Abib ; Enoch being then twenty years old.

Then they wound up carefully the body of Seth, and embalmed him with sweet spices, and laid him in the Cave of Treasures, on the right side of our father Adam's body, and they mourned for him forty days. They offered gifts for him, as they had done for our father Adam.

After the death of Seth, Enos rose at the head of his people, whom he fed in righteousness, and judgment, as his father had commanded him.¹⁶

But by the time Enos was eight hundred and twenty years old, Cain had a large progeny ; for they married frequently, being given to animal lusts ; until the land below the mountain, was filled with them.

CHAPTER XIII.

In those days lived Lamech the blind, who was of the sons of Cain. He had a son whose name was Atun,* and they two had much cattle.

But Lamech was in the habit of sending them [to feed] with a young shepherd,† who tended them ; and who, when coming

* In Arabic, it means hot, hard, hasty.

† Lamech's grandson.

home in the evening wept before his grandfather, and before his father Atun and his mother Hazina, and said to them, "As for me, I cannot feed those cattle alone, lest one rob me of some of them, or kill me for the sake of them." For among the children of Cain, there was much robbery, murder, and sin.

Then Lamech pitied him, and he said, "Truly, he [when alone], might be overpowered by the [men of this place.]"

So Lamech arose, took a bow he had kept ever since he was a youth, ere he became blind, and he took large arrows, and smooth stones, and a sling which he had, and went to the field with the young shepherd, and placed himself behind the cattle; while the young shepherd watched the cattle. Thus did Lamech many days.

Meanwhile Cain, ever since God had cast him off, and had cursed him with trembling and terror, could neither settle nor find rest in any one place; but wandered from place to place.

[In his wanderings] he came to Lamech's wives, and asked them about him. They said to him, "He is in the field with the cattle."

Then Cain went to look for him; and [as] he came into the field, the young shepherd heard the noise he made, and the cattle herding together from before him.

Then said he to Lamech, "O my lord, is that a wild beast or a robber?"

And Lamech said to him, "Make me understand which way he looks, when he comes up."

Then Lamech bent his bow, placed an arrow on it, and fitted a stone in the sling, and when Cain came out from the open country, the shepherd said to Lamech, "Shoot, behold, he is coming."

Then Lamech shot at Cain with his arrow and hit him in his side. And Lamech struck him with a stone from his sling, that fell upon his face, and knocked out both his eyes; then Cain fell at once and died.¹⁷

Then Lamech and the young shepherd came up to him, and found him lying on the ground. And the young shepherd said to him, "It is Cain our grandfather, whom thou hast killed, O my lord!"

Then was Lamech sorry for it, and from the bitterness of his regret, he clapped his hands together, and struck with his flat palm the head of the youth, who fell as if dead; but Lamech thought it was a feint; so he took up a stone and smote him, and smashed his head until he died.¹⁸

CHAPTER XIV.

When Enos was nine hundred years old, all the children of Seth, and of Cainan, and his first-born, with their wives and children, gathered around him, asking for a blessing from him.

He then prayed over them and blessed them, and adjured them by the blood of Abel the just, saying to them, "Let not one of your children go down from this Holy Mountain, and let them make no fellowship with the children of Cain the murderer."

Then Enos called his son Cainan and said to him, "See, O my son, and set thy heart on thy people, and establish them in righteousness, and in innocence; and stand ministering before the body of our father Adam, all the days of thy life."

After this Enos entered into rest, aged nine hundred and eighty-five years; and Cainan wound him up, and laid him in the Cave of Treasures on the left of his father Adam; and made offerings for him, after the custom of his fathers.

CHAPTER XV.

After the death of Enos, Cainan stood at the head of his people in righteousness and innocence, as his father had

commanded him; he also continued to minister before the body of Adam, inside the Cave of Treasures.¹⁹

Then when he had lived nine hundred and ten years, suffering and affliction came upon him. And when he was about to enter into rest, all the fathers with their wives and children came to him, and he blessed them, and adjured them by the blood of Abel the just²⁰ saying to them, "Let not one among you go down from this Holy Mountain; and make no fellowship with the children of Cain the murderer."

Mahalaleel, his first-born son, received this commandment from his father, who blessed him and died.

Then Mahalaleel embalmed him with sweet spices, and laid him in the Cave of Treasures, with his fathers; and they made offerings for him, after the custom of their fathers.*

CHAPTER XVI.

Then Mahalaleel stood over his people, and fed them in righteousness and innocence, and watched them to see they held no intercourse with the children of Cain.

He also continued in the Cave of Treasures praying and ministering before the body of our father Adam, asking God for mercy on himself and on his people; until he was eight hundred and seventy years old, when he fell sick.

Then all his children gathered unto him, to see him, and to ask for his blessing on them all, ere he left this world.

Then Mahalaleel arose and sat on his bed, his tears streaming down his face, and he called his eldest son Jared, who came to him.

He then kissed his face, and said to him, "O Jared, my son, I adjure thee by Him who made heaven and earth,† to

* See also Eutyck. *Nazam al-j.*, p. 22.

† Mahalaleel adjured his son Jared, by the blood of Abel, not to let one of his children go down from the mountain to the children of Cain the accursed. Eutyck. *Nazam al-j.*, p. 22.

watch over thy people, and to feed them in righteousness and in innocence ; and not to let one of them go down from this Holy Mountain to the children of Cain, lest he perish with them.

“Hear, O my son, hereafter there shall come a great destruction upon this earth on account of them ; God will be angry with the world, and will destroy them with waters.

“But I also know that thy children will not hearken to thee, and that they will go down from this mountain and hold intercourse with the children of Cain, and that they shall perish with them.

“O my son ! teach them, and watch over them, that no guilt attach to thee on their account.”

Mahalaleel said, moreover, to his son Jared, “When I die, embalm my body and lay it in the Cave of Treasures, by the bodies of my fathers ; then stand thou by my body and pray to God ; and take care of them, and fulfil thy ministry before them, until thou enterest into rest thyself.”

Mahalaleel then blessed all his children ; and then lay down on his bed, and entered into rest like his fathers.

But when Jared saw that his father Mahalaleel was dead, he wept, and sorrowed, and embraced and kissed his hands and his feet ; and so did all his children.

And his children embalmed him carefully, and laid him by the bodies of his fathers. Then they arose, and mourned for him forty days.

CHAPTER XVII.

Then Jared kept his father's commandment, and arose like a lion over his people. He fed them in righteousness and innocence, and commanded them to do nothing without his counsel. For he was afraid concerning them, lest they should go to the children of Cain.

Wherefore did he give them orders repeatedly ; and continued to do so until the end of the four hundred and eighty-fifth year of his life.

At the end of these said years, there came unto him this sign. As Jared was standing like a lion before the bodies of his fathers, praying and warning his people, Satan envied him, and wrought a beautiful apparition, because Jared would not let his children do aught without his counsel.

Satan then appeared to him with thirty men of his hosts, in the form of handsome men ; Satan himself being the elder and tallest among them, with a fine beard.

They stood at the mouth of the cave, and called out Jared, from within it.

He came out to them, and found them looking like fine men, full of light, and of great beauty. He wondered at their beauty and [at their] looks ; and thought within himself whether they might not be of the children of Cain.

He said also in his heart, "As the children of Cain cannot come up to the height of this mountain, and none of them is so handsome as these appear to be ; and among these men there is not one of my kindred—they must be strangers."

Then Jared and they exchanged a greeting, and he said to the elder among them, "O my father, explain to me the wonder that is in thee, and tell me who these are, with thee ; for they look to me like strange men."

Then the elder began to weep, and the rest wept with him ; and he said to Jared, "I am Adam whom God made first ; and this is Abel my son, who was killed by his brother Cain, into whose heart Satan put to murder him.

"Then this is my son Seth, whom I asked of the Lord, who gave him to me, to comfort me instead of Abel.

"Then this one is my son Enos, son of Seth, and that other one is Cainan, son of Enos, and that other one is Mahalaleel, son of Cainan, thy father."

But Jared remained wondering at their appearance, and at the speech of the elder to him.

Then the elder said to him, "Marvel not, O my son; we live in the land north of the garden, which God created before the world. He would not let us live there, but placed us inside the garden, below which ye are now dwelling.

"But, after that I transgressed, He made me come out of it, and I was left to dwell in this cave; great and sore troubles came upon me; and when my death drew near, I commanded my son Seth to tend his people well; and this my commandment is to be handed from one to another, unto the end of the generations to come.

"But, O Jared, my son, we live in beautiful regions, while you live here in misery, as this thy father Mahalaleel informed me; telling me that a great flood will come and overwhelm the whole earth.

"Therefore, O my son, fearing for your sakes, I rose and took my children with me, and came hither for us to visit thee and thy children; but I found thee standing in this cave weeping, and thy children scattered about this mountain, in the heat and in misery.

"But, O my son, as we missed our way, and came as far as this, we found other men below this mountain; who inhabit a beautiful country, full of trees and of fruits, and of all manner of verdure; it is like a garden; so that when we found them we thought they were you; until thy father Mahalaleel told me they were no such thing.

"Now, therefore, O my son, hearken to my counsel, and go down to them, thou and thy children. Ye will rest from all this suffering in which ye are. But if thou wilt not go down to them, then, arise, take thy children, and come with us to our garden; ye shall live in our beautiful land, and ye shall rest from all this trouble, which thou and thy children are now bearing."

But Jared when he heard this discourse from the elder, wondered; and went hither and thither, but at that moment he found not one of his children.

Then he answered and said to the elder, "Why have you hidden yourselves until this day?"

And the elder replied, "If thy father had not told us, we should not have known it."

Then Jared believed his words were true.

So the elder said to Jared, "Wherefore didst thou turn about, so and so?" And he said, "I was seeking one of my children, to tell him about my going with you, and about their coming down to those about whom thou hast spoken to me."

When the elder heard Jared's intention, he said to him, "Let alone that purpose at present, and come with us; thou shalt see our country; if the land in which we dwell pleases thee, we and thou shall return hither and take thy family with us. But if our country does not please thee, thou shalt come back to thine own place."

And the elder urged Jared, to go before one of his children came to counsel him [otherwise].

Jared, then, came out of the cave and went with them, and among them. And they comforted him, until they came to the top of the mountain of the sons of Cain.

Then said the elder to one of his companions, "We have forgotten something by the mouth of the cave, and that is, the chosen garment we had brought to clothe Jared withal."

He then said to one of them, "Go back, thou, some one; and we will wait for thee here, until thou come back. Then will we clothe Jared, and he shall be like us, good, handsome, and fit to come with us into our country."

Then that one went back.

But when he was a short distance off, the elder called to him and said to him, "Tarry thou, until I come up and speak to thee."

Then he stood still, and the elder went up to him and said to him, "One thing we forgot at the cave, it is this—to put out the lamp that burns inside it, above the bodies that are therein. Then come back to us, quick."

That one went, and the elder came back to his fellows and to Jared. And they came down from the mountain, and Jared with them ; and they stayed by a fountain of water, near the houses of the children of Cain, and waited for their companion until he brought the garment [for Jared].

He, then, who went back [to the cave], put out the lamp, and came to them and brought a phantom with him and showed it them. And when Jared saw it he wondered at the beauty and grace thereof, and rejoiced in his heart, believing it was all true.

But while they were staying there, three of them went into houses of the sons of Cain, and said to them, " Bring us to-day some food by the fountain of water, for us and our companions to eat."

But when the sons of Cain saw them, they wondered at them and thought : * " These are beautiful to look at, and such as we never saw before." So they rose and came with them to the fountain of water, to see their companions.

They found them so very handsome, that they cried aloud about their places for others to gather together and come and look at these beautiful beings. Then they gathered around them both men and women.

Then the elder said to them, " We are strangers in your land, bring us some good food and drink, you and your women, to refresh ourselves with you."

When those men heard these words of the elder, every one of Cain's sons brought his wife, and another brought his daughter, and so, many women came to them ; every one addressing Jared either for himself or for his wife ; all alike.

But when Jared saw what they did, his very soul wrenched itself from them ; neither would he taste of their food or of their drink.

The elder saw him as he wrenched himself† from them, and

* Lit. said in their thoughts.

† Or, his soul wrenched itself from them.

said to him, "Be not sad ; I am the great elder, as thou shalt see me do, do thyself in like manner."

Then he spread his hands and took one of the women, and five of his companions did the same before Jared, that he should do as they did.

But when Jared saw them working infamy he wept, and said in his mind,*—My fathers never did the like.

He then spread his hands and prayed with a fervent heart, and with much weeping, and entreated God to deliver him from their hands.

No sooner did Jared begin to pray than the elder fled with his companions ; for they could not abide in a place of prayer.

Then Jared turned round but could not see them, but found himself standing in the midst of the children of Cain.

He then wept and said, "O God, destroy me not with this race, concerning which my fathers have warned me ; for now, O my Lord God, I was thinking that those who appeared unto me were my fathers ; but I have found them out to be devils, who allured me by this beautiful apparition, until I believed them.

"But now I ask Thee, O God, to deliver me from this race, among whom I am now staying, as Thou didst deliver me from those devils. Send Thy angel to draw me out of the midst of them ; for I have not myself power to escape from among them."

When Jared had ended his prayer, God sent His angel in the midst of them, who [took Jared] and set him upon the mountain, and showed him the way, gave him counsel, and then departed from him.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The children of Jared were in the habit of visiting him hour after hour, to receive his blessing and to ask his advice for

* Lit. thought.

every thing they did ; and when he had a work to do, they did it for him.

But this time when they went into the cave they found not Jared, but they found the lamp put out, and the bodies of the fathers thrown about, and voices came from them by the power of God, that said, "Satan in an apparition has deceived our son, wishing to destroy him, as he destroyed our son Cain."

They said also, "Lord God of heaven and earth, deliver our son from the hand of Satan, who wrought a great and false apparition before him." They also spake of other matters, by the power of God.

But when the children of Jared heard these voices they feared, and stood weeping for their father ; for they knew not what had befallen him.

And they wept for him that day until the setting of the sun.

Then came Jared with a woeful countenance, wretched in mind and body, and sorrowful at having been separated from the bodies of his fathers.

But as he was drawing near to the cave, his children saw him, and hastened to the cave, and hung upon his neck, crying, and saying to him, "O father, where hast thou been, and [why hast thou] left us, as thou wast not wont to do?" And again, "O father, when thou didst disappear, the lamp over the bodies of our fathers went out, the bodies were thrown about, and voices came from them."

When Jared heard this he was sorry, and went into the cave ; and there found the bodies thrown about, the lamp put out, and the fathers themselves praying for his deliverance from the hand of Satan.

Then Jared fell upon the bodies and embraced them, and said, "O my fathers, through your intercession, let God deliver me from the hand of Satan ! And I beg you will ask God to keep me and to hide me from him unto the day of my death."

Then all the voices ceased save the voice of our father Adam, who spake to Jared by the power of God, just as one would speak to his fellow, saying, "O Jared my son, offer gifts to God for having delivered thee from the hand of Satan; and when thou bringest those offerings, so be it, that thou offerest them on the altar on which I did offer. Then also, beware of Satan; for he deluded me many a time with his apparitions, wishing to destroy me, but God delivered me out of his hand.

"Command thy people that they be on their guard against him; and never cease to offer up gifts to God."

Then the voice of Adam also became silent; and Jared and his children wondered at this. Then they laid the bodies [as they were at first]; and Jared and his children stood praying the whole of that night, until break of day.

Then Jared made an offering and offered it up on the altar, as Adam had commanded him. And as he went up to the altar, he prayed to God for mercy and for forgiveness of his sin, concerning the lamp going out.

Then God appeared unto Jared on the altar and blessed him and his children, and accepted their offerings; and commanded Jared to take of the sacred fire from the altar, and with it to light the lamp that shed light on the body of Adam.

CHAPTER XIX.

Then God revealed to him again the promise He had made to Adam; He explained to him the 5500 years, and revealed unto him the mystery of His coming upon the earth.

And God said to Jared, "As to that fire which thou hast taken from the altar to light the lamp withal, let it abide with you to give light to the bodies; and let it not come out of the cave, until the body of Adam comes out of it.

But, O Jared, take care of the fire, that it burn bright in the lamp; neither go thou again out of the cave, until thou

receivest [an order] through a vision, and not in an apparition, when seen by thee.

“Then command again thy people not to hold intercourse with the children of Cain, and not to learn their ways; for I am God who loves not hatred and works of iniquity.”

God gave also many other commandments to Jared, and blessed him. And then withdrew His word from him.

Then Jared drew near with his children, took some fire, and came down to the cave, and lighted the lamp before the body of Adam; and he gave his people commandments as God had told him to do.

This sign happened to Jared at the end of his four hundred and fiftieth year; as did also many other wonders, we do not record. But we record only this one for shortness sake, and in order not to lengthen our narrative.

And Jared continued to teach his children eighty years; but after that they began to transgress the commandments he had given them, and to do many things without his counsel. They began to go down from the Holy Mountain one after another, and to mix with the children of Cain, in foul fellowships.

Now the reason for which the children of Jared went down the Holy Mountain, is this, that we will now reveal unto you.

CHAPTER XX.

After Cain had gone down to the land of dark soil,* and his children had multiplied therein,† there was one of them, whose name was Genun,²¹ son of Lamech the blind who slew Cain.

But as to this Genun, Satan came into him in his childhood; and he made sundry trumpets and horns, and string instru-

* Lit. black mud.

† Κάϊν—χθαμαλὸς ὤν—ὥκει δὲ τὴν γῆν, ἥτις ἐστὶ τρέμουσα [nod] χθαμαλήν οὖσαν—he inhabited a land that is trembling, being low. Cedren., *Hist. Comp.*, p. 15.

ments, cymbals and psalteries, and lyres and harps, and flutes ; and he played on them at all times and at every hour.*²²

And when he played on them, Satan came into them, so that from among them were heard beautiful and sweet sounds, that ravished the heart.†

Then he gathered companies upon companies to play on them ; and when they played, it pleased well the children of Cain,‡ who inflamed themselves with sin among themselves, and burnt as with fire ; while Satan inflamed their hearts one with another, and increased lust among them.

Satan also taught Genun to bring strong drink out of corn ;§ and this Genun used to bring together companies upon companies in drink-houses ; and brought into their hands all manner of fruits and flowers ; and they drank together.

Thus did this Genun multiply sin exceedingly ; he also acted with pride, and taught the children of Cain to commit all manner of the grossest wickedness, which they knew not ; and put them up to manifold doings which they knew not before.

Then Satan, when he saw that they yielded to Genun and hearkened to him in every thing he told them, rejoiced greatly, increased Genun's understanding, until he took iron and with it made weapons of war.

Then when they were drunk, hatred and murder increased among them ; one man used violence against another to teach him [evil], taking his children and defiling them before him.

And when men saw they were overcome, and [saw] others that were not overpowered, those who were beaten came to Genun, took refuge with him, and he made them his confederates.

Then sin increased among them greatly ; until a man married his own sister, or daughter, or mother, and others ; or the daughter of his father's sister, so that there was no more

* Eutych., *Nazam al-j.*, p. 20.

† Lit. it seemed well in the eyes of.

‡ Lit. hearts.

§ Arab. " that is now called beer."

distinction [of relationship],* and they no longer knew what is iniquity ; but did wickedly, and the earth was defiled with sin ; and they angered God the Judge, who had created them.

But Genun gathered together companies upon companies, that played on horns and on all the other instruments we have already mentioned, at the foot of the Holy Mountain ; and they did so in order that the children of Seth who were on the Holy Mountain should hear it.

But when the children of Seth heard the noise, they wondered, and came by companies, and stood on the top of the mountain to look at those below ; and they did thus a whole year.

When, at the end of that year, Genun saw that they were being won over to him little by little, Satan entered into him, and taught him to make dyeing-stuffs for garments of divers patterns, and made him understand how to dye crimson and purple, and what not.

And the sons of Cain who wrought all this, and shone in beauty and gorgeous apparel, gathered together at the foot of the mountain in splendour, with horns and gorgeous dresses, and horse races ; committing all manner of abominations.

Meanwhile the children of Seth, who were on the Holy Mountain, prayed and praised God, in the place of the hosts [of angels] who had fallen ; wherefore God had called them "angels," because He rejoiced over them greatly.

But after this, they no longer kept His commandment, nor held by the promise He had made to their fathers ; but they relaxed from their fasting and praying, and from the counsel of Jared their father. And they kept on gathering together on the top of the mountain, to look upon the children of Cain, from morning until evening, and upon what they did, upon their beautiful dresses and ornaments.

Then the children of Cain looked up from below, and saw

* Until they knew not either parents or children. Eutych., *Nazam al-j.*, p. 25.

the children of Seth, standing in troops on the top of the mountain; and they called to them to come down to them.

But the children of Seth said to them from above, "We don't know the way." Then Genun, the son of Lamech, heard them say they did not know the way, and he bethought himself how he might bring them down.

Then Satan appeared to him by night, saying, "There is no way for them to come down from the mountain on which they dwell; but when they come to-morrow, say to them, 'Come ye to the western side of the mountain; there you will find the way of a stream of water, that comes down to the foot of the mountain, between two hills; come down that way to us.'"

Then when it was day, Genun blew the horns and beat the drums below the mountain, as he was wont. The children of Seth heard it, and came as they used to do.

Then Genun said to them from down below, "Go to the western side of the mountain, there you will find the way to come down."

But when the children of Seth heard these words from him, they went back into the cave to Jared, to tell him all they had heard.

Then when Jared heard it, he was grieved; for he knew that they would transgress [his counsel].

After this a hundred men of the children of Seth gathered together,²³ and said among themselves, "Come, let us go down to the children of Cain, and see what they do, and enjoy ourselves with them."

But when Jared heard this of the hundred men, his very soul was moved, and his heart was grieved. He then arose with great fervour, and stood in the midst of them, and adjured them by the blood of Abel the just, "Let not one of you go down from this holy and pure mountain, in which our fathers have ordered us to dwell."

But when Jared saw that they did not receive his words, he said unto them, "O my good and innocent and holy children,

know that when once you go down from this holy mountain, God will not allow you to return again to it."

He again adjured them, saying, "I adjure by the death of our father Adam, and by the blood of Abel, of Seth, of Enos, of Cainan, and of Mahalaleel, to hearken to me, and not to go down from this holy mountain; for the moment you leave it, you will be reft of life and of mercy;* and you shall no longer be called 'children of God,' but 'children of the devil.'"[†]

But they would not hearken to his words.

Enoch at that time was already grown up, and in his zeal for God, he arose and said, "Hear me, O ye sons of Seth, small and great—when ye transgress the commandment of our fathers, and go down from this holy mountain—ye shall not come up hither again for ever."[‡]

But they rose up against Enoch, and would not hearken to his words, but went down from the Holy Mountain.

And when they looked at the daughters of Cain, at their beautiful figure, and at their hands and feet dyed with colour, and tattooed in ornaments on their faces,[§] the fire of sin was kindled in them.[§]

Then Satan made them look most beautiful before the sons of Seth, as he also made the sons of Seth appear of the fairest in the eyes of the daughters of Cain, so that the daughters of Cain lusted after the sons of Seth like ravenous beasts, and the sons of Seth after the daughters of Cain, until they committed abomination with them.||

But after they had thus fallen into this defilement, they returned by the way they had come, and tried to ascend the

* Those rebellious souls are for death, the sword, perdition, and extinction like a lamp. *Cod. Nasar*, ii, 148.

† S. Ephrem, *Serm.* 1, on *Par.*, vol. iii, p. 564.

‡ A description of Egyptian women, of that, as well as of the present, day.

§ But the Author of evil unable to curse the holy life and happiness of the children of Seth *εἰς τὴν ὁρατότητα τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἥτοι τοῦ Κάιν αὐτοὺς ἔρωσεν.* *Cedren., Hist. Comp.*, p. 17.

|| Eutychus tells the same in words that had better remain in the original.

Holy Mountain. But they could not, because the stones of that holy mountain were of fire flashing before them, by reason of which they could not go up again.²⁵

And God was angry with them, and repented of them, because they had come down from glory, and had thereby [lost or] forsaken their own purity [or innocence], and were fallen²⁶ into the defilement of sin.²⁷

Then God sent His Word to Jared, saying, "These thy children, whom thou didst call 'My children,'—behold they have transgressed My commandment, and have gone down to the abode of perdition, and of sin. Send a messenger to those that are left, that they may not go down, and be lost."

Then Jared wept before the Lord, and asked of Him mercy and forgiveness. But he wished that his soul might depart from his body, rather than hear these words from God about the going down of his children from the Holy Mountain.

But he followed God's order, and preached unto them not to go down from that holy mountain, and not to hold intercourse with the children of Cain.

But they heeded not his message, and would not obey his counsel.

CHAPTER XXI.

After this another company gathered together, and they went to look after their brethren; but they perished as well as they. And so it was, company after company, until only a few of them were left.

Then Jared sickened from grief,* and his sickness was such that the day of his death drew near.

Then he called Enoch his eldest son, and Methuselah Enoch's son, and Lamech the son of Methuselah, and Noah the son of Lamech.

* Νῦν δὲ ἐν χρόνοις τοῦ Ἰάρεδ καὶ ἐπέκεινα φαρμακία καὶ μαγεία, ἀσέλγεια, μοιχεία καὶ ἀδικία. S. Epiph., *Hæres.*, Lib. I, i, 5.

And when they were come to him he prayed over them and blessed them, and said to them, "Ye are righteous, innocent sons; go ye not down from this holy mountain; for behold, your children and your children's children have gone down from this holy mountain, and have estranged themselves from this holy mountain, through their abominable lust and transgression of God's commandment.

"But I know, through the power of God, that He will not leave you on this holy mountain,²⁸ because your children have transgressed His commandment and that of our fathers, which we had received from them.

"But, O my sons, God will take you to a strange land, and ye never shall again return to behold with your eyes this garden and this holy mountain.

"Therefore, O my sons, set your hearts on your own selves,* and keep the commandment of God which is with you. And when you go from this holy mountain, into a strange land which ye know not, take with you the body of our father Adam, and with it these three precious gifts and offerings, namely, the gold, the incense, and the myrrh; and let them be in the place where the body of our father Adam shall lay.

"And unto him of you who shall be left, O my sons, shall the Word of God come,²⁹ and when he goes out of this land he shall take with him the body of our father Adam, and shall lay it in the middle of the earth, the place in which salvation shall be wrought."[†]

Then Noah said unto him, "Who is he of us that shall be left?"

And Jared answered, "Thou art he that shall be left.³⁰ And thou shalt take the body of our father Adam from the cave, and place it with thee in the ark when the flood comes.

"And thy son Shem, who shall come out of thy loins, he it

* Or, on your souls.

† See Ps. lxxiv. 12, and S. Athan. *Quæst. ad A.*, Vol. II, p. 393.

is who shall lay the body of our father Adam in the middle of the earth, in the place whence salvation shall come."

Then Jared turned to his son Enoch, and said unto him, "Thou, my son, abide in this cave, and minister diligently* before the body of our father Adam all the days of thy life; and feed thy people in righteousness and innocence."

And Jared said no more. His hands were loosened, his eyes closed, and he entered into rest like his fathers. His death took place in the three hundred and sixtieth year of Noah, and in the nine hundred and eighty-ninth year of his own life; on the twelfth of Takhsast† on a Friday.

But as Jared died, tears streamed down his face by reason of his great sorrow, for the children of Seth, who had fallen in his days.

Then Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech and Noah, these four, wept over him; embalmed him carefully, and then laid him in the Cave of Treasures. Then they rose and mourned for him forty days.

And when these days of mourning were ended, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech and Noah remained in sorrow of heart, because their father had departed from them, and they saw him no more.

CHAPTER XXII.

But Enoch kept the commandment of Jared his father, and continued to minister in the cave.

It is this Enoch to whom many wonders happened, and who also wrote a celebrated book;‡³¹ but those wonders may not be told in this place.

Then after this, the children of Seth went astray and fell, they, their children and their wives. And when Enoch,

* Or, continually.

† That is—the Ethiopic December; whereas the Arabic original has Tishrin (October), the month in which he was born and also died.

‡ Lit. by whom also there is a celebrated book.

Methuselah, Lamech and Noah saw them, their hearts suffered by reason of their fall into doubt full of unbelief; and they wept and sought of God mercy, to preserve them, and to bring them out of that wicked generation.

Enoch continued in his ministry before the Lord three hundred and eighty-five years, and at the end of that time he became aware through the grace of God, that God intended to remove him from the earth.

He then said to his son, "O my son, I know that God intends to bring the waters of the Flood upon the earth, and to destroy our creation."³²

"And ye are the last rulers over this people on this mountain; for I know that not one will be left you to beget children on this holy mountain; neither shall any one of you rule over the children of his people; neither shall any great company be left of you, on this mountain."

Enoch said also to them, "Watch over your souls, and hold fast by your fear of God and by your service of Him, and worship Him in upright faith, and serve Him in righteousness, innocence and judgment, in repentance and also in purity."³³

When Enoch had ended his commandments to them, God transported him from that mountain to the land of life, to the mansions of the righteous and of the chosen,³⁴ the abode of Paradise of joy, in light that reaches up to heaven; light that is outside the light of this world; for it is the light of God, that fills the whole world, but which no place can contain.

Thus, because Enoch* was in the light of God, he found himself out of the reach of death; until God would have him die.

Altogether, not one of our fathers or of their children, remained on that holy mountain, except those three, Methuselah, Lamech, and Noah. For all the rest went down from the mountain and fell into sin with the children of Cain. Therefore were they forbidden that mountain, and none remained on it but those three men.

* See S. Ephrem, vol. ii, p. 325, for a sermon on Enoch.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

NOAH noticed from his youth up, how sin had multiplied, how wickedness prevailed ; how generations of men perished, how sorrow increased, how righteous men diminished.¹

Therefore did he afflict his soul ; he restrained his members, and retained his virginity ; and grieved over the ruin wrought by the generations of men.

And this Noah habitually mourned and wept and was of a sad countenance ; and thus he held his soul in fasting, so that the enemy had no advantage over him, and did not come near him.

This Noah also, ever since he was a child with his parents,* never made them angry, never transgressed against them ; nor ever did a thing without their advice. And when he was away from them, if he wished to pray or to do aught else ; he would ask of God, to guide him aright therein ; wherefore God watched over him.

And while he was on the mountain, he did not transgress against God in any one evil thing, nor did he wilfully depart from what pleased God ; neither did he ever anger God.

Many were the wonderful things which happened to him, more than to any of his fathers before him, about the time of the Flood.

* Lit. father.

And Noah continued in his virginity and in his obedience to God five hundred years ; but after that it pleased God to raise him a seed ; He therefore spake unto him, saying, “ Arise, O Noah, and take unto thyself a wife, that of her thou mayest have children that may be a comfort to thee ; for thou art left alone, and thou shalt go out of this country unto a strange land ; for the earth shall be peopled with thy posterity.”

Then when Noah heard this from God, he did not transgress His commandment, but took unto himself a wife, whose name was Haikal, the daughter of Abaraz, who was of the children of Enos’s children, that went into perdition.

And she bare unto him three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet.

CHAPTER II.

After these things, God spake unto Noah about the Flood ; that it should come upon the earth, and destroy all creatures, so as not to let one of them be seen.

And God said unto Noah, “ Guard thy children ; command them and make them understand not to have intercourse with the children of Cain, lest they perish with them.”

And Noah hearkened to God’s words, and kept his children on the mountain, and would not let them go down to the children of Cain.

Then God spake again unto Noah, saying, “ Make unto thyself an ark of wood that will not rot ; to be a deliverance to thee and to the men of thy house.²

“ But begin to build it in the low land of Eden, in presence of the children of Cain, that they may see thee working at it ; and if they will not repent they shall perish ; and the blame shall rest on them.

“ But cut on this holy mountain, the trees whereof thou shalt make the ark ; let the length of the ark be three hundred

cubits, the breadth thereof fifty cubits, and the height thereof thirty cubits.³

“And when thou hast made and finished it, let there be in it one door above, and three compartments ;* and every compartment ten cubits high.

“The first story shall be for lions, and beasts, animals and ostriches all together. The second story shall be for birds, and creeping things.

“And the third story shall be for thee and thy wife, and for thy sons and their wives.

“And make in the ark wells for water, and openings to them, to draw water thereat, for drink to thee and to those that are with thee. And thou shalt line those wells with lead, both in and out.

“And make in the ark store-houses for corn ; for food to thee and to those that are with thee.

“Then make also unto thyself a trumpet⁴ of ebony wood, three cubits long, one and a half cubit wide, with a mouth-piece of the same wood.

“And thou shalt blow it three times ; the first time in the morning, that the workmen [working] at the ark may hear it, and gather to their work. Then thou shalt blow it the second time, and when the workmen hear it, they will gather to their meal. And thou shall blow it a third time in the evening, for the workmen to go and rest from their labour.”

And God said unto Noah, “Go about among the people and tell them that a flood shall come and shall overwhelm them ; and make the ark before their eyes.

“And when they question thee about the making of the ark, tell them : God has commanded me to make it, that we may get into it, I and my children, and be saved from the waters of the Flood.”

But when Noah went about among them and told them, they

* Or, stories.

laughed at him, and only committed adultery and revelled together all the more, and said, "That twaddling old man! Whence will ever the waters come, above the tops of high mountains? We never saw water rise above mountains; and this old man says, a flood is coming!"

But Noah did all his works, as God had told him concerning them.

CHAPTER III.

And Noah begat his three sons, during the first hundred years he worked at the ark.

During these hundred years he ate no food, whence blood flows; the shoes on his feet were neither changed, nor worn, nor grown old.

During these hundred years also, he did not change his garments from off him, neither did they wear out, in the least; he did not change the staff in his hand, nor did the cloth about his head grow old; and the hair of his head neither increased nor grew less.

As to those three sons of Noah, the first of them is Shem; the next is Ham; and the third is Japhet. They married wives from among the daughters of Methuselah; as the wise LXXII interpreters have told us; as it is written in the first [sacred] book of the Greeks.

The life also of Lamech, Noah's father, was five hundred and fifty-three years; and when he drew nigh unto death, he called unto him his father Methuselah and his son Noah, and he wept before his father Methuselah and said unto him, "Dismiss me, O my father, and bless me."

Then Methuselah blessed his son Lamech, and said, "Not one of all our fathers died before his father, but the father [died] before his son, in order that there should be his son to bury him in the earth. Now, however, O my son, thou diest

before me, and I shall drink [the cup of] sorrow on thy account, ere I go out of the flesh.

“Henceforth, O my son, behold the world is changed, and the [order] of deaths of men is changed : for from to-day the son shall die before his father ; and the father shall not rejoice in his son, nor be satisfied with him. So also shall the son not be satisfied with his father, nor rejoice in him.”

Then Lamech died, and they embalmed him, and laid him in the Cave of Treasures. His death took place seven years before the Flood came ; and his father Methuselah and his son Noah remained alone on the Holy Mountain.

But Noah went down every day to work at the ark, and came up at eventide. And he instructed his sons and their wives not to come down after him, and not to hold intercourse with the children of Cain.

For Noah was anxious about his sons, and said in his mind, “They are young and might be overcome by passion.” So he went down by night ; and gave old Methuselah directions about them.

CHAPTER IV.

But Noah preached repeatedly to the children of Cain, saying, “The flood will come and destroy you, if we do not repent.” But they would not hearken to him ; they only laughed at him.⁵

When the children of Seth went down from the Holy Mountain, and dwelt with the children of Cain, and defiled themselves with their abominations, there were born unto them children called Garsina,* who were giants, mighty men of valour, such as no other giants were of equal might.⁶

Certain wise men of old wrote concerning them, and say in their [sacred] books, that angels came down from heaven, and

* A corruption of the Arabic term.

mingled with the daughters of Cain, who bare unto them these giants.

But those [wise men] err in what they say. God forbid such a thing, that angels who are spirits,* should be found committing sin with human beings. Never; that cannot be.⁷

And if such a thing were of the nature of angels, or Satans, that fell, they would not leave one woman on earth, undefiled. For Satans are very wicked and infamous. Moreover, they are not male and female by nature; but they are small, subtle spirits, that have been black ever since they transgressed.

But many men say, that angels came down from heaven, and joined themselves to women, and had children by them. This cannot be true.† But they were children of Seth, who were of the children of Adam, that dwelt on the mountain, high up [or suspended], while they preserved their virginity, their innocence and their glory like angels; and were then called "angels of God."

But when they transgressed and mingled with the children of Cain, and begat children, ill-informed men said, that angels had come down from heaven, and mingled with daughters of men, who bare them giants.

CHAPTER V.

Then the ancient old man Methuselah who remained on the mountain with Noah's sons, lived nine hundred and eighty-seven years and then sickened; and his sickness was such that, on account of it, he must depart [from this world].

When Noah and his sons, Shem, Ham and Japhet, became aware of it, they came to him with their wives, and wept before

* The Ethiopic construction is not quite correct here. The Arabic reads "Angelic spirits."

† See S. Matt. xxii, 30, and the same in S. Mark and in S. Luke. See also note 5 from the Coran. Sur. vi, xxxvii, and liii, etc.

him, and said, "O our father, and [our] elder, bless us, and pray God to have mercy on us when thou art gone from us."

Then Methuselah said to them with a sorrowful heart, "Hear me, O my dear children ; for none of our fathers are left, but you, eight souls.

"The Lord God created our father Adam and our mother Eve, and from them filled the earth [with] people in the neighbourhood of the garden, and multiplied their seed.

"But they have not kept His commandment, and He will destroy them. But had they kept His commandment, He would then have filled heaven and earth with them.

"Yet will I ask the Lord my God to bless you, to multiply you, and to spread your race in a strange land, to which ye shall go.

"And now, O my children, behold, God will bring you inside an ark unto a land to which ye have never been. And the Lord God of all our pure fathers, be with you !

"And the glorious gifts God bestowed on our father Adam from the garden in this blessed Cave of Treasures, may He bestow them on you also !

"These are the three glorious gifts which God made to Adam. The first is—kingdom wherein God made Adam king over His works. The second glorious gift is—priesthood, in that God breathed into his face a spirit of life. And the third glorious gift is—prophecy, for Adam prophesied concerning what God thought [of doing].

"But I will ask the Lord my God, to bestow those three glorious gifts on your posterity."

Then Methuselah said also to Noah, "O Noah, thou art blessed of God. I warn thee and tell thee that I am going from thee to [be with] all our fathers that have gone before me.

"But thou, who shalt be left alone with thy children on this holy mountain, keep the commandment I give thee, and forsake not anything of what I have told thee. . .

“Behold my God shall quickly bring a flood upon the earth ; embalm my body, and lay it in the Cave of Treasures.

“Then take thy wife with thy sons and their wives, and go down from this holy mountain, and take with thee the body of our father Adam ;⁸ go into the ark and lay it there, until the waters of the Flood are assuaged from off the face of the earth.

“O my son, when about to die, command thy first-born son Shem, to take Melchizedec,* son of Cainan, and grandson of Arphaxad ;⁹ for that Melchizedec is priest of the Most High God ;¹⁰ and to take with them the body of our father Adam from within the ark, and remove it and lay it in the earth.

“And Melchizedec shall stand ministering on that mountain that is in the middle of the earth, before the body of our father Adam for ever. For from that place, O Noah my son, God shall work salvation for Adam and for all of his seed that believe in God.”

Methuselah said also to Noah and to his sons, “The angel of God will go with you, until you come to that place in the middle of the earth.”

Again Methuselah said to Noah, “O my son, let him who ministers unto God and before the body of our father Adam, have a clothing of skin, and be girt about his loins with leather. Let him wear no ornament, but let his raiment be poor ; let him be alone,† and stand praying our Lord God to watch over the body of our father Adam ; for it is a body of great value before God.

“And let him continue in his ministry, he the priest of the Most High God ; for he is well pleasing unto God, and so is the ministry he fulfils before God.”

After this Methuselah commanded Noah [saying], “Mind, then, all these commandments, and keep them.”

Then Methuselah’s hands were loosened ; he ceased speak-

* The Arabic reads : “Melchizedec thy son’s son,” *i.e.*, “Son of Shem,” as generally believed in the East.

† *i.e.*, single.

ing ; he gradually closed his eyes, and entered into rest like all his fathers ; his tears the time streaming down his cheeks, and his heart grieving at being separated from them [all] ; but mostly because of that mountain of the garden, on which not one of them was left ; for God was purposed to destroy all creatures, and to blot them out from the face of the earth.

The rest of Methuselah took place when he was nine hundred and sixty-seven years old, on the twelfth of Magābit on a Sunday.

Then Noah and his sons embalmed him, weeping and sorrowing over him, and laid him in the Cave of Treasures. And they wailed over him with a great wailing, they and their wives, forty days. And when mourning and grief over Methuselah were ended, Noah and his sons began to do as Methuselah had commanded them.

CHAPTER VI.

After his death, Noah, his sons, and their wives came to the bodies of our fathers, worshipped them, and blessed themselves in them, weeping and being in the deepest grief.

But Noah had finished the ark, and not one workman was left in it. And he, with his sons, continued in prayer to God, asking Him to show them the way of safety.

When Noah and his sons had ended their prayers, God said unto him, "Go thou into the Cave of Treasures, thou and thy sons, and take the body of our father Adam and lay it in the ark ; likewise take the gold, the incense, and the myrrh, and lay them in the ark together with his body."

And Noah hearkened to God's voice, and went into the Cave of Treasures, he and his sons ; they worshipped the bodies of our fathers, and then Noah took the body of our father Adam, and carried it in the strength of God, not requiring the help of any one.*¹¹

* Lit. and would (or wished) not that one should help him.

Then Shem his son, took the gold with him, and Ham carried the myrrh, and Japhet carried the incense ; and they brought them out of the Cave of Treasures, their tears the while streaming down their cheeks.

But as they were bringing them out, the bodies among which Adam had been laid, cried out, " Are we then to be separated from thee, O our father Adam ?"

Then Adam's body answered, " Oh, that I must part from you my sons, from this holy mountain ! Yet do I know, O my sons, that God will gather all our bodies together another time.

" But wait patiently until our Saviour have pity on us."

And the other bodies went on talking together, by the power of God's Word.

Then Adam asked God that the divine fire might remain in the lamp, before his sons, until the time when bodies shall rise again.

And God left the divine fire by them, to shed light on them. He then closed the cave upon them, and left not a trace to show [where it is] until the day of the Resurrection, when He will raise them up, like all other bodies.

But the discourse Adam held, and that too, he being dead, was by the command of God, who would show His wonders among the dead and the living.

After this let none of you say, that Adam's soul had already been under Satan's judgment. It was not so ; but God commanded the souls of the dead, to come from under His hand ; and to speak of the wonders of God from within their bodies." Then they returned to their places until the day of the sure deliverance that shall be unto them all.

CHAPTER VII.

But when Noah and his sons heard these voices from those dead bodies, they wondered greatly, and their faith in God was strengthened.

Then they went out of the cave and began to go down from the Holy Mountain, weeping and wailing with a fervent heart, for their being thus parted from the holy mountain, the abode of their fathers.

And Noah and his sons went back and sought the cave, but could not find it. Then they broke out into bitter lamentation and deep sorrow; for they saw that from that day forth, they should have neither existence nor abode in it.

Then once more they raised their eyes and looked at the garden and at the trees [that were] in it, and they lifted up their voices in weeping and in loud crying, and said, "We salute thee in worship, O garden of joy!¹² O abode of brilliant beings, a place for the righteous! We salute thee, O place of joy that was the abode of our father Adam, the chief of creation; who, when he had transgressed, fell from thee; and then saw his body in life, naked and disgraced.

"And we, behold, we depart from the Holy Mountain to the lower side of thee; neither shall we dwell in it, nor yet behold thee so long as we live. We wish God would remove thee with us to the country to which we shall go; but God would not remove thee into a cursed land.

"But God will take us, and will bring us into that land with our children, until He has ended the punishment for our transgression of His commandment."

Noah and his sons said also, "We salute thee, O cave, abode of the bodies of our holy fathers; we salute thee, O pure spot, hidden from our eyes, yet fit to have those bodies laid within thee! The Lord God preserve thee, for the sake of the bodies of our fathers!

Again they said, "We greet you, O our fathers, righteous judges, and we ask you to pray for us before God, that He will have pity on us, and deliver us out of this passing world.

"We ask you to pray for us—for us, the only ones left of your seed; We give you a greeting of peace!

"O Seth, great master, among the fathers, we greet thee

with peace ! O Holy Mountain abode of our fathers, we give thee a greeting of peace ! ”

Then Noah and his sons wept again, and said, “ Alas, for us eight souls that are left ! Behold we are taken away from the sight of the garden.”

And as they were coming down the mountain they greeted the stones, took them in their hands and put them upon their shoulders ; they stroked down the trees, and did so weeping. And they continued coming down from the mountain, until they came to the door of the ark.

Then Noah and his sons turned their faces to the east, and requested the Lord to have mercy on them, to save them, and to command them where to lay the body of our father Adam.

Then the Word of God came to Noah, saying, “ Lift up the body of Adam to the third story [of the ark], and lay it there on the eastern side ; and the gold, the incense and the myrrh together with him.¹³

“ And thou and thy sons shall stand before him praying. But thy wife, and the wives of thy sons, shall be on the western side of the ark ; and they and their wives shall not come together.”

Then when Noah heard these words from God, he and his sons went into the ark, and laid the body of our father Adam on the eastern side, and the three offerings together with him.

And Noah brought into the ark the body of Adam, on a Friday, at the second hour, on the twenty-seventh of the month of Gembot.

CHAPTER VIII.

Then God said unto Noah, “ Go upon the top of the ark and blow the trump three times, that all beasts gather together unto the ark.”

But Noah said, "Shall the sound of the trump reach unto the ends of the earth to gather together the beasts and the birds?"

Then God said unto him, "It is not the sound of this trump alone that shall go forth; but My power shall go with it, to make it come into the ears of the beasts and of the birds.*

"And when thou blowest thy trump, I will command My angel to blow the horn from heaven; and all these animals shall be gathered unto thee."

Then Noah made haste and blew the trump, as God had told him. Then the angel blew the horn from heaven, until the earth quaked, and all creatures on it trembled.

Then all the beasts, birds and creeping things were gathered together at the third hour, on a Friday; when all the beasts, lions and ostriches went into the lower story at the third hour. Then at midday, came the birds and creeping things into the middle story; and Noah and his sons went into the third story, at the ninth hour of the day.

And when Noah, with his wife, his sons and their wives came into the upper story, he commanded the women to dwell on the western side; but Noah and his sons, with the body of our father Adam, dwelt on the eastern side.

CHAPTER IX.

And Noah stood asking God to save him from the waters of the Flood.

Then God talked to Noah, and said to him, "Of every kind of birds, take one pair, male and female of the clean; and of the unclean also one pair, male and female. But also of the clean take six [more] pairs, male and female."

* "All these beasts, birds, and creeping things, shall come to thee by the hand of the angel who shall take and bring them to thee to keep them alive. *Targ. Jonathan*, in Gen. vii.

And Noah did all this. Then when they all had got into the ark, God shut to the door of the ark upon them by His power.

He then commanded the windows of heaven to open wide, and to pour down from them cataracts of water. And so it was ; by God's order.

And He commanded all fountains to burst open, and the depths to pour forth water, upon the face of the earth. So that the sea all round rose above the whole world, and surged, and the deep waters arose.

But when the windows of heaven opened wide, all stores [of water] and depths were opened, and all the stores* of the winds, and the whirlwind, thick mist, gloom and darkness spread abroad. The sun and moon and stars, withheld their light. It was a day of terror, such as had never been.

Then the sea all round, began to raise its waves on high like mountains ; and it covered the whole face of the earth.

But when the sons of Seth, who were fallen into wickedness and adultery with the children of Cain, saw this, they then knew that God was angry with them ; and that Noah had told them the truth.

Then they all ran round the ark, to Noah, begging and entreating him to open for them the door of the ark ; inasmuch as they could not climb the Holy Mountain, by reason of the stones thereof, that were like fire.

But as to the ark, it was closed and sealed by the power of God.¹⁴ An angel of God sat upon the ark, and was like a captain to Noah, to his sons, and to all inside the ark.

And the waters of the flood increased on the children of Cain and overwhelmed them ; and they began to sink, and the words of Noah were fulfilled, which he preached to them [saying], the waters of the Flood should come and drown them.

And the waters continued above and below over Noah and

* Lit. locks.

his sons, until they were suspended in the ark ; and by the strength of the water, the ark rose from the earth ; and the flesh of every moving thing perished.

And the water rose until it covered the earth, and until it covered all high mountains ;¹⁵ and the waters rose above them, and above the tops of high mountains fifteen cubits, by the cubit of the Holy Ghost, which is equal to* three cubits [of man]. So that the number of these were forty-five cubits [above the highest mountains].

And the water increased and bare the ark, and brought it to the lower side of the garden, which the waters, the rain, the whirlwind and all that went about on the earth—did worship. As did also Noah and his sons and all that was in the ark—they bowed in worship to the holy garden.

And the water returned to its former state, and destroyed every thing that was upon the earth and under heaven.

But the ark was floating on the waters and rose up before the winds ; while the angel of God steered and led it from east to west. And the ark thus moved about on the face of the waters a hundred and fifty days.

After that, the ark stood upon the mountains of Ararat,¹⁶ on the twenty-seventh day of the month of Tkarnt.

CHAPTER X.

Then God sent again His order to Noah, saying, “Be quiet and wait until the waters are assuaged.”

Then the waters parted asunder and returned every water to its own place, where it was at first ; the fountains ceased to pour forth† over the earth ; the depths that are on the face of the earth, ceased to rise ; and the windows of heaven were closed. For floods of rain fell from heaven at the beginning of the Flood forty days and forty nights.

* Lit. rendered by.

† Or, spread.

But on the first day of the eleventh month the tops of high mountains were seen ; and Noah waited yet forty days, and then opened the window he had made on the western side of the ark, and let go a raven, to see if the waters were assuaged from the face of the earth or not.¹⁷

Then the raven went forth, but returned no more to Noah ; for the harmless dove is the sign of the mystery of the Christian Church.

But Noah waited yet a little while after the waters were assuaged, and then sent out a dove, to see if the water had retired or not.

But when the dove went out, she found not a place whereon to rest her foot, and no abode ; and she returned to Noah.

Then Noah waited seven days more, and sent out the dove to see if the water had retired or not. And the dove came back to Noah, about eventide ; and in her mouth was an olive-leaf.*

The meaning of the dove is, that she is taken as a figure of the old and of the new [covenants].¹⁸ The first time when she went out, and found nowhere to rest her feet, that is, a place of rest [is a figure of] the stiff-necked Jews, in whom no grace remained, nor any mercy whatever. Wherefore Christ, the meek one, who is figured in the dove, did not find among them rest for the sole of His feet.

But the second time when the dove found a place of rest [is a figure of] the nations that have received the glad tidings of the holy Gospel, and among whom Christ has found a resting-place.

CHAPTER XI.

In the six hundred and seventh year of Noah's life, on the second day of the month Barmudeh, the water dried from off

* Plucked on the Mount of Olives. *Targ. Jonath.*, in Gen. viii.

the earth.¹⁹ And in the next month, which is Gembot, on the twenty-seventh day thereof, which is the day on which Noah went into the ark, on that self-same day did Noah also come out of the ark, on a Sunday.

But when Noah, his wife, his sons and their wives went out of the ark, they again came together, and did not part asunder one from another; at first, when they went into the ark, the men and the women remained apart, Noah fearing lest they should come together. But when the Flood was over, they again came together, the husband with his wife.²⁰

God also had sent great quietness over the beasts, the lions that were in the ark, and over the birds and creeping things, not to disagree among themselves.

Then Noah came out of the ark, and built an altar upon the mountain. And he stood, and requested the Lord to show him of what sacrifices he ought to take, and bring them unto Him in offerings.

Then God sent His Word to Noah, saying, "O Noah, take of the clean kind, and offer of them upon the altar before me; and let the animals go out of the ark."

Then Noah went into the ark, and took of clean birds as many as God had commanded him; and offered them up in offerings upon the altar before the Lord.*

CHAPTER XII.

Pattern of the covenant God made with Noah, when He showed him the bow on the cloud in heaven.

And God smelled the smell of Noah's offerings, and He made a covenant with him, that the waters of the flood should not again come upon the earth, henceforth and for ever.

* This was the altar built by Adam, on which he, Cain and Abel had offered sacrifices. *Targ. Jonathan*, in Gen. viii. It was injured by the Flood; but Noah repaired it. *Ibid.*

And this is the covenant God made with Noah :—

God said unto Noah, “I will make the bow of My covenant come out in the cloud ; and when it appears, then men shall know that it is done in truth.

“And if I was wroth, when the bow was seen in the cloud, then [it would show] that My anger and the punishment I meant to bring upon men were over.

“Then, again, O Noah, I have made this bow of My covenant to be seen in heaven, in order that all creatures should see it, and think of the trials and afflictions that came upon them at first, and repent, and turn from their evil ways.”

And God accepted Noah’s offering, and blessed him and his sons, and said unto them, “Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the face of the earth.”

Then God commanded the earth to bring forth herb as it did of old, for beasts, for birds, and for all that moves on the earth.

Then Noah worshipped before God, with his sons and their wives ; and they praised Him for the salvation He had wrought for them.

CHAPTER XIII.

After this Noah took his sons, and built them a city and called it *Semanān* ;²¹ as they were eight souls that came out of the ark.

And Noah and his sons dwelt on that mountain about a hundred years, until he had children and children’s children.

And Noah took a root of vine and planted it, and dressed it until it yielded fruit.²² It was sweet, and Noah took some of it, and pressed wine out of it, and took it one night and drank of it, and was drunk.²³ And he came in to his wife unawares.

Then Ham, his son, came into the house in the morning and saw his father uncovered, and drunk with wine, and without sense to know anything.

Then Ham his son kept on laughing at him, and said, "What is this thou hast done, O thou old man?"

But the old man understood not what he said; only Noah's wife understood it well.

Then Ham went out laughing at his father, and told his brothers Shem and Japhet what his father had done; and laughed at his parents.

But his brothers were angry with him, and rebuked him well for so doing; because they were afraid of him, as regards the old man; for Ham was rough and hard in his talk.

Then Shem and Japhet rose quickly, and took with them a coverlet, and put behind their backs that coverlet that reached unto their feet; and they walked backwards, and turned their face towards the way they had gone, until they came to their parents. Then they threw the coverlet over them, and went from them in haste, so as not to see them.

But on the morrow after this, Noah's wife told him what Ham had said and what he had done.

Then was Noah very angry with his son Ham* for what he had done; and he cursed him, and made him servant of his brothers.

But Noah blessed Shem and Japhet, his sons, because they had behaved well to him.

Then Noah married another wife, who bare him seven children. And he continued to dwell on that mountain until the days drew near when he must depart [this life]. And Noah lived three hundred and fifty years after he came out of the ark.

Then he called his first-born son Shem, and conversed with him, saying, "O my son, hearken unto what I command thee.²⁴

"Behold [what] I command thee now [is], to hold good until I die and ye bury me. Then, when ye have ended mourning for me, go into the ark in which we were saved from the flood; then bring out of it the body of our father Adam; but

* See the Coran, sur. v, and Hotting., *Hist. Or.*, p. 35, sq.

let no one know of it but one that is of thy seed. Then make a beautiful case for it, and lay it therein.

“Then take with thee some bread to be for provision unto thee by the way, and wine whereof to drink on thy way; for the land to which thou shalt go is rough and hungry.

“Then take Melchizedec the youngest son of Cainan,* thy son; for God has chosen him from all generations of men, to stand before Him to worship and to minister unto Him, by the body of our father Adam.²⁵

“Then lay the body of Adam in the midst of the earth; and set Melchizedec to stand by it; and show him how to fulfil his ministry before God.”

Moreover Noah said unto Shem his son, “If ye will keep my commandment and go [as I tell you], an angel of the Lord will go with you, and show you the way, until ye come to the place where ye shall lay the body [of Adam] in the midst of the earth; for in that self-same place shall God work salvation for the whole world.

“But, O my son, I know that our children forsook this good commandment, and went down the Holy Mountain, and mingled with the children of Cain, and that they perished with them in the waters of the Flood.

“Know, O my son, that from Adam until this day, every one of the ancients, gave commandments to one of the rest, at the time of his resting from the flesh, and that they taught [these commandments] among themselves.

“The first, O my son, who taught this commandment and made it plain, was our father Adam; he gave it to his son Seth, who received it.

“Then Seth handed it to his son Enos who kept it. And Enos gave it to his son Cainan who kept it. Then Cainan gave it to his son Mahalaleel, who kept it, and handed it to his son Jared.

“And Jared kept it and gave it to his son Enoch, who also

* Here the Arabic has Arphaxad, instead of Cainan see above, p. 149.

kept this commandment and gave it to his son Methuselah, who kept it, and gave it to his son Lamech who kept it, and who gave it to me, his son ; and I have kept it.

“But my grandfather Methuselah also gave me a great commandment which I have kept ; and which I give thee likewise. So, then, receive my commandment, and hold fast my words ; and hide this mystery within thy heart ; but reveal it not to one of all thy kindred. But go, and lay the body of our father Adam in the earth ; and let it remain there unto the day of salvation.”

CHAPTER XIV.

But the ark was closed during the days of Noah ; neither was any one allowed to touch it. Yet they went to it, blessed themselves in it, and talked about it.

Noah, however, went into it every evening, to light the lamp which he had made before our father Adam, and blessed himself in that body.

And he did not neglect his office regarding the lamp, as it was at first in the Cave of Treasures.

But as Noah knew that after him, the ark would not remain whole, and that his children would part asunder and not return to look after the body of our father Adam, and that wickedness would increase in the earth and abominations among men, therefore did he command his son Shem to hasten to take the body of our father Adam,* and to remove it unto the middle of the earth ; according to God's order.

CHAPTER XV.

Then when Noah had ended giving orders to his son Shem, concerning the body of our father Adam, Noah said to his son

* See below, ch. xviii.

Shem, "Bring hither to me thy brothers, and make them come near me."

Then when they came to Noah, he looked at them and said unto them, "O my sons, after my death ye shall part asunder, and sore troubles shall happen to your race.

"But I will from now, divide among you the earth into three portions; as every one of you shall be settled in his own portion.

"Unto Shem my first-born son, shall his lot be from Jerusalem which is a great city, as far as Qardayun and Andika.* It takes in the border mountain that reaches unto Gefur, between the land of Egypt and that of the Philistines.

"Unto my next son Ham, his portion shall be from Aris towards the south, unto Fardundan and unto Gaduriun, and unto the borders of the west.

"And unto my third son Japhet, his portion shall be from the corner of the west towards the south unto Damatha, a large tract of country; and all the north also as far as Aris."²⁶

He then said to them, "Let every one of you take a portion different from that of his brothers; and let every one of you dwell in his own portion." And they settled in it, as he commanded them.

And they all had sons and daughters during their father Noah's lifetime. And Noah divided the earth among them by God's order, in order that there should be no enmity between the three brothers.

Then when Noah had ended his commandments to Shem and to his brothers, his hands dropped, his tongue became dumb, his eyes closed and he died, like his fathers. He died aged nine hundred and fifty years,²⁷ on a Wednesday, the second day of the month Gembot, on the mountain on the which was the ark; and there he will remain until the day God reveals [his resting-place].

And they mourned for him forty days.†

* That is, Bactriana and India.

† Eutyeh., p. 45.

CHAPTER XVI.

After they had ended mourning for Noah, an angel of God appeared unto Cainan father of Melchizedec, and said unto him in a vision, "Knowest thou me?" And Cainan answered, "No, my Lord."

Then the angel said to him, "I am the angel whom God has sent unto thee, to give thee this commandment. And transgress not the command of God."

When Cainan heard this from the angel of God, he wondered and said unto him, "Speak, O my Lord!"

And the angel of God said unto him, "I am the angel who brought gold to thy father Adam, when he was below the garden; I am the angel who entreated God together with him, when he offered his own blood upon the altar.

"I am Michael the angel who received the soul of Abel the just; I am the angel who was with Seth when he was born in the cave.

"I am the angel who was with Enos and Cainan, and Mahalaleel and Jared and Enoch, and Methuselah and Lamech, and with Noah. But since he entered into rest, I stand by his first-born son Shem.

"And, behold, God has sent me to thee, to take thy son Melchizedec, and to remove him to the land, in which God shall lay the body of our father Adam, and that he may be high exalted before God. Let not thy heart be grieved at his going away."

When Cainan heard these words from the angel, he worshipped before him; and said unto him, "The will of God be done! Behold, I and my son are in His hands. Let Him do what He pleases."

This angel appeared unto Cainan, not on account of Cainan's righteousness and purity, but on account of Melchizedec, and of his righteousness and purity.

Then the angel said unto Cainan, "Commit not this mystery to any one but to Shem alone."

And the angel departed from him.

CHAPTER XVII.

Then the angel of God came unto Melchizedec that night while he was lying on his bed.

And he appeared unto him in the figure of a youth like him, who smote him on the side, and awoke him out of his sleep.

When Melchizedec heard it, he rose up, and saw the house full of light, and a figure standing before him. And he was afraid, for he was not accustomed to see angels, but this once only.

But the angel prevented fear from overcoming him, and anointed him on the head and on the breast, and said unto him, "Fear not, I am an angel of God; and He has sent me to thee with this message, that thou fulfil it unto thy God."

Melchizedec then said unto him, "What is that message?" For he was a youth of a perfect heart.

And the angel said unto him, "It is that thou go with the body of our father Adam, unto the middle of the earth; and that thou stand ministering before it there; and that thou serve God; for He has chosen thee from thy childhood. For thou art of the seed of the blessed."

Then Melchizedec said unto him, "Who will bring the body of my father Adam, and me with it, unto the middle of the earth?"

And the angel said unto him, "Shem, the son of Noah thy father's grandfather."

Then the angel strengthened his heart, and comforted him tenderly one whole hour, and then said unto him, "Commit not these hidden words to any but to Shem only;²⁸ lest the

report of it spread abroad ; and they hang on to the body of Adam, and not let it go to the land, to which God has commanded [it to be taken].”

And the angel departed from him.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Then the angel went to Shem the son of Noah and said unto him, “ Arise, and take the body of Adam, as thy father Noah gave thee commandment ; and take with thee Melchizedec and go with them to the place ordered by God ; and tarry not.”

When it was day, Shem made a beautiful case and hid it close to the ark. He then prepared bread and wine and provisions, and came to Cainan ; and inquired for his son Melchizedec. Then Cainan began to tell him all that the angel had said unto him ; and he gave him up his son Melchizedec, with a good heart.

Then Shem said to Cainan, “ Keep this mystery secret, and reveal it to no one.”

Then Shem took Melchizedec and they saddled an ass between them, and they went to the ark. But they had no key wherewith to open the ark ; for Noah had fastened it with a padlock, after he had come out of it.

When, therefore, they came to the ark, they bethought themselves how to open it. Then came Shem to the door, and said to Melchizedec, “ Come, open it, O thou great God.”

Then came Melchizedec to the door when he heard [Shem’s voice], and seized the padlock ; and at once the door was opened.

But a voice cried from within the ark, and said, “ Rejoice, O thou priest of the Most High God, for that thou hast been found meet to enter upon the office of priest of God ; the first created by Him in the world.”

This voice was from the Holy Ghost.

And Melchizedec knew that voice when it breathed into his face ; he knew it also through great grace that was in him.

He then marvelled, and said to Shem, " O my Lord, I know by the breathing in my face, though I saw no form, and heard no voice speaking to me ; for I saw no one. This voice is from the body of our father Adam."

And Shem remained trembling, not knowing what to say to him.

But while they were wondering at the door of the ark, the Word of God came, that said, " I am He that made thee priest and that breathed of My Spirit into thee. Thou art My righteous priest ; and thou art worthy to bear the body of Adam whom I created, and into whom I breathed of My Spirit. And I made him priest and a king, and a prophet. Go in first, and bring out his body."

Then Melchizedec went into the ark, and bowed in worship to the body of our father Adam ; he blessed himself in it, and brought it out ; the angel Michael, helping him the while to carry it.

And Shem went in also, and brought out the gold, the incense and the myrrh, and laid them together with the body of our father Adam ; he then placed the body within the case, and shut it upon the body. And then he shut the door of the ark, as it was at first.²⁹

CHAPTER XIX.

Then Shem and Melchizedec took the body of Adam, and went on their way ; and the angel of God went with them and showed them whither to go. And so they went on that day until the evening ; and alighted at a certain place to rest.

Then Shem and Melchizedec stood up to pray ; and while they prayed there came a voice from inside the coffin of Adam,

that said, "Glory to God who created me, who gave me life, who made me die; and who again returns me to the earth out of which He took me!"

And the voice blessed the youth Melchizedec and said unto him, "Of all our race, God chose no one but thee; neither did He anoint any one of them priest with His own hand, but thee; neither did He breathe into the face of any one His pure Spirit as He breathed it into thee; and I rejoice, O my son, that thou hast been found worthy of such honour from God."

Then the voice withdrew from Melchizedec, who wondered at this voice that came forth from a dead man. But it was done by the power of God.

But when Shem saw this first wonder wrought on Melchizedec, he kissed his face, and rejoiced greatly on his account. But as for Melchizedec, he tasted nothing that night, for the joy that filled his heart; but he continued standing before the coffin of Adam, praising God and praying until morning. This vision happened to Melchizedec in the fifteenth year of his age.

Then Shem and Melchizedec put the coffin upon the ass, and went on their way; and the angel of God went with them. And it was so that when they came to rough places, the angel bare them up by the power of God, and made them pass over them, whether they were lands or mountains.

And so they went on their way until the evening of the second day, when they alighted to rest, after their custom.

Then Shem and Melchizedec stood up to pray; and as they were praying, behold a great light shone over them, wherefore Melchizedec did not feel* aught of fatigue, by reason of the strength of God, that was in him; but he rejoiced like one that is going to his wedding.

But they stood praying as they were wont before the coffin of our father Adam. Then came a voice from the top of the coffin, that said to Melchizedec and to Shem, "Behold, we are drawing near to the place our Lord has decreed for us."

* Lit. know.

And the voice said unto Melchizedec, "Upon the land to which we are going, shall the Word of God come down; and suffer and be crucified on the place in which my body is laid.

"The crown of my head shall be baptized with His blood; and then shall my salvation be wrought; and He shall restore me to my kingdom, and shall give me my priesthood and my gift of prophecy."

Then the voice was silent by the power of God.

But Melchizedec and Shem marvelled at the voice that talked with them. And Melchizedec remained the whole of that night praying joyfully until the day dawned. Then they put the body of Adam on the ass, and went on their way.

And the angel of God went with them, until they neared the place.

Then he went before them, and stood before the ass, and took down from her the coffin, himself alone; and not as on the two former occasions, when Melchizedec took it down [from the ass].

But when the coffin reached the rock, the rock split asunder into two parts,—that was the place for the coffin; and Melchizedec and Shem knew thereby that it was the place God had appointed.

Then the angel went up from them into heaven, while saying unto God, "Behold, the body of our father Adam has arrived, and is come to the place Thou didst choose. I have done that which Thou didst command me."

Then came the Word of God to the angel, saying, "Go down to Melchizedec and strengthen his heart; and command him to abide by the body of Adam. And when Shem enters into rest, tell Melchizedec to go, and to take from Shem the bread and wine he has with him, and to preserve them."

CHAPTER XX.

Then the angel came down from God, in the figure of a man, who appeared to Melchizedec and to Shem, and strengthened their hearts.

He then laid the body of our father Adam in its place; and said to Melchizedec, "Take from Shem the bread and the wine." And he took them, as the angel told him [to do].

But Melchizedec and Shem stood praying by the body of our father Adam until the evening, when a great light came down upon the body, and angels ascended and descended in that place upon the body of our father Adam.

They were rejoicing, and praising, and saying, "Glory be to Thee, O God, who didst create the worlds; and madest men of the dust of the earth, to exalt them above heavenly beings."

And the angels thus praised God over the body of our father Adam, the whole of that night, until the dawn of day.

But as the sun rose, the Word of God came to Melchizedec, and said to him, "Arise, and take twelve of these stones; make of them an altar, and offer upon it of the bread and wine that was with Shem; and offer them, thou and he."

Then when Melchizedec heard the Word of God, he worshipped between his hands; and he hastened, and did as God commanded him.

And at the time he was offering the gift upon the altar, and asked God to sanctify it, the Holy Ghost came down upon the offering; and the mountain was filled with light.

And angels said unto him, "This offering is acceptable unto God. Glory be to him who created earthly men, and has revealed great mysteries unto them!"

Then the Word of God appeared to Melchizedec, and said

unto him, "Behold, I have made thee priest; and thou and Shem shall offer this offering thou didst make first; and in like manner as thou didst set up³⁰ these twelve solid foundation stones, will I raise twelve apostles to be the pillars of the world. And they are firm.

"In like manner also, as thou didst make this altar, will I make thee an altar in the world; and like as thou didst make an offering of bread and wine, will I also present the offering of My Body and Blood, and make it [to be] unto forgiveness of sins.

"And this place on which thou art standing and in which the body of Adam is laid, will I make a holy place; all creatures on earth shall be blessed in it; and in it I will grant forgiveness unto all who come hither."

Then the Word of God, blessed Melchizedec—named him priest—and then went up from him into heaven in glory and rejoicing with His angels.

CHAPTER XXI.

Then Melchizedec praised God; and he and Shem made an offering. And Shem stayed with him that day, to rest from the toil of the journey.

But when the day dawned, it seemed good to Shem to depart. Then Melchizedec wished him God speed, and blessed him, and said unto him, "The Lord God who led us to this place, be with thee; and guide thee until thou come to thine own place."³¹

Melchizedec said also to him, "When they inquire of thee about me, direct them not in the way; that they come not to me. And when my father and my mother ask thee about me, say to them, 'He has departed [on a pilgrimage]; and I do not know the place of his pilgrimage.'

“So that, when thou sayest so to them, their hope of me will be cut short; and they will feel it is of no use thinking of me; so that they will not press thee, and make thee come to me.”

Shem, then departed, and returned to his kindred,³² while Melchizedec remained standing before the body of our father Adam, ministering unto God, and worshipping Him evermore.

And an angel abode with him, who protected him and brought him food, until the time of Abraham the patriarch.

And the raiment of this Melchizedec was of skins, with a leathern girdle around his loins. And he ministered unto God, with much praying and fasting.

CHAPTER XXII.

But Shem and his brothers, multiplied abundantly upon the earth; and begat sons and daughters; and went on this way, until Shem was five hundred and fifty years old, when he died.³³

Then they embalmed him, and continued mourning for him forty days.

After this, Arphaxad, son of Shem, lived four hundred and eighty-five years, and then died; and they embalmed him and mourned for him forty days.

Then after him was Cainan, son of Arphaxad and father of Melchizedec, who lived five hundred and eighty-nine years, and then died.³⁴

After him Saleh, son of Cainan, and brother of Melchizedec lived four hundred and eight years, and then died.

After him Eber* his son, lived four hundred and thirty-four years, and then died.

Then Phalek was born when his father was two hundred and seven years old. In the days of Phalek, the earth was divided a second time among the three sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet.

* Eber took to wife Azurad Nebrud's [Nimrud's] daughter. *Kufale*, c. viii, p. 34.

Wherefore were they much aggrieved through this division among themselves ; because during their father's life-time, they were gathered together. But now they were divided asunder, and much affliction befell them on that account.

But Phalek died, and they buried him in his own city Phalek. For they had built a city, and had called it after his name.

But after his death, which happened when he was four hundred and thirty years old, there were great disturbances, and men gathered together within fenced cities.

And after this, tongues (there are seventy-two) were divided ; for God divided them when men built the tower in Sennaar ;^{35*} but it was destroyed over them.³⁶ And God divided their languages ; and what remained of them He dispersed over the earth ; because they built without a fixed plan. Therefore God dispersed them and scattered them, and brought upon them the division of their languages ; until if one of them spake, no other understood what he said.³⁷ And the number of languages is seventy-two.

And when they were thus divided, they had over them seventy-two rulers, one to every tongue, and to every country, by way of a king. And of the seed of Japhet were six peoples.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Then Ragu, Phalek's son, lived two hundred and thirty-two years, and died. But when Ragu, Phalek's first-born son, was one hundred and thirty years old, there reigned one of the first kings that ever reigned on the earth, whose name was Nimrud, a giant.

That Nimrud saw a cloud of light under heaven ; a mere apparition of Satan. And he inclined his heart to it, and coveted its beauty ; and then called to one whose name was

* Nimrud provided them with food from his hunt. Abul-pharaj. Dyn. Arab., p. 18; and *Syr.*, p. 9.

Santal, a carver, and said to him, "Carve me a crown of gold, after the pattern of that cloud."³⁸

Then Santal made him a crown [of gold] which Nimrud took and placed upon his own head. Wherefore was it said that a cloud had come [down] from heaven, and overshadowed him. And he became so wicked, as to think within himself that he was God.

And in those days Ragu was one hundred and eighty years old, and in his one hundred and fortieth year, Yanuf* reigned over the land of Egypt.

He is the first king that reigned over it; and he built the city of Memphis, and named it after his own name. That is Misr; whose name is rendered Masrin.

This Yanuf died; and in his stead, in the days of Ragu, one from the land of India reigned, whose name was Sasen; and who built the city of Saba. And all the kings who reigned over that country were called Sabæans, after the name of the city.

And it was so, until the days of Solomon, son of David.

Then again Phar'an reigned over the children of Saphir, and built the city of Saphir† with stones of gold; and that is the land‡ of Sar'ania, and because of these stones of gold, they say that the mountains of that country and the stones thereof are all of gold.

Then the children of Lebensa of the country of India, made king over them, one named Bahlul, who built the city of Bahlu.

Then Ragu died in his two hundred and eighty-ninth year.

CHAPTER XXIV. §

After [him] came Serok³⁹ his son, in whose days idol-gods of stone, were openly worshipped in the world. The children

* Called Panophis [Apop, Apophis] by Bar. Hebr., *Syr.*, p. 8.

† Saphir (Ophir) is the Coptic word for "India."

‡ Or, city.

§ The whole of this chapter is given, almost word for word, by Eutychus, in his *Naxam al-jawahir*, pp. 58, 60.

of men began to make idols of stone, the first of which were Kalithon and Helodon.

And the children of men multiplied upon the earth, and their wickedness increased also ; for they had neither law nor order ; and no teachers to guide them in the way of righteousness ; nor any one to be judge among them.

Wherefore they grew worse and worse, and wandered farther from the way of God ; every one of them did what he himself listed ; and they made for themselves idol-gods, which they worshipped.

They had no hope in the resurrection of the dead. But whenever one of them died, they buried him, and set up an idol over his grave ; and said, that was his god, that would show him mercy in his grave. They said also, as regards the dead, that when his god was set up over his grave, the remembrance of him, would not be cut off from the face of the earth.

This was a common saying brought out by Satan ; and the earth was thus filled with idols ; and those idols were of divers kinds, men and women.

After this Serok died two hundred and thirty years old ; and they embalmed him in Sar'ania his city, that was built in his name.

After that Nahor, when twenty-nine years old begat Terah. And when Nahor was eighty-six years of age, God looked down upon the children of men, [and saw] that they were ruined and worshipped idols.

Then God sent forth winds, and the whirlwind, and earthquakes on the earth, until the idols were broken one against another. Yet the children of men did not repent of their sins, neither did they turn to God from their iniquities that He might save them ; but rather increased in wickedness.

And in the twentieth year of Terah's life, the worship of idols spread over the earth in the city of Aarat, which Barwin, the son of Eber, had built.

And at that time there was a rich man living in it, who died ; and his son made an idol of gold in the likeness of his father, and set it up on his [father's] grave.

He then ordered one of his servants, to stand by the idol, and to minister unto it ; to sweep the ground around it, to pour water to it and to burn incense.

But when Satan saw this he entered into the idol of gold, and talked to the servant, like his master's father that was dead ; and said to him, " Thou doest well thus."

After this a thief took by surprise the house of the youth, son of the man who was dead ; who then came to his father's grave, weeping.

And he said, " O my father, they have carried away all my goods."

Then Satan answered him from within the idol, and said, " Do not stay here, but go and bring thy son, and offer him up in oblation to me, and then I will return to thee all thy goods."

Then that youth went, and did with his son, as Satan had commanded him. And at that time Satan entered into him, and taught him to practise enchantments, and magic, the mixture of drugs, and divination.

That was the first evil example [of the kind] set to men, to take their children and to offer them up in oblation to idols and to devils.

CHAPTER XXV.

Then in the hundredth year of Nahor, God looked down upon the children of men [and saw] that they sacrificed their children to idols.

Then God commanded the stores of winds to open, and to send forth the whirlwind, and gales, and darkness upon the whole face of the earth, until all the idols and images, and

figures were brought together [by the winds] in mountains upon mountains high. And the idols remained buried under them until this day.⁴⁰

Many wise men have written about this wind, that it was the wind of the Flood ; and many of them say it was the water of the Flood that thus brought together these mountains [of idols].

But they erred, and said what is false concerning it ; because ere the water of the Flood came upon the earth, there were no idols in it. But the Flood came upon the men at that time because of their adulteries, and of the sins which they committed among themselves ; both the children of Cain, and those who followed them.

Moreover at that time the whole earth was not filled with people ; but only the land of the garden, in which dwelt the children of Seth ; and the place inhabited by the children of Cain ; besides that, the whole earth was bare [of inhabitants].

But when the Flood came, it bare the ark, and brought it to this land of trouble. And this earth was filled with people ; and that land was laid waste.

Then in those days, king Nimrud saw a flaming fire in the east, which arose from the earth.*

Then said Nimrud, "What is that fire?"† He then went towards it ; and when he saw it, he bowed to it in worship, and appointed a priest to minister before it, to burn incense to it, and to sacrifice victims to it. From that day the men of Fars began to fill the earth.

Then Satan the worker of idols saw a fountain of water near the fire-pit, and he came to it, and looked at it, and made a horse of gold, and set it up on the edge of the fountain of water ; and it so happened that all those who came to wash in that fountain of water, bowed in worship to that golden horse ;

* Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, lib. i, c. iv, 2, 3.

† The whole of this paragraph is told word for word by Eutychus, *Nazam al-j.*, p. 62, sq.

and from that time, the people of Fars began to worship horses.

But the priest* whom Nimrud appointed to minister to the fire and to burn incense to it, wished to be a teacher, and wise of the same wisdom as Nimrud, whom Barwin, Noah's fourth son had taught.

That priest, therefore, kept on asking Satan, while standing before the fire, to teach him this evil ministry and abominable wisdom. So, when Satan saw him doing his best in the service [of the fire], he talked to him, and said, "No man can become a teacher, or wise, or great before me, unless he hearkens to me, and goes and weds his mother, his sister and his daughter."

Then that priest hearkened to Satan in all that he commanded him, and taught him all manner of wisdom and of wickednesses. And from that time, the people of Fars have committed like sins unto this day.

And Nimrud built great cities in the east; and wrought all manner of iniquities in them.⁴¹

* That priest was called Ardeshan. *Nazam al-j.*, p. 65.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

THEN when Terah was two hundred and thirty years old, he fell sick, and called Abraham¹ his son,² and said unto him, "O my son, I wish to die."

But Abraham stood up and comforted him, paid him all due honour, and did not aggrieve him about his being a maker of idols.

For Abraham his son, was a righteous man, and could not bear idols;³ but he paid him all due respect, as being his father.

Then Terah died; and Abraham and Nahor buried him in a mountain.

But when Abraham was grown up, God said unto him, "O Abraham, come out of thy land, of thy kindred and of thy father's house, and go to the land that I will show thee."

Then Abraham arose, and took Sarah his wife, and Lot his brother's son,* and they came to the land of the Amorites.⁴ And Abraham was seventy years old when he saw this vision; and this was his first wandering from the land of the east, to the western side of the river Euphrates.

So Abraham came, and dwelt among kings; and those kings rose up against his brother's son, and carried him away

* Lot was the son of Haran, Abraham's brother, who perished in trying to put out the fire set by Abraham to the idol temple at Ur. Abul-pharaj, *Dyn. Arab.* p. 20. Cedrenus, *Hist. Comp.*, p. 48.

captive.* Then Abraham took his servants, and all those who were about him, and came to his brother's son, and delivered him out of their hands.

At that time Abraham was eighty years old, and no son was born to him, because that Sarah his wife, was barren.

Then as he was returning from the war with those kings, the grace of God drew him, until he had passed over the hill of Nablus; and from the hill of Nablus, he came near to Jerusalem, ere it was built.†

Then Melchizedec, priest of the Most High God, came out, and welcomed him with joy. And Abraham, when he saw Melchizedec, made haste and bowed to him in worship, and kissed him on the face; and Melchizedec gave him a good blessing.⁵

Then Abraham gave Melchizedec a tenth of all he had with him.‡ After that Abraham communed with Melchizedec of the holy mysteries which Melchizedec had consecrated with his own hand. For that was an exalted place, not by man's hand, but God Himself had anointed it.

But after Abraham had communed with Melchizedec, God said unto Abraham, "Fear not, great is thy reward with Me; and in like manner as Melchizedec My high priest blessed thee, and made thee partaker with himself of Holy Mysteries, so will I make thee partaker with him of heavenly grace."

Again did God say to Abraham, "In blessing will I bless thee, and in multiplying will I multiply thy seed upon the face of the earth."

* Og, King of Bashan, who had been saved by sitting on the top of Noah's ark, and who was among those kings, came and told Abraham that they had taken Lot captive. *Targ. Jonathan*, in Gen. xiv.

† The *Kufale* dwells at great length on the history of Abraham, borrowed chiefly from the Scripture account. But whether by accident or otherwise, it makes no mention of Melchizedec, but only of priests and of tithe, as an institution of God for ever.

‡ Entych., *Nazam al-j.*, p. 66.

CHAPTER II.

After this there was a famine in the land of Palestine; and Abraham went down into the land of Egypt.

And Sarah his wife was with him, and she was good-looking.

So Abraham said to her, "Say not, I am Abraham's wife, lest they kill me, and take thee from me. But say, I am his sister."

Then when they came into the land of Egypt,⁶ men spake to Pharaoh king of Egypt, and said to him, "Behold a man has come hither; and with him is his beautiful sister."

Then Pharaoh sent and took her from Abraham, who remained weeping.

But God in His mercy sent an angel who smote Pharaoh, and said to him, "Send back to Abraham his wife, lest God kill thee."

Then in the morning, Pharaoh called Abraham, and said unto him, "Forgive me." He then gave him his wife Sarah; and gave to Sarah, Hagar the Egyptian, and gave her many presents.

After this Abraham took Sarah his wife, with Hagar her maid-servant, and returned to Palestine.

And after that, Abraham took to himself Hagar to wife,* who bare him Ishmael, when Abraham was eighty-seven years old.

But in that Abraham said, "Sarah is my sister," he did not lie; inasmuch as Terah, his father, married two wives; one of which was called Tona,† the mother of Abraham, who died shortly after he was born.

Then Terah married again another wife whose name was Tahdif,‡ who bare him Sarah, whom Abraham married, and

* She was the daughter of Pharaoh, son of Nimrud who had cast Abram into the fiery furnace. *Targ. Jonathan*, in Gen. xvi.

† Called Yuna, Eutych., *Nazam al-j.*, p. 65. ‡ Called Tohwait, Eutych., *ibid.*

who, for that reason, said, "She is my sister"—on my father's side, but not on my mother's.

After this, when Abraham was dwelling in tents, the Lord came to him with angels of His, and gave him a sign of the birth of his son Isaac,⁷ who was born to him when he was a hundred years old. The Lord showed him also many mysteries.

Then days after this, God said to Abraham, when Isaac was fourteen years old, "Offer unto me thy son Isaac, in oblation."⁸

Then Abraham fortified himself and took courage for this trial; and brought his son to offer him in oblation to God.⁹ But God redeemed Isaac with a lamb that was tied to a bush.

And the bush to which the lamb was tied, is the very place into which the tree of the Cross was planted. And the lamb that saved Isaac from death, was a figure of the Lamb of God who saved us all from death.

That mountain also, on which king David saw an angel standing with a sharp sword of fire in his hand, as if going to smite Jerusalem with it—is the place where Abraham saw with the eye of the Holy Ghost, the Son of God, hanging on it.

For this reason did the Lord say to the Jews, "Abraham, your father, rejoiced and longed to see my day, and he did see it, and was glad."

Again, this is the place, as the blessed Paul said, "For the sake of Jesus Christ my Lord am I minister of the circumcision"—where Christ was circumcised on the eighth day.*

That is also the place where the patriarch Abraham offered up an oblation to God.

And again, as it was in the days of Moses, when they offered up a lamb for the sins of the people, to cleanse them from their sins—so also did the Lamb of God offer up Himself in oblation for us, to set us free from our sins.

* The translator or writer of the book evidently thought Christ was circumcised in the Temple. This clause seems ill-joined with the rest.

CHAPTER III.

After this Melchizedec showed himself to men, who saw him, and who were comforted by his words, everywhere.

The kings of the earth and peoples, when they heard his voice, did gather together; a multitude of creatures and of kings;* that numbered twelve hosts.

They came to him and bowed to him in worship, and were blessed by him, and asked him, saying, "Come, let us make thee king over us."

But Melchizedec king of Salem, and priest of the Most High God, would not.

And the kings wondered at his beauty; their hearts were drawn to him by his discourse, and they fell down at his feet in worship; and they asked God, that Melchizedec might dwell among them in their palaces.

But Melchizedec would not, and said unto them, "I cannot leave this place, and go to another one."

So those kings said among themselves, "Let every one of us who can, come, and let us build a city on this mountain for Melchizedec."

They all took pleasure in the work, brought together materials in abundance, and built the City of Jerusalem, that means "the middle of the earth."

Then Melchizedec continued to dwell in it, at that place; and the kings came, and were blessed by him, until the day of his departure, when his life ended in this world.

CHAPTER IV.

After this, Abraham ordered one of his servants,† to take a

* They were twelve in number. Eutychn., *Naz. al-j.*, p. 66, sq., where the same story is told.

† Eliezer, of Damascus, son of Mesek, one of Abraham's servants, *Kufale*, c. xiv., p. 55, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς Μασέκ τῆς οἰκογενεῶς μου, οὗτος Δαμασκός Ελίζερ, lxx, Gen. xv, 3.

wife for his son Isaac; and adjured him not to marry Isaac, but to one of his own kindred.

And Abraham entered into rest when one hundred and seventy-five years old; and Isaac and Ishmael his sons buried him.¹⁰

Then Isaac married when he was forty years old; and Esau and Jacob his sons, were born unto him when he was about sixty years of age.* And God blessed Isaac greatly.

Then after this Jacob went to the land of Haran, to Laban, his mother's brother, and married his two daughters Leah and Rachel.

He had by Leah, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun; and by Rachel he had Joseph and Benjamin.

Then he had also by Zilpah, Leah's maid-servant, Gad and Aser; and by Bilhah, Rachel's maid-servant, he had Dan and Naphtali.

And about twenty years after Jacob's return from the land of Haran, before his father Isaac died, Joseph was sold by his brothers, because they were jealous of him.

But when Isaac died, his two sons Esau and Jacob came to him, embalmed him, and laid him in the sepulchre of his father.

Then six years after the death of Isaac, Rebecca died; and they buried her by Sarah, Abraham's wife. And when, after that Leah, Jacob's wife died, they buried her by the side of them.

Then after this Judah took to himself a wife whose name was Habwadiya, that means, "house-wife;"† but in the law her name is Sewa.

She was of a Canaanitish family, and Jacob's heart suffered

* Rebecca, when with child and before the birth of Esau and Jacob, went to consult Melchizedec, who told her she had two nations in her womb, and that the elder should serve the younger. Eutyck., *Nazam al-j.*, p. 77.

† And in the Arabic original it is rendered, "Sahaniyeh," that means a black linen girdle.

much on that account; and he said to Judah his son who had married that wife, "The God of Abraham and of Isaac will not allow the seed of this Canaanitish woman to mingle with my seed."

But some days after this, Sewa bare three sons unto Judah, whose names were Er, Onan, and Selah. And when Er was grown up, Judah married him, his first-born son, unto a woman named Tamar, daughter of Kadesh Levi.

And Er continued with her a long time, and behaved after the manner of the men of Sodom and Gomorrah. But God looked down upon his evil deeds and killed him.

Then Judah married his son Onan to Tamar, saying, "He shall raise seed unto his brother."

But him also did God kill because of his evil deeds; on account of Jacob's curse, "That no Canaanitish seed should mingle with his own." So God would not let any of it mingle with that of Jacob the righteous.

Therefore did Tamar go to Judah her father-in-law, who had intercourse with her, not knowing she was his son's wife; and she bare unto him twins, Pharez and Zarah.

CHAPTER V.

After this Jacob went to Joseph, and continued fourteen years in the land of Egypt, where he died at the age of one hundred and fifty-seven; when the good Joseph was fifty-three years old.

Then when he was dead, Joseph called cunning Egyptian embalmers, who embalmed him beautifully; and then Joseph carried his body to the land of Canaan, and buried him in the sepulchre of his fathers Abraham and Isaac.

After this Pharez begat Judah, and Judah begat Ezrom, and Ezrom begat Aram; and Aram begat Aminadab; and Aminadab begat Naasson.

And this Naasson was great among the sons of Judah ; and the daughter of Aminadab married Eleazar the son of Aaron, who prayed to God, until His wrath abated.

Thus, O my son, have I told thee in detail the genealogies from the first until now.

CHAPTER VI.

After this, there began to issue a race from Naasson, who was great among the sons of Judah ; and from him began a kingdom and a priesthood, and the Jews became celebrated through him.

Then Naasson begat Salmon, and Salmon begat Boaz of Rahab. And thou must know that from Boaz and Ruth the Moabitess, began the kingdom whereby Lot, the son of Abraham's brother, obtained a share [in the generations] of the kingdom [of Judah].

For God denied not seed to Lot, neither would He cut it short. For this Lot was righteous, and shared all Abraham's troubles with him ; and received the angels of God in Sodom and Gomorrah.

Therefore did God give to Lot's children fellowship in the kingdom, and that was [reckoned] for righteousness unto Lot the righteous. For this reason also were [Lot's children] mentioned among the genealogies of the kingdom of Abraham and of Lot ; for Christ was born of their seed.

Then, again, Obed, Ruth's son, was of Lot's seed, on his mother's [side] ; and Obed begat Jesse ; and Jesse begat David the king. And king David begat Solomon ; all these are of Ruth the Moabitess.

Again, Amnan,* the daughter of [Dan], king of the Ammonites, was of Lot's seed ; and Solomon the king took this

* Naamah. 1 Kg., xiv, 21, 31.

daughter of Dan to wife; and had by her, Rehoboam, who reigned after Solomon.

But king Solomon took to himself many wives, seven hundred daughters of kings, three hundred concubines, one thousand in number.

But although Solomon took to himself these many wives, they did not bare him a single male child, but Rehoboam, of Amnan, the daughter of Dan, king of Ammon; who was of a blessed race.

Thus, again, God would not allow the seed of Canaanites to mingle with that of strange peoples, which God had made strangers. And this shows that Christ came of the seed of Abraham the blessed father, and of Lot his brother's son.

And all the families of the children of Israel in the land of Egypt, were Levi, Amram, Moses, Joshua, and Caleb, son of Jephunneh; all these were great chiefs over their peoples.

CHAPTER VII.

As to Moses, when they had thrown him into the river, Sephurah, the daughter of Pharaoh, took him up thence, and brought him up. She it is, whom the Hebrews call Mariam, the mother of Moses.

And Moses abode forty years in Pharaoh's house; and other forty years in the land of Midian, ere God spake to him.

Then, again, when God spake to Moses from within the bush his tongue faltered; and [his] tongue was—as God said, “From the time that I spake to My servant Moses, he was of a faltering tongue.”

And Moses dwelt forty years in the land of Egypt, and forty years in the land of Midian, with the priest Jethro, his father-in-law; then forty years more in the wilderness; when Moses died, aged one hundred and twenty years.

Then after him arose Joshua, the son of Nun. He was

twenty-seven years judge over the children of Israel, and exercised judgment over them; he was prophet among them, and kept them, and led them in the right way; and he entered into rest and died, when sixty years old.

Then after him arose Kusarat the judge, eight years, and he died; and after him Phutamiral, the son of Kaba, judged the children of Israel forty years, and died.

After him Naod, son of Phuru, judged the children of Israel eighty years. But in the twenty-fifth year of Naod, ended four thousand years since Adam. Naod died, and Sikar judged the children of Israel. But in his days a king of Canaan rose against Sikar, wishing to make war against him. But God gave Sikar victory over him, whom he defeated; and Sikar judged forty years.

After him Yarod was judge over the people of Israel, forty years; and after him Abimelec judged ten years, and died.

And after him Bannu, son of Yuorani, judged twenty-three years, and died. After him Yar of Phila, judged twenty-two years, and died.

After him the son of Aminadab, judged fifty-eight years, and died. And after him the daughter of Nasyamu judged seven years, and died.

After her, Ansyus judged seven years, and died; and after him the Philistine judged forty years. But God gave him into the hands of the champion Samson, who slew him. Then the champion Samson arose and was judge over the children of Israel twenty years, and then died.

Then the children of Israel were left without a judge twelve years, when Eli the priest began to judge; and judged them forty years, and then died.

After him Samuel was judge over the children of Israel forty years, and died. Then after him, Saul reigned over them forty years, and died.

Then after him, David reigned over the children of Israel forty years, and then died. And after him, his son Solomon

arose, who also reigned forty years over the children of Israel, and then died.

He wrought more wonders in the earth than all other kings, who were before him. For he was the first whom God filled with wisdom. So that he made [and did] many things peculiar to him; so far as to make a ship, and go in it to the city of Saphir; [where] he wrought gold in ornaments, and brought it to Jerusalem.

During his reign, there was great peace; there was no trouble; but there was peace between him and Hiram king of Tyre; who reigned five hundred years over the city of Tyre, and whose kingdom lasted from the reign of Solomon, to that of Zedekiah; until, from the length of his days and of his years, and from the greatness of his kingdom, he exalted himself and said, "I am God, and no man."¹¹

God was wroth against him because of his evil deed; and God looked down upon it, and delivered him into the hands of king Nebuchadnezzar who put him to death; removed his army, and took his spoil.

CHAPTER VIII.

But we will inform thee of the things king Solomon¹² gave every day in his house. On account of his many wives, they made bread in his house of thirty cores of fine flour; one hundred cores of wheat flour, which hardly sufficed. And they slaughtered in his house daily, ten bullocks well-fatted, and twenty fat oxen, and one hundred sheep; besides what they slew of buffaloes, gazelles and wild deer, which they hunted every day. And in Solomon's house they drank daily four hundred basins of wine. And many other things did they.

And Solomon reigned over his large kingdom with the greatest wisdom ever found. But he did not keep his soul; but inclined his heart to the love of women, and forsook God

who had created him, and who had given him this kingdom. And he died in his denial of Him, and in his sins.

After him reigned Rehoboám, his son, seventeen years, and did evil. He defiled Jerusalem with abominable sacrifices, and sacrificed to Satan; and adultery increased greatly in his days. Wherefore God cut off his kingdom swiftly; and took it from the house of David.

But in the fifth year of Rehoboam, a king whose name was Susakim came up against Jerusalem. He took all the spoil of the temple, and spoiled all Roboam had, and spoiled all the house of David, and removed them and took them to his own country.

And he boasted, and said to the Jews, "The things I have taken from you as spoil, are goods that belonged to my fathers, of which your fathers spoiled them, when they came out of the land of Egypt, and which they brought unto this place; and behold, I have taken them from you."

And Rehoboam died in his denial [of God]; and after him, his son Abius, reigned twenty years over the children of Israel. But he, too, walked in his father's ways, by reason of Makia his mother, the daughter of Absalom; wherefore, did he many wicked things, and then died.

After him arose Asaph his son, who reigned forty-one years over the children of Israel. He did what was right, just and good before God; he brake down the idols that were in his day, and removed their images from the face of the land; and he took his wicked mother Anna, and threw her down from the roof [of her house] and she died, because of her adulteries.

After that, came Eleazar a black king, who was king of Endena, to fight Asaph. But God delivered him into the hands of Asaph, who defeated him.

Then Asaph died; and his son Jehoshaphat reigned in his stead. He also did that which is just and good before God, and pleased God all his days, and then died.

Then his son Aram reigned in his stead ; but he transgressed the commandments of God, and forsook His law, and sacrificed unto idols.

Then Zambri rose up against him, made war against him, and he died in his denial [of God].

Then Yusia, his son, reigned [after him] ; but on account of his transgressions, God delivered him into the hands of his enemies, who put him to death. But when he was dead, his mother rose up against all the royal children and put them to death, and said, " I will take the kingdom from the house of David."

Then Yusabet daughter of the king of Aram, arose, took Agragarina, and slew him before the eyes of the royal children that were left. But when she had put him to death, she feared, and hid herself and those with her, under a bed. And Gotholia was queen over the children of Israel, and died.

Then the whole people of Israel said, " Whom shall we make king over us ?"

Then when Yuda the high priest heard they spake thus, he gathered together the whole of the Jews within the Temple, and waited until the messengers of thousands and the messengers of hundreds came ; and then Yuda the high priest, said to them, " What do you require of me, and who is he whom ye will make king over the house of David ?"

Then they said to him, " Thou hast authority."

Then Yuda rose and took Barsia, and brought him before them, and said to them, " Does this one suit you for a king ?"

The people were pleased with him ; so Yuda brought him into the house of God, and set him over the kingdom ; then all the people rejoiced, and the whole country was quiet in his days ; and he was king in Jerusalem forty years.

But Barsia did not bear in mind all the good things Yuda the priest had told him ; but he took him and put him to death. After this, enemies rose up against Barsia and put him also to death.

CHAPTER IX.

After him his son Amazias reigned twenty-nine years, and put to death those who had killed his father; but he did not put to death their children, so as to fulfil the law of Moses, that says, "Ye shall not put to death children for the sins of their fathers."

Then Amazias died, and after him Ozia reigned fifty-two years, and in his reign exercised justice and judgment, and right before God. Yet did he do one wicked act, and that was that—without due orders,* he offered sacrifices unto God, and oblations that did not become him. So he died.

After him Yonathan his son, reigned sixteen years. But during his reign, he did evil before God, and angered his Creator, and forsook His commandment and His law; and burnt incense to idols, and sacrificed unto them. For this reason did God deliver him to death, into the hands of Caran, king of Elmosal.†

And when the king of Elmosal led him away [captive], he [Yonathan] took all the vessels he found in the house of God, and sent them all to the great king of Elmosal; and left nothing in the house of God.

In the days of this king, did the children of Israel, go the first time into captivity. He removed them to his own country, and the land of Israel remained bare.

Then the king of Elmosal, sent people to dwell in the land and to till it, instead of the children of Israel who had left it.

But when those people came to dwell in that land, [wild] beasts rent them asunder and devoured them, and prevailed against them in all the borders of the land.

Then they sent word to the king in their own tongue, and asked him to send them Urias the priest, to give them the

* Or, being ordained.

† i.e., Mosul or Assyria.

law, so that wild beasts should no longer come near them, and hurt them.

When the king heard this he sent them Urias the priest, and commanded him to give them a law, for them to keep, so that the wild beasts hurt them not.

Urias the priest came, and did as the king had commanded him, and he gave the people the law of the Jews; it was in their hands, they recited it and ruled themselves after it. And those were the Samar; whom the king, of whom we have just spoken, had sent to till the land of Israel.

Then Yunathan died, and after him reigned Akaz his son, who did well before God, and then died.

After him reigned his son Hezkias, when he was twenty-five years old; and he reigned twenty-two years; and did good, and judgment, equity and justice; and he pleased the Lord; he kept His law and His commandments; he brake down the idols, and destroyed their houses.

But in the fourth year of his reign, came Sanakreb king of Assarium, and took away captive all that were left and sent them to Babylon.

But Hezkias served the Lord God, and fulfilled His law, until he fell sick and became very weak, and was in great distress by reason of his sickness; his heart suffered, and he said to himself, "Woe is me! I shall die without a son to reign after me."

And in his sickness he wept before God and said, "Woe is me, O Lord! behold, I die without a son; and behold the promise Thou madest unto David, shall fail in me; and the kingdom shall pass from the house of David."

Then God looked upon his sorrow of heart, and upon his sickness, for his sickness was sore. And God had pity on him and gave him fifteen years over and above the rest of his days; and he recovered from his sickness.

Then three years after he had recovered, and God had raised him from his sickness, he begat Manassch. And he

died, rejoicing greatly at having a son born unto him, to sit upon his throne.

CHAPTER X.

After him Manasseh his son reigned twelve years in Jerusalem. He did much evil, and made the people of Jerusalem worship idols.¹³

Then when he had thus transgressed the law of God, Isaias the prophet came to him and rebuked him for the wickednesses he had wrought.

Then Manasseh was angry with him, and commanded valiant and wicked men to take Isaias the prophet, and to saw him asunder with a saw of wood,* from his head down to his feet, among the trees of the wilderness; and then to cast him to the beasts [of the field] to devour him. And they did so to him.¹⁴

Isaias was then one hundred and twenty years old. His raiment was of shaggy goat's hair upon his body; and he fasted regularly every second day [of the week] all the days of his life.

Then Manasseh died; and after him reigned his son Amots, who did evil before God; for he offered sons and daughters in sacrifice unto idols.

Then Amots died; and after him reigned Yusias his son. He was twenty years old when he [began] to reign, and continued twenty-two years in his kingdom in the city of Jerusalem. He did justice and right before God; and kept the Passover of the Lord, such as the children of Israel never were able to keep, except the one Moses kept for them in the wilderness. This king purified Jerusalem of all wickedness.

But Pharhon the lame, king of Egypt, killed Yusias in Carmelos.

* *i.e.*, a saw used in sawing or felling trees.

Then after him Akaz reigned three months. But Pharhon bound Akaz in chains and sent him into the land of Egypt; and he died in that place.

After his death Yuakem his brother reigned fourteen years; but in the third year of his reign, Nabukadanatsor came to the city of Jerusalem, and God delivered Yuakem into his hands; and Yuakem was under his orders, bowed unto him, and paid him tribute; he then sickened and died.

After him reigned his brother Yekonias three months; then came Nabukadanatsor who took captive Yekonias and all his army, and sent them to Babylon.

On the way thither, Daniel's mother gave him birth. Anania, Azaria, and Misael, sons of Yekonias, were also born on the first transportation of Yuakem.

Then Yekonias died, and after him Zedekias reigned twelve years. This was the end of kings that reigned over the children of Israel, and all Judah; after them no king was left to them.

And at the end of the fourteenth year of Zedekias, Nabukadanatsor came and transported all the people of Jerusalem, as far as the west, and as far as the river Euphrates, and as far as the great river. He laid waste Tyre, and burnt Hiram king of Tyre with fire, who had reigned five hundred years.

Then after this Nabukadanatsor went into Egypt, and put to death Pharhon; destroyed his army, and laid waste the land of Egypt; and then took the city of Jerusalem. And God delivered Zedekias into his hands, whom he took, and brought out before idols, and set him before the people, and slew his children before him, without pity. He then put out his eyes, bound his hands with chains and his feet with fetters; and sent him to Babylon, because of his folly, and of the evil he had done to Irmias* the prophet, by casting him into springs of water in a marsh.¹⁵

* Jeremiah.

After this Nabuzaradan captain of the king's army, destroyed the walls of Jerusalem, burnt the House of God with fire ; and did all manner of evil to Jerusalem.

But Simeon the priest, found favour and grace with the captain of the king's army, and requested him to give him the house* of records ; and he gave him a command accordingly.

Then Simeon the priest came in and gathered together the ashes of the books, and laid them in a pot in a vault, and he took a censer of brass, and put fire therein, and threw pure incense upon it, and hung it in the vault over the place in which the ashes of the books lay.

But [Nabuzaradan] laid waste Jerusalem, like a wilderness.

And Jeremiah the prophet sat weeping and mourning over Jerusalem twenty years, after which this prophet Jeremiah went into the land of Egypt, and died there.

But the writers and the interpreters destroyed the writings, and the Hebrews changed the writings ; and the Syrians and the Greeks rejected many sections of those writings. So that the children of the people could not ascertain [their kindred], neither could men or women hear who were their fathers or their mothers, except very few of them ;

And this was because of the laying waste of Jerusalem ; so that until this day, nothing certain is found among the writings, except the chief writings alone, which writings had been translated before the ruin of Jerusalem.

Then again since some of the writings were altered, people could not ascertain how they were married, and could not know who were their wives or daughters ; they did not know their names or their kindred ; nor the order of generations ; neither did they know that of the priesthood.

And Jechonias remained twenty-seven years bound in prison at Babylon. After that he was released by Marzuk king of Babylon, who gave him to wife, a woman called Dalilah daughter

* Or, repository, ark, chest.

of Eliakim, by whom he had Salathiel in Babylon. But Jechonias, Salathiel's father, died at Babylon.

Then Salathiel took to wife Hadast, daughter of Elkanah; and had by her Zerubbabel. And Zerubbabel married a woman whose name was Malka, daughter of Ezra the scribe; but he had no child by her in Babylon.

Then in the days of Zerubbabel, who was elder among the children of Israel, a Persian king, called Cyrus, who reigned over Babylon, took to wife a woman called Meshar, sister of Zerubbabel, elder among the children of Israel; and he made her queen after the manner of the queens of Persia. And when she became queen, she found favour with the king, and asked him to show mercy to the children of Israel, and to send them back to the city of Jerusalem.

CHAPTER XI.

But Cyrus loved much Meshar, sister of Zerubbabel, [even] as his own soul.

So he gave an urgent order that they should go about the whole land of the Chaldæans, and gather together the children of Israel into Babylon, the house of the kingdom; and they gathered them according to the king's order.

Then Cyrus said to Zerubbabel, his wife's brother, "Take thy people and go to thy city Jerusalem; and rebuild it as it was at first.

Then when dutiful Cyrus had given this order concerning the return of the children of Israel to Jerusalem, in the land of the sanctuary;

God appeared unto him in a vision during sleep, and said unto him, "Because thou hast done this, they shall call thee Cyrus the Messiahnic; and this name, Messiahnic, shall be given thee, because thou hast sent back strangers to their own

city ; and because thou hast given commandment concerning the rebuilding of Jerusalem."

Then the children of Israel returned from the captivity of Babylon, Zerubbabel was elder over them ; and Josiah, son of Zadok, of the sons of Aaron, was high priest over them ; as the angel of God spake to the prophet Zachariah saying, "Those two sons that stand before the Lord of the whole earth shall minister unto them, as becomes their service."

Cyrus had assumed the kingdom two years, when the captivity returned from Babylon ; and at the end of that year, the five thousand years [spoken of] to Adam were fulfilled.

But when the children of Israel returned from Babylon they had not the law, neither was there a book in their hands ; inasmuch as the voices of the prophets had departed from among them.

So, when they came to Jerusalem and were settled in it, Ezra the scribe came to the vault in which were the ashes of the books, which Simeon the priest, had gathered together.

And Ezra found the censer that was full of fire, hanging with [smoke of] incense rising from it on high.

Then Ezra prayed to God, wept abundantly, and spread his hand towards the ashes of the books of the law and of the prophets, and all of them three times.*

Then came the Spirit of God upon him, and the [same] Spirit spake through him that had spoken through the prophets. And he wrote the law and the prophets, and made them new a second time.

And the fire which he found in the censer, is the divine fire that was all the time in the House of God.

Then Zerubbabel settled in Jerusalem as king over the children of Israel, and Josiah son of Zadok as high priest, with Ezra the scribe of the law and the prophets also, as chief over the children of Israel.

* Eutyeh., *Nazam al-j.*, p 226.

And the children of Israel kept a solemn Passover unto the Lord, when they returned from their captivity at Babylon.

These were the three great, full and solemn feasts of the Passover, which the children of Israel kept during their existence. The first Passover was in Egypt, in the days of Moses; the second Passover was in the days of king Josiah; and the third Passover was when they returned from their captivity in Babylon.

CHAPTER XII.

From the first transportation to Babylon, when they carried away Daniel's mother, and she brought him forth, unto the second year of Cyrus the Persian, are seventy years, during which the children of Israel were captive, according to the prophecy of holy* Jeremiah the prophet.

And the children of Israel began to build the House of God, in the days of Zerubbabel, of Josiah the son of Zadok, and of Ezra the scribe. And they were forty-six years building it, until it was finished, as it is written in the holy Gospel—that they were forty-six years building it.

Moreover, scribes arranged tables of genealogy, and recorded the names of the men; but they could not record the names of the women because they knew them not, except very few.

But, O my brethren, I have watched much, and I have searched long in the books of the Greeks and of the ancient Hebrews, and I have found the name of the women written in them.

For I found that when the children of Israel came from Babylon, that Zerubbabel begat Abiud of Maukab† the daughter of Ezra the scribe; and that Abiud took to wife Tsamita the daughter of Zadok the high priest, and she bare Eliakim.

* Or, innocent.

† Called Malka at p. 197.

And Eliakim married Hasbia, the daughter of Aram, and brought forth Azar. And Azar begat Zadok of Lebaida. And Zadok took to wife Kalem, the daughter of Waikam, who gave birth to Akim.

And Akim married Asbaidi, who gave birth to Eliud. And Eliud married Awad, the daughter of Gasulius, who gave birth to Azar.

And Azar married Hayat, daughter of Walha, who brought forth Mattan; and Mattan married Sabartyal the daughter of Phulius, who brought forth twins, namely, Jacob and Joachim.

And Jacob married Gadat, the daughter of Eleazar, who gave birth to Joseph the betrothed of Mary. And Joachim, the brother of Jacob, married Hannah the daughter of Makah; and she brought forth the pure Virgin Mary; and of her was born Christ.

The former scribes, however, could not find a good lineage for the Virgin and her father, or kindred; wherefore did the Jews crucify Christ, and taunt Him, and mock Him, and say to Him, "Show us the fathers of Mary the Virgin and her people, and what is her genealogy." Therefore did they blaspheme her and Christ.

But henceforth shall the mouth of those unbelieving Jews be closed; and they shall know that Mary is of the seed of David the king, and of that of the patriarch Abraham.

Moreover, the unbelieving Jews had no registers to guide them aright, neither did they know, how the lines of kindred ran at first, inasmuch as the law and the prophets were three times burnt [out] from them.

The first time in the days of Antiochus, who burnt down the whole House [of God]; The second time they burnt those books in the days of Qablar the great king of Mosul; And the third time* they burnt the books was at the transportation by king Nabukadanatsor when Abumirdan came and burnt the

* Entyehus attributes the last destruction of all Jewish chronicles, to Herod the Great. *Nazam al-j.*, p. 309.

House of God, and destroyed the walls of Jerusalem; when Simeon the priest asked of him the store of books, and he gave them to him.

CHAPTER XIII.

But we will make known to you all the genealogies in detail. Judah begat Pharez, and Pharez married Barayah, the daughter of Levi, and begat Esrom.

And Esrom married Kanita, the daughter of Zebulun, and he begat Aram. And Aram married Phozib the daughter of Judah; and he begat Aminadab.

And Aminadab married Thehara, the daughter of Esrom, and he begat Naasson. And Naasson married Simar, the daughter of Yuhanas, and he begat Salmon; and Salmon married Saphila, the daughter of Aminadab, by whom he had Booz.

And Booz married Ruth the Moabitess, of the seed of Mot, and begat Obed; and Obed married Abalit, the daughter of Sonas, and begat Jesse. Jesse married Habliar, the daughter of Abrias, and begat David the king.

And king David took to wife Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, and begat Solomon. And Solomon married Nan, the same as Makiya, the daughter of Dan king of Ammon, of the seed of Lot, and begat Rehoboam.

And Rehoboam married Makin, the daughter of Bilos, and begat Abia. And Abia married Malkit, the daughter of Absalom, and begat Asaph.

And Asaph married Nirona, the daughter of Sala, and begat Joshaphat.

And Joshaphat married Malkiya, the daughter of Abiud, and begat Joram. And Joram married Phitalia, the daughter of Naphrim, and begat Osias; and Osias married Sophia, the daughter of Habralias, and begat Jotham.

And Jotham married Hadast, the daughter of Elkanah, and

begat Ahaz. And Ahaz married Bikaz, the daughter of Zachariah, and begat Hezekiah; and Hezekiah married Basyar, the daughter of Bartenas, and begat Manasseh;

And Manasseh married Amasisan, and begat Amos; and Amos married Nadyas, and begat Josias. And Josias married Dalilah, the daughter of Kermias, and begat Joachim.

And Joachim married Phurdia, the daughter of Phulek, and begat Jechonias and his brother during the captivity of Babylon.

And Marsas who reigned over Babylon, released Jechonias from prison, and gave him to wife, a woman whose name was Dalilah, the daughter of Eliakim, by whom he had Salathiel.

But Jechonias died at Babylon; where Salathiel continued forty-nine years after him, and married Hadast, the daughter of Elkanah, and begat Zerubbabel. And Zerubbabel married Maukab, the daughter of Esdras the scribe, and had by her Abiud.

And Abiud married Hadast, the daughter of Zadok the high priest, and begat Eliakim. And Eliakim married Kwebedai, the daughter of Aram, and begat Azar.

And Azar married Salambeta, the daughter of Zadok. And Zadok married Kalim, the daughter of Waikan, and begat Akim. And Akim married Zasbaidi, and begat Eliud.

And Eliud married Awad, the daughter of Gasalias, and begat Eleazar. And Eleazar married Hayat, the daughter of Thalka, and begat Matthan. And Matthan married Sabartia, the daughter of Phunius, and had by her twins, namely, Jacob and Joachim.

And Jacob married Gadat, the daughter of Eleazar, and begat Joseph the betrothed [husband] of Mary.

But Joachim married Hannah, the daughter of Makah, and begat the pure Mary; Here ends the genealogy of pure Mary.

CHAPTER XIV.

And here, O my brother, behold, I have settled for thee that which is true, and I have revealed unto thee the genealogy, and laid for thee the firm foundation, which not one of the writers and of the wise men, could make known.

But, O my brother, give me thy heart and make it clean, that I may tell thee what things remain, and how the reckoning of generations come all round to reach unto and to stand firm by the birth of Christ.

But after the birth of Christ there remained no more trustworthy reckoning [of kindred] to the Jews. For Christ was the end of the generations; He took it and gave it to us.

But let me tell thee, O my brother, that the five thousand years from [the creation of] Adam, did not end before the days of Cyrus, king of Persia. Then from Cyrus to the sufferings of our Saviour Jesus Christ, even as the faithful Daniel prophesied, saying, "After seven weeks Christ shall come, and shall be put to death."

Now seven weeks are four hundred and ninety years; for a great week is of seventy years. But in that the prophet said, "After seven years," he pointed to the ten years [that remained]; for he did not say, "Christ shall come at the end of the seven weeks," but he said, "After seven weeks [He shall come] and be put to death."

But the meaning here of "after," is—those ten years, that make up the five hundred years. And that is the fulfilment of the promise that God made to Adam, that He would save him at the end [of that time].¹⁶

Henceforth are the mouths of the Jews struck dumb, and to them belongs shame, because they blaspheme and say that Christ is not yet come.

But while they say so, they, of necessity, believe the first

statement [of the prophets] to be true and the last to be a lie. If they say "Christ came," believing, as they do, the prophecy of the prophet Daniel, they now see that the prophecy of Daniel is fulfilled, and that the House of God is laid waste [and taken] from them; that the priesthood is abolished, and that the seven weeks were fulfilled, and that Christ came, and was put to death; and that the Holy City was laid waste by king Vespasian and his son Titus.

"But let me also tell thee, O my brother, that in the thirty-second year of the reign of Augustus Cæsar, Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judah, as it is written in the Gospel. And, behold, it is made plain to us, that Christ came when the prophecy was fulfilled.

As Micah the prophet said, "But thou, O Bethlehem, [in the] land of Judah, thou art not lower than the kings of Judah; for from thee shall come a king, that shall feed my people Israel."

Let the Jews now feel ashamed of themselves; for if they make Daniel a liar, they cannot again make the prophet Micah a liar; yet if they will make them liars still, behold, Christ was born in Bethlehem [in] the land of Judah.

And when He was born at Bethlehem [in] the land of Judah, a star in the East made it known, and was seen by Magi. That star shone in heaven, amid all the other stars; it flashed and was like the face of a woman, a young virgin, sitting among the stars, flashing, as it were carrying a little child of a beautiful countenance.

From the beauty of His looks, both heaven and earth shone, and were filled with His beauty and light above and below; and that child was on the virgin woman's arms; and there was a cloud of light around the child's head, like a crown.

But it was a custom of the Chaldæans to observe the stars of heaven; to take counsel from them; and they were numbered by them.

So when they saw the star of the figure we have just

mentioned, they were greatly troubled, and said among themselves, "Surely the king of the Helonæans is putting himself in battle array against us!"

And they inquired among soothsayers and philosophers, until they ascertained the fact and discovered that the king of the children of Israel was born.

As to this matter of the stars, the Chaldæans used to work it out, and to take counsel from the power* of the stars; so that they knew every event that should be, ere it happened. Likewise the captains of large ships, when they went on a voyage upon the seas, [knew beforehand] the signs of winds, of whirlwind, of gloom, and of thick darkness.

Thus the Magi when they read in their books, knew from them, that Christ should be born in the land of Judah.

So they went upon a high mountain in the east, while coming westward; and they took with them the presents they had prepared ere they set off on their journey; that is, gold, frankincense and myrrh—that had been with Adam in the Cave of Treasures. Gold, namely as unto a king; frankincense, as unto God; and myrrh, as for His death.

CHAPTER XV.

But when Hor, king of Persia, heard who it was they called King of kings, he prepared his chariot and mounted it. Basantar also, king of Saba, came out; and Karsundas, king of the East, got himself ready and came out also.

They were all in great tribulation, and also all other kings in the borders of the West trembled with them, and every country in the East was in great alarm at the sight of that glory.

* *i.e.*, influence.

Then the Magi while on their journey said, "This star has not risen but for some great event." And they went on their way until they came to Jerusalem.¹⁷

But when Herod heard of it, he was troubled, and called the Magi to him, and communed with them; and they rehearsed unto him the [whole] thing.

Then he and all his hosts trembled; and he said to the Magi, "Go ye, and inquire diligently concerning this Child; and when ye have found Him, come and tell me, that I also may go and worship Him.

Then the Magi went forthwith to Bethlehem, and found Christ, and offered Him their gifts. But they did not return to Herod; they went back to their own country.

But after they were gone, Herod was wroth, and commanded all children of two years and under, to be put to death.

Then an angel of the Lord appeared unto Joseph, and said to him, "Arise, and take the Child and His mother, and go to the land of Egypt; and abide there until I tell thee." And Joseph went into the land of Egypt.

Then Herod began to slay all children, until he had not left one. And he died of an evil death.

After his death an angel of the Lord appeared unto Joseph in the land of Egypt. And Joseph came up out of Egypt, and dwelt at Nazareth, he, the child, and Mary His mother.

And they abode at Jerusalem until Christ was thirty years of age, and was baptized by John.

This John lived all his days in the wilderness, and his food was locusts and wild honey.

And in the nineteenth year of Tiberius, our Lord Christ was crucified. He died in the body, and was buried, and rose again from among the dead on the third day; as it is written.

And He went down into hell, and saved Adam and Eve, and all their righteous seed, according to His first and firm promise.

And thus He fulfilled all that the prophets had prophesied concerning Him.

He then went up into heaven; whence He will come again with His holy angels, to judge the quick and dead.

Unto Him be glory, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power and worship for ever. Amen.

NOTES TO BOOK I.

1 "He rooted up from elsewhere, trees no larger than the horns (antennæ) of locusts, and planted the garden full of them." (*Bereshith Rabbah*, sect. fol. 18, ed. Frkf.; and *Yalkut Rubeni*, fol. 13, ed. Armst.) R. Abarbanel, however, denies that; and says that God did not take trees from elsewhere to plant them there; but the meaning is, that the garden and the trees thereof, were a plant of His own planting, to take pleasure therein—the perfection of His creation. (*Comm. in Pent.*, fol. 22.) *Yalkut Rubeni* (fol. 13, ed. Amst.), quotes from the Bk. *Zoar*, that as God made two Paradises, one on earth for Adam, and one above for the righteous who are to be there girt with light, so also has He made two Gehennas; one under the earth, and one above it. The one below, is for all who do not believe in God, and have not entered into covenant with Him. But the Gehenna above is for all Israelites who have broken the commandments, and care not to repent.

2 The Angel of the Face revealed unto Moses the creation of the world, and how on the third day God created the waters, dry lands, woods, fruit trees, and the Garden of Eden, for delight. (*Kufale*, p. 7; and R. Maim., *Sanhed.* X.)

3 R. Abarbanel renders מלקדמין (Targum Onk., Gen. iii, 8), by מחוץ בארץ the utmost limit of the earth created at the beginning (*Comm. in Pent.*, fol. 22). It was planted on

a mountain [the Holy Mountain] in the north; eastward; whence flowed the rivers down into the world. (*Sode Raza*, in *Yalk. Rubeni*, fol. 13.)

4 S. Ephrem had a different idea of Paradise. In his first sermon on this subject (vol. iii, p. 564), he compares Paradise to the orbit of the moon, that embraces within itself both the earth and the seas. (S. Chrys., *Hom.* xiii, in Gen.)

5 Then the Lord God [the Word of the Lord, *Targ. Hier*] said to the ministering angels: "Behold, Adam is alone in the earth as I am alone in the high heavens, and men shall come from him who shall know good from evil. Had he kept My commandment he would have lived and continued [stood] like the Tree of Life, for ever. But now since he has transgressed, let us decree to drive him out of Eden ere he take of the Tree of Life. And God drove Adam from the Garden of Eden, and he went and dwelt on Mount Moriah, to till the ground from which he had been taken. (*Targ. Jonathan*, in Gen. iii.)

The Jews, says S. Basil (*Hom. in Hexaemeron*, ix, c. 6), being reduced to great straits, πολλὰ, φασίν, ἔστι τὰ πρόσωπα πρὸς οὓς ὁ λόγος γέγονε τοῦ Θεοῦ, say there were many persons to whom God addressed the words, "Let us make man;" namely to the angels παριστῶσιν αὐτῷ, who waited on Him. Ἰουδαϊκὸν τὸ πλάσμα, but it is

a Jewish fiction and fabulous—for is the image of God and of angels one and the same?

In the *Coran*, sur. vi, 14, Mahomet inveighs against *al-mushrikin*, those who gave companions to God, and worshipped them, in the shape of angels, together with Him. And in sur. xxxvii, 153, and elsewhere, he further blames them—and the former inhabitants of Mecca in particular—for believing that angels were of the female sex, and daughters of God. “Have we created angels females,” says he, “and do we prefer daughters to sons?” etc.

6 Adam and his wife were seven years in the Garden of Eden, tilling and keeping it, “and we,” says the Angel of the Face, “gave him work and taught him everything needful [lit. visible] for husbandry; and he laboured at it, and gathered the fruit thereof, and laid it in store for himself and his wife.” (*Kufale*, p. 13.)

7 The air of Paradise is full of sweet and fragrant smells; Adam drew breath from it, and grew thereby. (S. Ephrem, *Serm. X, on Par.*, vol. iii, p. 595.)

8 Adam the first man, king of all that is on the earth, was created on the Friday of the first week in Nisan, the first month of the first year of the world (Bar. Hebræus, *Syr., Dyn. i*, p. 3). After having created everything, God said to His angels: “Let us create man after our own image and similitude, knowing good and evil, and with the power of doing either.” Then there appeared an open right hand, with particles of the four elements in it; into which God breathed a living soul, whence Adam came into existence. (Abulpharaj. *Arab. Hist. Dyn.*, p. 5.)

God created Adam in the last hour of the first Friday. He created him of the surface of the earth, taking a handful of earth of all colours, He mixed it up with divers waters (*ἀπὸ τῆς πνύρρας γῆς*

φουραθείσης ἐγγέγονε Joseph. *Ant. Jud.*, lib. i, c. i, p. 2); red earth being virgin soil; and having formed him, He breathed a breath into him, and he became a living and sensible creature, after having been a senseless vessel of clay. (Jelal, and Jahias on *Coran*, sur. ii, 39.) At sur. lxxvi, 1, on the words *hal ata 'ala 'l insāni*, Jelal says (according to Maracci, p. 769), that Adam had been forty years a form of clay no one ever mentioned, for there was nothing remarkable or to be noticed (remembered)—in it, until God breathed into him the breath of life.—Truly such writers, and their readers, are easily pleased; for if, Jelal says, Adam was created on the Friday of the creation, where had he been, as a figure of clay, during those forty years?

Pyrrhon in his history, says indeed, that Adam came into the Garden of Paradise on the fortieth day [of his creation] *ἀλλ'οὐκ οἶδα ποῦ διέτριβε πρότερον ὁ Ἀδάμ, ἔξω τοῦ παραδείσου τεσσαράκοντα διάγων ἡμέρας*, but I don't know, says M. Glycas, where Adam could have been spending forty days outside Paradise. (*Annal. i*, p. 156.) This legend was probably derived from the *λεπτή Γένεσις*, or Ethiopic *Kufale*, where we read in ch. iii, p. 12, “When Adam had passed forty days in the land in which he was created, we, the Angel of the Face, brought him into the Garden of Eden; and Eve his wife, after eighty days. Wherefore it is written in the tables of heaven, that a woman continues forty days until cleansed, for the birth for a man-child, and eighty days for that of a female.

Philo (*Quæst. xxv, Armen. in Gen.*) alludes to this, when he says that “man's” formation being more perfect than woman's, *gisu bidêtsav jamanagi*, only required half the time, that is forty days; but woman's nature being less perfect, took *grgnagi avurts* twice as

many days—eighty.” [This may have been clear to Philo, but to no one else.]

Targ. Jonathan in Gen. ii. says that God took dust from **בֵּית מִקְדָּשָׁא** the sanctuary and from the four winds [quarters] of the world, mixed it up with waters from the whole world, and made man **סוּמָא שְׁחִים וְחִיּוֹר** brown, black and white—and He “breathed into him a living soul, to light up his eyes, and to quicken his ears to hearken.”

Ebn-Ali adds that while Adam was thus a figure of clay—either forty nights or forty years [*τεσσαρακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ* Geo. Syncell. from *λεπτῇ Γένεσις*, or *Kufale*] Satan came and kicked it; and as it gave a sound, he said, “This is not created, but to rule and govern.” And God said to His angels, “When I have animated it, ye shall fall down and worship him.” They did so, but Satan would not, etc. (Maracci, p. 22). Man was as high as a palm-tree, and the hair of his head was long and thick, etc. (Jahias, p. 270.)

But Masudi (*Maruj ez-zahabi*, p. 50, sq.) improves upon this account, and says, that God having finished the earth, peopled it with [jins] genii or demons, one of which was Eblis—before He created Adam. They began to fight among themselves, and were driven to distant islands; while Eblis was made regent of the sky [the heaven of the world], but harboured pride in his breast, and refused to worship Adam when created. Then God sent Gabriel and Michael, and after them the Angel of Death, who took a handful of clay of red, black and white colours; whence men are of different complexions. The first man was called Adam [from *adim*, surface], and left forty years, some say one hundred and twenty years, a figure of clay. The angels passed by and stared at it, and Eblis himself was astonished, and gave it a kick that made it resound. Afterwards, when

commanded to worship Adam, he refused, saying to God, “I am Thy vicar on earth, created of fire, with wings and a glory round my head—but this one is of clay.” Then God cursed Eblis, hurled him down from heaven, but gave him respite, until a fixed time—the day of the resurrection, etc.

R. Meir says God made the first man of dust gathered from the whole world; and R. Oshaya says his body was made of dust from Babel (or Babylon), his head from the land of Israel, and his other members from different lands. But R. Jochanan Bar Hanina says that there being twelve hours in the day: At hour one, God gathered the dust; at two, He formed the mass; at three, He spread out his members; at four, He put breath into him; at five, He set him up on his feet; at six, he called the names [of the beasts]; at seven, He joined him to Eve; at eight, they begat twins; at nine, they were ordered not to take food from the tree; at ten, they transgressed; at eleven, they were judged; and at twelve, they were driven from Paradise. (Talmud Bab. *Sanhedrin*, p. 75, 76, ed. W.) The same story is also told in *P. Avoth.* of R. Nathan. fol. 2. Philastrius (Cotel., *Pat. ap.*, vol. i, p. 642) speaks of heretics, who taught that Adam was created blind. *Τυφλὸς κρίζεται*, and *ἄνθρωποι τυφλοί*. (S. Clem., *Homil.* iii, 39 and 24.) See also Simon Magus and S. Peter arguing on this at Rome—*αὐτίκα γοῶν ὁ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν αὐτοῦ (του Θεοῦ) γεγωνῶς* 'Αδάμ καὶ τυφλὸς κρίζεται κ. τ. λ.—to which S. Peter replies: *εἰ τυφλὸς ἐπλάσθη ὁ* 'Αδάμ, *ὥς λίγεις*, if Adam was formed blind as thou sayest, how could God have commanded him, showing him the tree of good and evil, if it had not been plain to him? etc. (Credrenus, *Hist. Comp.*, vol. i, p. 364.)

9 When God drove Adam from Paradise, He in His mercy made Adam

dwell in a lower land (valley or plain) away from it. (S. Ephr., vol. iii, *Serm. I, on Par.*, p. 554.)

10 Quando expulsi sunt de paradiso fecerunt sibi tabernaculum, et fuerunt vii dies lugentes et lamentantes in magna tristitia, etc. (*Vita Adæ et Evæ*, p. 37, ed. Meyer.)

11 God drove Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden abroad in the earth, at the ninth hour of the same Friday on which they had been created at the first hour. (Abulphar. *Dyn.* i, p. 6; Geo. Syncellus, *Chron.* p. 5.)

S. Chrysostom (*in S. Matt.*) says, τῇ ἑκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πρώτης ἐβδομάδος, τοῦτ' ἔστι τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πλάσεως αὐτοῦ, λέγει τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐκβληθῆναι τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ τὴν Εὐάν. If driven from Paradise at the sixth hour on the Friday, how could they have been created at the eleventh hour on that day, according to the Coran? .

12 According to the *Kufale* Adam and Eve left the Garden of Eden exactly seven years, two months, and seventeen days, after having been brought into it from the land of Elda, where they had been created, and to which they now returned. On this day [the 10th of May, Syncel.] Adam offered a sweet smelling sacrifice of incense and other spices, at sun-rise; and on this day were all creatures driven from the garden, and their speech taken from them. For until the day Adam was driven from the garden, all animals, birds, and reptiles, had one speech of their own. (*Kufale*, p. 14, 15.) Geo. Syncellus adds to this from the λεπτὴ Γένεσις (p. 15, ed. Dind.) "that all animals ὁμόφωνα εἶναι —τοῖς πρωτοπλάστοις spake the same language as Adam and Eve before their fall (so also Joseph. *Ant. Jud.*, lib. i, c. i, 4); for the serpent spake to Eve with a human voice"—a statement Syncellus did not believe; albeit he says, "we do not doubt the serpent was four footed

before the fall, and afterwards, became creeping."

Speaking of the λεπτὴ Γένεσις, the probable Greek original of the Ethiopic *Kufale*, of Jewish authorship, and possibly alluding to this present work of Christian origin, Geo. Syncellus says, "he was driven to quote from them against his will, on account of the naming of the beasts by Adam, of the fall, etc., εἰ καὶ μὴ κύρια εἶναι δοκεῖ although such particulars do not seem to be authentic" (p. 7).

13 And the King of Light commanded me Æbel Zivo [who with Anush and Shetel, attended Adam] saying, "Go to the world of darkness which is full of evil, and bring out every thing to light—let the earth be formed, and bring forth food and every living thing, male and female. Let man and woman be, and call them Adam and Eve; and let all things, even the Angels of Fire, serve him. With the aid of Fetahil [Demiurgus] the world will come to light." Adam and Eve were then created, and a soul given them, in the garden. "Go then, Æbel Zivo [Brilliant Ruler] and cause Adam's heart to shine, and establish him so that his mind shine; converse with him, thou and the two angels that are to go about with him in the world. And teach him and Eve and their children, to eschew evil and Satan, and to practise righteousness in the earth," etc. (*Codex Nasaræus* i, p. 62, 64, 66.)

Adam was clothed in the brightness of life, and three pure Genii—Æbel, Anush and Shetel were given him for companions, etc., i, p. 193; ii, p. 120, etc. [See a long quotation from 'Emeq ham-melech on this subject, in Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum*, vol. i, p. 459.]

14 "The world was created by God the Father through His only Begotten Son," says Syncellus (p. 1, 2, ed. D.), "on the first of Nisan, or 25th of March,

or 29th of Phamenoth. On the same day the angel Gabriel appeared to the B. Virgin Mary, and on that day also did Christ rise from the dead, τοῦ φ'λ'δ' ἔτους ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου, being 5534 years from the creation of the world; a matter I will diligently try to prove" (the discrepancy between 5500 and 5534 is explained further on). The general opinion among Jews has always been that this world will last 7000 years. Thus in *Avoda Zara*, p. 17, we read, "6000 years will be to the world—2000 years *תוהו* of emptiness; 2000 years *תורה* of the law; 2000 years, the days of the Messiah in our manifold afflictions." These, adds the commentary, are determined according to the days of the week, and the last 1000 years are the Sabbath. This account of the first 2000 years does not agree with what is said elsewhere, that "the law was given before the creation, and that Adam and the Patriarchs had it."

Τίνος δὲ χάριν τὴν ζ' ἡμέραν ἐλόγησε ὁ Θεός; "Why then did God hallow the seventh day?" asks Cedrenus. "Because whereas every other day had within itself the blessing resting on the works done therein [that were very good] the seventh day had no such distinction. God, therefore, hallowed it as a day of rest, καὶ ὡς τύπος τῆς ἐβδόμης χιλιοετηρίδος, and as a figure of the seventh thousandth of years [or millennium] as told by Josephus, and in the *λεπτή Γένεσις* (Eth. *Kufale*) ἦν καὶ Μωσέως εἶναι φασὶ τινες ἀποκάλυψιν, which some say is the Revelation of Moses." (Cedrenus, *Hist. Compend.*, p. 9, ed. D.)

15 And the Lord called me [Æbel Zivo], and said, "Go, tell Adam, with a clear voice, of the most high King of Light; of the kings of praise, who stand praising Him; of the creatures of light, that live for ever. Teach them to

pray and to give thanks, to stand praying to the King of Light, Lord of all creatures, three times a day and twice in the night, etc. (*Codex Nasar.* i, p. 68.)

Targum *Onkelos* (Gen. ii. 7), says of "the living soul," that it became (or was) in man *לרוח ממללא* a speaking spirit—*προφορικὸς λόγος* [which no "missing link" possesses].

16 After God had given His commandment to Adam and Eve, not to touch the tree, Satan said within himself, I shall not be able to make Adam fall, but I can make Eve do so. He then drew near to her, and while whispering in her ears, he shook the tree with his hands and feet, until the fruit thereof fell to the ground; so that Eve should take of it without touching even the root of the tree. (*Pirke Avoth* of R. Nathan, fol. 2.)

Quoniam in hora gloriæ ejus intravit serpens, et invenit Evam solam, et decepit Evam. (*Protoev. Jacobi*, c. xiii, ed. Thilo.)

And S. Ephrem (in *Gen.*, vol. i, p. 31), says that, Eve trusting to what the serpent said, ate the fruit first, hoping thereby to obtain divinity, and thus to become superior to her husband, whom she wished to rule, rather than obey. When, however, she found herself deceived, she gave him of the fruit, in order that he should fare as she did. And she did not die at once, lest Adam should be terrified at the sight of her death, and so, not eat of the fruit.

S. Ephrem's opinion agrees in part with the words of Eve: *Δεῦρο, κύριέ μου, Ἀδάμ, ἐπάκουσόν μου καὶ φάγε ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ δένδρου, οὗ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός, τοῦ μὴ φαγεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔση ὡς Θεός.* "Come hither, my lord, Adam, and hearken to me and eat of the fruit of the tree, of which God told us not to eat; and thou shalt be as God," which she said, when disappointed and mortified at her own disobedience and

transgression (*Ἀποκάλυψις*, in *Vita Adæ et E.*, p. 54, 55).

17 R. J. Abendana (*Leget Shecha*, ad loc.) remarks on "one of his ribs," Gen. ii, 21, that צלע "a rib," is feminine, and means עד "side," that confirms the opinion of Rabbis of blessed memory, that Adam was created *די פּרצופין* *δὶ πρόσωπον*, with two sides, or faces; the one male, the other female. See notes 18 and 24.

Targ. Jonathan, in Gen. ii, does not agree with that; but says that the rib taken out by God was עלצא תליסרית *עלצא תליסרית* דמן סתר ימינא the thirteenth rib on the right side.

18 But R. Jeremiah B. Eliezer says, that in the hour God created Adam, He made him אנדרונינוס *ἀνδρόγυνος* man and woman; as it is written: "male and female created He them," Gen. i, 27. But R. Shemuel Bar Nathan, holds that God created Adam *די פּרצופין* *δὶ-πρόσωπον*, with two faces; the one looking one way, and the other looking the other way. He then sawed them asunder, into two backs, a back to the one and a back to the other, etc. (*Bereshith Rab.*, fol. 9; and *Yalk. Shimoni*, fol. 6, 20), to which *Matnoth Kah.* adds, that one side was male and the other female. The same story is told in Talmud Bab. (*Berachoth*, p. 121, ed. W.) where the commentary (R. Shelomoh) adds, that God did not "saw" Adam asunder, but split (צלח) him in two, and made Eve out of one half. And elsewhere (*Erubin*, p. 35), R. Jeremiah Ben Eliezer, repeating the same thing, founds his belief on Psalm cxxxix. 5, "Thou hast beset me, behind and before."

Adam and Eve were twenty years old when created. עפר "dust" is masculine and אדמה "earth" is feminine; and He who formed them made them thus of the dust of the earth, male and female. And God made Adam

גולם מן הארץ עד הרקיע in bulk (reaching) from earth to the firmament and then put breath into him. For "soul" is understood in five different ways:—(1) Spirit; (2) breath; (3) intelligent single use of double members; (4) life; (5) and soul which is blood, as it is written: "For blood is the soul." (*Beresh. Rab.*, fol. 17.) [This is treated at length in R. Sh. Palkeire's *Sepher Nephesh*, on Hebrew psychology, 1864; and by Maimonides, in his preface to *Pirke Avoth*.] R. S. Ben Melech (*Miclol Yophi*, Gen. i) understands "in the image of God" אלהים, in the image of angels, like an angel, with breath given him from on high.

And S. Macarius, *Hom.* xv, p. 88, οὐ γὰρ περὶ Μιχαὴλ καὶ Γαβριὴλ, τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων εἶπεν, ὅτι ποιήσωμεν κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν ἡμετέραν: ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς νοερᾶς οὐσίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τῆς ἀθανάτου λέγω ψυχῆς.

R. Abarbanel (*Com. in Pent.*, fol. 17) explains this, saying, Adam alone was created after the image and similitude of God [circumcised, according to R. Nathan, in *Yalk. Shimoni*, fol. 5, 16], being as it were the perfection of His creatures. And that, as some say, Adam was אנדרונינוס a Greek term, means that he had both the name and the form within him; wherefore is he also said to have had שני פּרצופין two faces (or sides) the one male and the other female; but the male was actually wrought out, whereas the female was בכח in posse.

הזוהר על התורה (in *Gen.*, fol. 22, ad Liv.) explains it thus: God said to His companions, "O ye that are with Me, is not this Adam a male emanation, with the female hidden within him?" So was Adam. *διπρόσωπος*, דיפּרציפין אצל להאי לית ביה זלם ודמות yet in reality he had neither form nor similitude, but was very high exalted, with a name that

reached up to an idea of God—clad in the light God created at first.

R. M. Maimonides (quoted in גדולות ובראיות, fol. 9) says, that God addressed the earth when He said, "Let us make man." The earth was to give him all his earthy matter, and God, all his spiritual and intellectual faculties. The same is also told in כלי יקר, fol. 15; and again repeated by R. Bekai. See note 25.

19 The tree had not in itself good and evil, for there could be nothing evil in Paradise; ὅρος δὲ ἐτίθη ἐπὶ τῷ φυτῷ πρὸς γυμνασίαν τῆς ἀλευθεριότητος; but the tree was set up as a mark (or limit) in order to bring out Adam's freedom of action—whether to obey (good) or to disobey (evil). For his knowledge of either was before the commandment given, not to touch of the fruit of the tree. (Cedrenus, *Hist. Compend.*, p. 13.)

20 When God said to his angels: "I, indeed, will put a [khaliph] vicar in the earth"—and commanded them to worship him, and they did so. But Eblis [Satan] would not; he (*Coran*, sur. ii, 30, sq.) was proud, and became one of the infidels—then God asked him: "Why wilt thou not worship Adam?" "Because," replied Eblis, "I am better than he; Thou didst create me of fire, but him of mud," etc. (*Coran*, sur. vii, 12 and 9). Then Satan, or the serpent, made Adam and Eve fall from Paradise to the earth: Adam in Serandib [Ceylon; Adam's Peak] and Eve at Jeddah in Yemen, where she was buried (*ibid.* *ibid.*) [I visited her tomb in 1841; her head is said to be at one end of the burial ground, her body under the *wely* in the centre of it, and her feet at the farther end, some hundred yards apart. The Arab who took me to see it, could not help saying: *Yā Khawājah, hi thaweelé, wallāh!* O sir, she was long indeed!]

Ibn-Batutah (*Travels*, vol. iv, p. 179, sq.) gives a description of Adam's Peak in Serandib, of the two ways, for Adam and Eve, to the summit; of the print of the foot, sunk into a black rock; of trees whose leaves when eaten, restore old age to youth, etc.

Masudi tells the same story, but adds, that some of the fig-leaves with which Adam was girt about, having been scattered by the wind in his fall from Paradise, those leaves became the sweet spices for which Ceylon is celebrated. (Masudi, ch. iii, p. 60, 61.)

21 R. Eliezer improves upon the account given in *Beresh. Rabbah*, quoted above (note 18), and says the first man reached from earth to the sky, and from east to west when he lay down. But after his transgression God laid His hand upon him וַיִּמָּסֶה and made him small; as it is said Psalm cxxxix. 5, "Thou hast beset me, etc., and laid Thy hand upon me." So also R. Jehudah avers in the name of all the Rabbis of blessed memory that it was so. (Talmud Bab. *Hagigah*, p. 23.) While reading the Kandjur, I often wondered there could be men found to write and to believe such things. But they are not more absurd than the lore of the Talmud, whereof we read among other warnings: "My son, give heed to the words of the writers (Rabbis) rather than to the law itself." (*Erubin*, p. 42.) "For he who has only מקרא the text of the Bible, without the Talmud, is like one that has no God." (*Share tzedek*, fol. 9 Eis.) And "to contradict such teaching, is כחולק על השכינה like one who would differ from, or contradict the Shekinah" (Presence of God, or Holy Ghost, according to *Sepher Yezirah*, p. 112, ed. Rittang). And for a man to go from the Talmud and to מדבר הלכה לדבר מקרא return to the Bible (or text) there is no more peace! (Talm. Bab. *Hagigah*, p. 17.)

22 Atch. xxvi (ii, p. 276) Masudi tells of a wonderful cup said to have belonged to Adam, that always remained full, however much was drunk out of it, whose virtue Alexander the Great tried on his visit to Ceylon. And Ibn Batutah (vol. iv, p. 167, sq.) relates his adventures on his pilgrimage to Adam's foot, the print of which is of an enormous size. [But is it not also Buddha's foot?] Hyde in his notes to Peritsol (*Itinera Mundi*, p. 25) refutes the etymology of Taprobana from Div (isle). Rohan—the name for Adam's Peak in the *Coran*; and proposes to bring "Serandib," from Selen, or "Seilan-dib," island of Seylan—Singhala.]

El-kazwini (*Ajāib* i, p. 165), speaks of Jebel Serandib upon which Adam alighted—which shines with gold up to heaven, and is seen from a great distance by sea-faring men. There is the print of Adam's foot sunk in the stone and about seventy yards long. The reason for which there is only one foot is—that Adam rested the other on the bottom of the sea.

23 On the second week, says the Angel of the Face, we brought all the beasts to Adam, by command of God. On the first day, beasts; on the second, cattle; on the third, birds; on the fourth, all that moves (creeps) on the face of the earth; and on the fifth, all that moves in the waters; and Adam called them all by their names, and that which he called them, was their name. (*Kufale*, p. 11.)

24 Immediately after the transgression, Adam and Eve lost the angelic vision and intelligence they had before they transgressed God's commandment. And now their sight and power of discerning became limited only to matters corporeal and sensible. (S. Ephrem, vol. i, p. 139.)

Bereshith Rabbah (Gen. ii, 7; and *Yalkut Rubeni*, fol. 13), says "That God gave Adam a twofold nature, partly

of things above or divine, and partly of things earthly, such as eating, drinking; and as to heavenly gifts, he was to stand over 'ministering angels.'" [These were called מלאכי השרת who were appointed to wait on him, namely, Ebel, Shetel, and Annsh (*Cod. Nasar.*, p. 192, etc.). They were, however, frightened at Adam's size, that reached from earth to heaven (*Yalk. Rubeni*, fol. 10) and so went up terrified, to ask God what He had created," according to *Yalkut Shimoni*, on Gen. i.

It must then have been when they came down back into Paradise, that according to R. Jehudah (*Yalkut Shimoni*, fol. 4; and *Avoth* of R. Nathan, fol. 2), "they waited on Adam, roasted his meat, and mixed his wine," מַסְכְּנֵי לוֹ יֵין.]

"Other heavenly gifts of Adam were speech, understanding, and faculty to look on the 'ministering angels;' for animals cannot do it. For God said: "If I make him only of the earth (earthly) he will die; if of heaven only, he will live." So his Creator made him up of those, and gave him a twofold nature knowing good and evil; for animals know not the good." [See also Talm. Bab. *Berachoth*, p. 61, on this same subject.]

But R. S. Ben Melech (*Miclol Yophi* and *Yalk. Shimoni*, fol. 6, 20, on Gen. i) says, that God made use of the expression: "Let us make man," etc., merely as a mark of respect, being about to create Adam in presence of the four elements, and to make him partly of עֲלִיּוֹנִים heavenly things, and partly of תַּחְבּוּנוֹת things of below, earthly. Instead of the four elements, Talmud Bab. (*Sanhedrin*, p. 78), says they were "רַב שַׁע" the great of the world; and *Midrash Nehelam* (quoted in *Yalkut Rubeni*, fol. 10, ed. Amst.) says, that "the Wheel, the Angel, and the Throne (*Ezech. i*) joined together, saying, "Let us make man to be in fellowship with

us, his breath from the Throne ; his spirit from the Angel, and his soul from the Wheel, in blessing, sanctification, and unity." *Yalk. Rubeni*, *id.* however, quotes another Midrash to show that God gathered together all things above and all things below, in fellowship with Himself, to take their share in the creation of man.

25 R. Bekai (*Pirush 'al atth.*, fol. 8, ed. Crac.) sums up these and other explanations of "Let us make man," etc. (1) על דרך הפשט—according to the text or simple sense, it is God and the earth, He as Creator and the earth as the mother of man; (2) as R. Kimchi says, it is an expression of majesty ; or, it is an address of God to Moses, when He told him to write, etc.

26 When God, says R. Akha, came to create man, He took counsel with the ministering angels, and said to them: "Let us make man." Then they asked Him: "What will be his property?" "His wisdom shall be greater than your own," said God ; and He brought before them beasts and birds, and asked them what they were. The angels did not know. God then asked Adam, who said, "This is an ox, an ass, a horse, and a camel." And what is thy name? said God. "It befits me to be called 'Adam,' because I was made of the earth." "And what is My name?" said God to Adam. "It befits Thee," said Adam, "to be called the Lord of all Thy [creatures]." Then God said: That is My name given Me first by Adam. (*Beresh. R.*, sect. xvii, fol. 20.)

And God said to the ministering angels who were created on the second day, and who ministered before Him:—"Let us make man after our own image and similitude—with 248 members, 365 nerves ;" He spread a skin over them, and filled the whole with flesh and blood, etc. (*Targ. Jonathan*, *B. Uzziel* in Gen. i.)

[For a learned treatise on צלם and דמות with reference to Gen. i, 26, see *More Nerukim*, sect. i, c. i, of R. Maimonides.]

"When God set about creating the world," said R. Jehudah, "He created one legion of ministering angels, and said to them: 'Is it your good pleasure that we should create man?' To which they replied: 'What is man that Thou art mindful of him?' Then God thrust His finger between them and consumed them. And so with a second legion. But the third said to Him: 'What the first angels said availed nothing ; the world is Thine ; do what seemeth the best.'" (*Yalkut Shimoni*, ed. Crac., fol. 4.)

"There is another tradition," says R. Eliezer, "that God said to the Law [which, according to the Talmud, was created before the world], Let us make man!" To which the Law answered: "What, he the ruler of the world? his days will be shortened through sin ; a child of wrath ; and unless Thou be long suffering, it will be as if he had not been." "Am I then long suffering in vain?" said God. "He then took some earth, red, white and greenish, from the four corners of the world ; red, *adam*, for Adam ; white, for his intestines ; and greenish for his body," &c. (*Ib. ibid.*, fol. 4.)

27 After Adam's transgression God brought him, Eve, and the Serpent to judgment: He said to the Serpent: "Because thou didst that, thou shalt be cursed among all the beasts of the field ; upon thy belly shalt thou go, יתקצצין ורגלך thy legs shall be cut short ; and thou shalt shed thy skin once in seven years ; a deadly venom shall be in thy mouth, and thou shalt eat dust all the days of thy life. I will put enmity between thee and the seed of the woman ; those who keep the Law, shalt smite thee on the head ; and

thou shalt bite them in the heel. But there will be a remedy for them, ועתידין למעבד שפיותא בעיקבא ביומי דמלכא משיחא and they will apply that healing power to their heel, in the days of King Messiah. But when the Lord God said to Adam, "Thou shalt eat the herb of the surface of the field," Adam answered and said: "By the mercies that are of Thee, O Lord, let me pray that we be not reckoned as beasts of the field, to eat grass that grows thereon; Let us arise and toil with the labour of our hands, to eat our food from the yield of the earth; so that from now a difference be made between the children of men and the beasts of the field," &c. (Targum, *Jonathan*, in Gen. iii.)

In *Bereshith Rab.*, sect. xix, we are told that R. Meir taught "that the serpent was wonderfully high;" R. Jonathan, "that he was erect, and his feet like canes;" R. Jeremiah, "that he was אפיקורוס (Epicurus) a heretic or infidel;" R. Simeon, "that he was like a camel;" &c. Maimonides (in *More Nevukim*, sect. ii, c. 30) calls attention to a passage in the *Midrash*, where it is said "that הנחש נרכב the serpent was being ridden, and was like a hairy camel; and that he who rode him was he who beguiled Eve, namely, Samaël, or Satan." And, again: "When the serpent seduced Eve, Samaël was riding him; but God shall laugh at the serpent and at his rider." Also, "When the serpent came to Eve, he sprinkled his filth over her;" it will be wiped off the Israelites who stood on Mount Sinai: but the Gentiles retain it. (*ibid.*) The same story is told somewhat differently by R. Eliezer, in *Yalkut Shimoni*, fol. 8, 25. According to *Bereshith R.*, sect. 20, and to *Yalk. Shimoni*, fol. 9, 31, the ministering angels came down and קצצו ידיו ורגליו cut off his hands

and his feet, and his cries were heard from one end of the world to the other.

28 What did that old serpent, that was jealous of Adam's glory, surrounded by ministering angels, think at the hour that he tempted Eve? "I will go and kill Adam and the woman his wife, and I shall be king of the whole world; and I shall walk erect, and enjoy all the pleasures of the world." Then God said to him: "Therefore will I put enmity between thee and man; therefore shalt thou alone be cursed of all beasts; therefore, also, because of thy pride, and wish to walk erect and to enjoy all the pleasures of earth, shalt thou creep on thy belly all the days of thy life." (*P. Avoth* of R. Nathan, fol. 2; and Bk, Zoar in *Yalkut Rubeni*, fol. 16.)

The Rabbis hold that the serpent had intercourse with Eve, whence Cain was born and with him, sundry female infirmities; and that Samaël, not being able (not having strength or power) to seduce Adam, turned to Eve as to the weaker of the two. (*Zoar*, in *Yalk. Rubeni*, fol. 16.)

29 S. Ephrem (in *Gen.* vol. i, p. 35) says the serpent was made to crawl on its belly, "for having increased the pangs of childbearing, through the seduction of Eve." And at p. 135, "that the serpent was deprived of feet because it had hastened on them to come to Eve, and had sought to be chief among beasts."

30 It is said, however, by R. Eliezer (quoted in Eisenmenger's *Entd. Jud.* i, 377), that Adam had a staff which he gave to Enoch, Enoch to Noah, Noah to Shem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph; after Joseph's death his house was plundered, and the staff came into the hands of Pharaoh, who planted it in Jethro's garden. But when Moses was grown up he found it there covered with written characters; he then took it

and told Jethro this rod should deliver the children of Israel out of Egypt, &c.

דברי הימים של משא רבינו
Paris. 1628, fol. 8, we read that "Moses having fled to Midian, and having become known to Jethro as an exile from Egypt, was by him put in prison. Moses, however, having pleased Zipporah, she fed him in prison, where she always found him standing on his feet, praying (fol. 9). She then told her father that divine vengeance would overtake him, if he maltreated his prisoner. Jethro at once brought him out; and gave public notice that whosoever would come and root out the rod that was planted and growing in his garden, to him would he give his daughter Zipporah to wife. Many came, small and great, kings, princes, great men, and men of valour, but could not root it up. But Moses, while walking in Jethro's garden, saw that rod of sapphire (or diamond) שם המפורש חקוק עליו, with the glorious name of Jehovah, engraved on it. He then rooted it up thence, at once, and it became a rod in his hand; and he returned home with it in his hand. Jethro seeing this, marvelled much, and gave his daughter Zipporah to wife unto Moses, etc. [Another story says that the inscription on that rod was the initials of the ten plagues of Egypt.]

But in the *Deburitho* of Mar Salomon of Botsra, c. xvii, we are told that Adam's stick was a branch of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, which he broke (or cut) off the tree as he was leaving the Garden of Eden. (Assem, *Bibl. Or.*, vol. iii, p. 212.)

31 The Talmud and Josephus, as we have seen, teach that at first all animals had speech; and Philo (*Quæst.* xxxii, Armen, in Gen.) is of opinion that "in the beginning of the existence of the world, all animals (or living creatures)

wotch anmasn kol i panavoruthênê, were not altogether deprived of reasoning power; although man excelled in this respect and in a clearer voice." Thus attributing a voice to the serpent, given it at the time, in order to seduce Eve; which the gloss, however, says, *ipr shtchmamp*, was only a hissing, understood by Eve for what it meant.

32 Our father Adam wept before the gates of Paradise, and the angels said unto him, "What wilt thou that we do to thee, Adam?" He then answered, "Behold, ye cast me out; I therefore intreat you to give me some sweet spices from Paradise, that when I am driven out of it, I may offer a sacrifice to God, that He may hear me." Then at the request of the angels, God gave Adam leave to gather from the garden, κρόκον καὶ νάρδον καὶ κάλαμον καὶ κινάμωμον καὶ λοιπὰ σπέρματα εἰς διατροφήν αὐτοῦ, saffron and spike-nard, and sweet-cane and cinnamon, and other seeds for his support. Having gathered them, he left the garden and dwelt in the land. (Ἀποκάλυψις in *Vita Adæ et E.*, p. 57.)

33 "Nam et Magos reges fere habuit Oriens" (Tertull. *Adv. Jud.*, c. ix), and (*Adv. Marc.*, c. xiii) "reges, dixit toparchas urbis alicujus aut regionis—quales in sacris paginis occurrunt sæpenumero. Hujus modi reges variis per orientem urbibus magos fere fuisse ait Septimius; hoc est, siderum astrorumque scientiæ peritos."

We read in the History of Georgia (*Kart'hlis tskhovreba*, ch. x, p. 39), that in the first year of king Aderki, *ishwa up'hali chaveni Yeso Kriste*, our Lord Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judah; and that Magi came to bring him presents. Then news came to Mtkhet'ha—the capital of Georgia at that time—about this coming of the Magi, "that an army was come to destroy Jerusalem." This caused great

wailing among the Jews of the place, until the year after, other news was brought that "the army was not come to destroy the Holy City, but had with them presents they brought and offered to a certain male child, respecting his birth. This caused great joy among the Jews; until some fourteen years later, a certain disciple called Anna came from Jerusalem, with other Jews of Mitzkhet'ha, and told the people that the child, to whom Magi had offered gifts, was now grown up, and called Himself the Son of God, and proclaimed a new law and service," etc. See on this subject the last chapter of this work, and the notes thereon.

34 Χρυσὸν γοῦν αὐτῷ γεννηθῆντι, βασιλείας σύμβολον προσεκόμισαν οἱ Μάγοι (Clem. Al. *Pædag.*, lib. ii, p. 176.) Τὸν μὲν χρυσὸν ὡς βασιλεῖ, τὸν δὲ λίβανον—ὡς Θεῷ, τὴν δὲ σμύρναν—ὡς μέλλοντι γεύσασθαι θανάτου. (Theophyl. in Matt. ii, etc.) S. Ephrem (in *Nativ. Dom.*, Sermon. iii,) omits "the incense," and Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.*, c. xiii,) omits "the myrrh," but in *De Idol.*, c. ix, he mentions, the gold, the incense, and the myrrh.

35 Et dixit Adam ad Evam: surge et vade ad Tigris fluvium—et sta in aqua fluminis xxxvii dies; ego autem faciam in aqua Jordanis xl dies; forsitan miseretur nostri Dominus Deus. Et transierunt dies xviii. Tunc iratus est Satanas et transfiguravit se in claritatem angelorum et abiit ad Tigrem flumen ad Evam, et invenit eam flentem; et ipse diabolus quasi condolens ei cœpit flere et dixit ad eam: Egredere de flumine et de cetero non plores; jam cessa de tristitia et gemitu, Quid sollicita es tu et Adam vir tuus? Audivit Dominus gemitum vestrum, et suscepit penitentiam vestram—et misit me ut educerem vos de aqua et darem vobis alimentum, quod habuistis in paradiso et pro quo planxistis. Nunc ergo egredere de aqua

et perducam vos in locum, ubi paratus est victus vester.

Hæc audiens autem Eva credidit et exivit de aqua fluminis et caro ejus erat sicut herba de frigore aquæ. Et cum egressa esset, cecidit in terram et erexit eam diabolus et perduxit eam ad Adam. Cum autem vidisset eam Adam et diabolus cum ea, exclamavit cum fletu dicens: O Eva, Eva, ubi est fructus penitentiae tuæ? Quomodo iterum seducta es ab adversario nostro, per quem alienati sumus ab habitatione paradisi et lætitia spiritali. Hæc cum audisset Eva cognovit quod diabolus suaviter exire de flumine et cecidit super faciem suam in terram et duplicatus est dolor et gemitus et planctus ab ea. (*Vita Adæ et Evæ* p. 39, 40.)

36 Surgamus, ait Adam, et quæramus nobis, unde vivamus, ut non deficiamus. Et ambulantes quæsierunt novem dies et non invenerunt sicut habebant in paradiso, sed hoc tantum inveniebant, quod animalia edebant; et dixit Adam ad Evam: hæc tribuit Dominus animalibus et bestiis, ut edant: nobis autem esca angelica erat. Sed juste et digne plangimus ante conspectum Dei, ut. (*Vita Adæ et Evæ*, p. 38.)

37 מן לבוש טופרה דאתבריאן ב'יה of the raiment, "onyx" (sweet perfume), "in which they were created," says Targ. *Jonathan*, in Gen. iii.

38 It seems as if the legend of the golden rods, and of these figs and fig-trees of an enormous size, reached farther east than Egypt, where the original of this Ethiopic translation was probably written. For R. M. Maimonides, speaking of the Sabæans (or Zabians), says: They all believed in the antiquity of the world, for heaven (the heavens) are to them instead of God. They also believed that the first man Adam was born of a man and a woman, like all other men. But they extolled him greatly,

saying he was a prophet-apostle for the moon, and called men to the worship of the moon; and that **יש לר חבורים** **בעבודת האדמה** there are books of his extant on the tillage of the land. They say of Adam, moreover, that when he came from the [climate] land of **תשאם** [Tasom, or Tasham], near India, and dwelt in the land of Babylon, he brought with him wonderful things; among others, a tree of gold that yielded branches, leaves, and flowers [of gold]; also a like tree of stone, with leaves that fire could not burn, and that could shelter 10,000 men as tall as Adam. And he brought with him two leaves, each of which could cover two men. But they also say that Seth departed from Adam's worship of the moon, etc. (*More Nevu'kim*, sect. iii, ch. 29.)

They also say that Adam relates in his book on the tillage of land, that there is in India a tree, whose branches, when thrown upon the ground, wriggle and creep like a serpent, etc. (*Ibid.*)

39 In Targum *Jonathan*, however, we read that God made for Adam and Eve **לבישין ריקר** robes of honour of the skin of the serpent, which it had sloughed off; and God covered their skin withal, instead of their own beauty of which they were stripped. (In *Gen.*, iii.)

40 Si cui igitur eorum, qui certant vel lumen, vel figura quæpiam ad similitudinem ignis appareat, ne amplectatur hujusmodi visum; est enim fallacia inimici manifesta; quæ quidem res multos fefellit, qui propter ignorantiam, a via virtutis deflexerunt. Nos autem scimus quod quamdiu sumus in hac mortali vita, aliquid cœlestium miraculorum ejus videre aspectu corporis non possumus. (B. Diadochus, *de perfect. spirituali*, c. xxxvi.)

41 Before the law fell on Adam [doom, after his transgression] he ate no food; but after the law had fallen on him, he

and his family [Abel was born to him before the fall, II, p. 122] arose, and ate of all the fruits, vegetables, and living things Fetahil had prepared for him. (*Cod. Nasar.* ii, p. 134.)

42 This account agrees with that of Abul-pharaj or Bar. Hebræus (*Dyn. Arab.*, p. 6; *Chron. Syr.*, p. 3), who calls Cain's sister Climia, and Abel's Lebuda. Arab writers on the *Coran*, however, say that Eve always brought forth twins; a boy and a girl (Maracci, sur. v); while *Sidra l'Adam* (*Codex Nasar.*) of the Mandæans (ed. Norberg ii, p. 120, sq.), says that after Fetahil had created the world and Adam and Eve, to whom he gave feet to walk and a mouth to speak, he made for Adam a son like unto himself—pure and sinless, called Abel; before Abel the son of Eve. But after Adam and Eve had returned to the land (Elda) in which they had been created, Eve brought forth twins, son and daughter, three years following, etc. According to the *Kufale* (p. 15), however, Cain was born in the third week (of years) of the second Jubilee (seventieth year from creation, Syncell.), Abel in the fourth; and his sister Awan (Aswam, Asauna, Syncell.) in the fifth. But according to Methodius (Bar. Hebr., *Syr.*) called Mar Thudiusi in Arabic, (*Dyn.*, p. 6), Cain and Climia were born thirty years after Adam and Eve came out of the garden; Abel and Lebuda thirty years later. It was seventy years after, that Adam wishing to marry them one to another, Cain slew his brother.

Targ. *Onkelos* in *Gen.* iv, 2, renders the Hebrew text correctly; but Targ. *Jonathan*, says that after the birth of Cain, Eve brought forth his twin sister and Abel—although it is not easy to understand how that could be.

Eve, says S. Ibn-Batrik (*Entychus*), conceived and brought forth a son called Cain and a daughter called Azrun. Then she conceived again and gave

birth to a son called Abel, and to a daughter called Awain, but in Greek, Laphura. (*Nazam al-j.*, p. 14.)

43 Or, grudged it. "He," says Philo on this, "who slays a victim [or, sacrifice], after dividing it, pours out the blood about the altar, and takes home the meat. But he who brings an offering, gives it whole, as we see, to him who takes [or, receives] it. Thus he who is selfish [a lover of self] like Cain, parts or divides [his offering]; but he, who like Abel, is a lover of God, devotes [to Him] his gift." (*Quæst. in Gen.*, Armen. lxii.)

44 According to Saïd Ibn-Batrik (Eutychus) when the sons were grown up, Adam said to Eve: "Let Cain take Owain, that was born with Abel, and let Abel take Azrun who was born with Cain." Then, said Cain to Eve his mother, "I will take my sister, and Abel shall take his sister; because Azrun was fairer than Owain." But when Adam heard these words, he was greatly perplexed, and said to Cain: "It is against the commandment that thou shouldest marry the sister that was born with thee." (*Nazam al-j.*, pp. 14-17.)

According to S. Epiphanius, *Hæres.* xl, 5, the Archontici, heretics in Palestine, held that ὁ διάβολος ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὴν 'Εὐαν, συνήθησεν αὐτῇ ὡς ἀνὴρ γυναικί, καὶ ἐγέννησεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸν τε Κάϊν καὶ τὸν Ἀβελ—and that the two brothers did not fall out on account of God's preference for Abel, but because they both wished to have the same sister in marriage. Therefore did Cain kill Abel. For a Gnostic account of this, see S. Irenæus, *Hæres.* lib. i, p. 110 (ed. Grabe); concerning which statements Theodoritus says (*Hæres.* lib. i, 11), "were I to repeat them κοινῶνεν τῆς φλυναρίας ὑπέλαβον, I might be thought to share in their folly."

45 Why then did Cain and Abel quarrel together? Because, answers

R. Arona, the fairest twin sister was born with Abel. Cain, then said, "I shall take her to wife because I am the eldest." But Abel said: "But I will have her because she was born with me." (*Beresh. Rabbah*, sect. xxii, fol. 26.)

Saïd Ibn-Batrik relates that Adam then said to Cain and to Abel, "Take ye of the fruits of the earth, and of the young of your flock, and go to the top of that holy mountain, and make an offering there; and then take your wives to yourselves." Cain offered of the best fruits of the earth; and Abel of the best of his flock. Meanwhile, as they were going up the mountain, Satan entered (the heart) of Cain to kill his brother because of Azrun his sister. Therefore God did not accept Cain's offering. (*Nazam al-j.*, p. 17.)

This is contrary to Scripture. Targum *Onkelos*, renders the Hebrew; but Targum *Jonathan* says, that "Cain and Abel made their offering on the fourteenth of Nisan, and that Cain's offering was מִדְּרַע כִּיתְנָא of flax-seed." Gen. iv, 2, sq. Or, according to Bk. *Zoar*, quoted in *Yalk. Rubeni*, fol. 21, Cain's offering was of פֶּשֶׁתִּין flax, his thoughts dwelling on covering his nakedness from before the Lord.

Josephus (*Antiq.* i, c. 2) says, Abel offered γάλα, καὶ τὰ πρωτότοκα τῶν βοσκημάτων milk, and the firstlings of his flock.

46 God said to Cain, "Why is thy countenance sad? If thou doest well, shall not thy guilt be forgiven thee? But if thou doest evil in this life, thy sin shall be reserved unto the great day of Judgment, and thy sin shall lie at the door of thy heart. Behold, I have made over to thee רְשׁוּתִיָּה דִּיצְרָא רִישָׁא בִישָׁא power (or, authority) over [thy] evil nature; the desire of it will be unto thee [it will solicit thee to evil]; but thou shalt rule over it, whether for good [purity] or for sin" [lit. between

purity (or, holiness) and between sin]. (Targ. *Jonathan* in Gen. iv.)

47 Then Cain said to Abel, "Let us go down into the vale." Hence we see either that they were living on the slope of the mountain of Paradise, whence Cain led his brother into the plain below, or that Abel was tending his sheep on the hill, whence Cain brought him down into the vale, suited to him by reason of the standing corn and mud; among which Cain could easily hide and bury his brother. (S. Ephrem, in Gen., vol. i, p. 41.)

48 Cain said to Abel his brother, Let us go into the field. When there Cain said, "There is no judgment; there is no Judge; there is no world to come, and there is neither reward for the righteous nor retribution to the wicked." But Abel replied, "There is a Judgment and there is a Judge; there is a world to come, and there is both a reward to the righteous, and a punishment to the wicked." And as they were disputing about this in the field, Cain rose against his brother, stuck a stone into his forehead and killed him. (Targ. *Jonath. and Jer.*, in Gen. iv.)

49 Josephus (*Antiq.* i, c. 2) says, that Cain τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ ποιήσας ἀφανῆ λήσειν ἐπέλαβεν; and S. Ephrem as stated above, says that as Abel tended his sheep on a hill, Cain allured him into the plain, where he might easily hide his body among the tall ears of corn, and *b'medrō thamre hwo*, and cover it with mud. But in the *Coran* (sur. v, 37) we read: *faba'ath allāhu għurāban yabħathu fī-llardh*, that God sent a raven that scratched the earth to show Cain how to hide his brother's corpse. Jelal, however (Maracci, p. 229) says that this raven had a dead one in its beak, which it hid in the earth after having dug it with its beak and claws. But Masudi (ch. iii, p. 64) says that God sent forth two ravens, one of which

killed and buried the other. Seeing this, Cain repeated the words of the *Coran*, sur. v, 34: "Wretched man that I am, why cannot I be like this raven and hide my [shame or] guilt against my brother?" He then buried him.

Midrash Tankhuma (p. 6, ed. Amst.) however, says that they were עופות טהורים two clean birds, one of which killed its fellow, then dug the earth with its feet and buried it, in the presence of Cain, and in order to show him how to bury his brother, and to hide his blood.

R. Eliezer (*Pirke*, etc.), however, as quoted in *Yalkut Shimoni*, fol. ii, says that, the הכלב שהיה משמר הבל של חבל dog who kept Abel's sheep, watched by his corpse to ward off beasts and birds of prey from it. And that as Adam and his help-meet sat by the corpse, wailing aloud over their son who lay dead, not knowing what to do, a raven that had killed its fellow said to them, "I will show you what to do." It then began to dig in the earth, and buried the bird. Then Adam said to Eve, "Let us do the same;" and they dug the earth, and buried Abel.

I, Enoch, came to a place where I saw the spirits of the departed; and I asked Raphael who was with me, "What spirit is it whose voice reaches me and accuses?" And Raphael answered: "It is the spirit of Abel, whom Cain his brother killed; and who will accuse him until his seed is destroyed from off the face of the earth, and from the race of men his seed defiles." I then asked Raphael about him and about the day of judgment, and why he was separated from the rest [or one from another]. Then he answered: "These three separations, by chasm, water and light above, have been made between the spirits of righteous men, from sinners—when they are buried in the earth; and great is the suffering of sinful spirits, until the

great Day of Judgment, etc. (Book of Enoch, c. xxii, p. 14, 15.)

Before Cain had killed his brother, the land yielded fruit like the Garden of Eden; but after that murder, the

land turned to yield only thorns and thistles. (Targ. *Hieros.* in Gen. iv.)

50 Targum *Jonathan*, however, says this sign was רבא ויקירא of the great and precious Name. (In Gen. iv.)

NOTES TO BOOK II.

1 Masudi (i, ch. iii, p. 65), gives a popular ditty said to have been composed by Adam, while mourning for Abel. "How changed is the land and those who dwell in it! The face of the earth is now but hideous dust; Everything has lost both flavour and colour; Mirth and gladsome faces are gone; And our family has taken the tamarisk and other weeds, for the sweet and lovely plants of Paradise. Around us [watches] a relentless foe, accursed, at whose death we should breathe freely. Cain has slain Abel cruelly [or with violence]; Oh, sorrow—over that beautiful countenance! How should I not shed floods of tears, while the grave embraces Abel? There is now for me but a life-long sorrow; for what relief could I find from it?"

To which Eblis, who was at hand, though unseen replied:—

"Go from this land, and from its inhabitants, for the earth is now too narrow for thee. Thou, Adam wast in it with thy wife Eve, happy at being safe from the woes of this world; But my wiles and my craft rested not, until thou wast deprived of those goods. And unless the mercy of the Most High protected thee, the wind alone would carry thee far from the everlasting Paradise."

See Fabricius *Cod. Apoc. V. T.*, vol. i, p. 21, sq., for "The Psalms of Adam and Eve."

2 R. Abarbanel, *Comm. in Pent.* p. 30, says that Eve conceived twins in the Garden of Eden; and that what is told in the *Midrash* is true, that she must have brought forth twins [though not so stated in Scripture], otherwise Cain could not have taken a wife, and have had children by her, whose name was Ana, etc.

3 When Eve conceived Seth, her forehead shone, light brightened up her features, and her eyes flashed rays of light; and when the time came that she should be delivered, she brought forth Sheit [Seth] an eagle among men, who excelled them in grace, beauty of form, perfection of gifts, nobleness of disposition; and resplendent of light which, passing from Eve into him, shone on his forehead, and enhanced his beauty; so that Adam called him *Hibbet Allah*, "Gift of God." When Seth was grown up, Adam taught him his high calling as depository of God's will concerning his race, etc. etc.—Masudi i, ch. iii, pp. 67, 68.

In the two hundredth year of Adam, says Syncellus, Seth was taken up by angels and taught the falling away of

the Watchers, the destruction of the earth by the Flood, and the coming of the Saviour. When after forty days' absence he returned among men, he then declared to Adam and Eve what he had seen and heard, etc. Seth was then forty years old; he was beautifully formed, as all his children were after him. They dwelt in a high land not far from Eden, etc. (*Chron.* p. 16, 17; and *Cedren. Hist., Comp.* i, p. 16.)

Adam when two hundred and thirty years old, begat a son whom he called Seth, of a beautiful countenance, tall, and of a perfect stature like his father Adam. (Saïd Ibn-Bat. *Nazam al-j.*, p. 17.)

The Archontici say (S. Epiph. *Hæres.* xl, 7), τὴν Δύναμιν σὺν τοῖς ὑπουργοῖς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγγέλοις מלאכי (השרת) καταβεβηκέναι καὶ ἡρπακέναι αὐτὸν τὸν Σηθ καὶ ἀνενηνοκέναι ἄνω πον κ. τ. λ.

4 Adam knowing in his own wisdom that this son would not, like Abel, seek after glory and kingdom, and that he would not be like Cain, eager after possessions, and a tiller of the ground—but that he would give himself to spiritual and intellectual pursuits—called him שֵׁת, Seth, because שָׂרָה he saw that the world would be founded on him. (R. Abarbanel, *Comm. in Pent.*, fol. 31.)

Seth was weaned when twelve years old, says Cedrenus (*Hist. Comp.* i, p. 16); and his face shone so brightly that they called him a god!

5 This chapter looks like a Christian version of the story of Lilith (לילית), a night owl, but also “lamia,” a she devil, often mentioned in Rabbinical writings. Elias Levita (*Tishbi*, ed. Isn., sn. 6, v), says, “one finds written that during the one hundred and thirty years Adam was separated from Eve, demons (שדים) visited him, conceived and bare him demons, unclean

spirits and wicked sprites (מוזיקין).” And R. Eliezer adds, “When God created the first man alone, He said, ‘It is not good for man to be alone.’ He created for him a woman out of the earth whom He called Lilith, who bare him every day a hundred children, that were dispersed abroad among the lands, seas, mountains,” etc. (Ben Syra in Buxtorf, *Lex.* v, p. 114, s. 1.)

And elsewhere we are told in agreement with such stories, that “Adam was driven from Paradise on the Sabbath-eve, down into the lowest of the seven earths (ארץ התחתונה) where he spent the whole Sabbath in terror and in utter darkness. But when he had repented of his sin God brought him up to (אדמה) the ground above that, where a light lighted the firmament of heaven, etc. As regards the inhabitants of that earth (Adamah) they are all Anakim of immense size, which the first man begat together with demons, spirits and Liliths (לילית) which Lilith bare unto him, when she overcame him against his will, during the one hundred and thirty years he was separated from Eve,” etc. (*Emeq hammelek*, fol. 179, quoted in Eisenmeng., vol. i, p. 459.)

6 Postquam factus est Adam annos decemxxx, sciens quoniam dies ejus finiuntur dixit: Congregantur ad me omnes filii mei ut benedicam eos, antequam moriar—congregati sunt, et interrogaverunt eum: Quid tibi est pater, ut congregares nos? et quare jaces in lecto tuo? Et respondens Adam dixit: Filii mei, male mihi est doloribus. Et dixerunt ad eum omnes filii ejus: Quid est pater, male habere doloribus? Et respondit Adam et dixit: Audite me, filii mei, Quando fecit nos deus me et matrem vestram—posuit nos in Paradiso—dedit nobis Dominus Deus angelos duos ad custodiendos nos. Venit hora ut ascenderent angeli in conspectu Dei adorare. Statim invenit

locum adversarius diabolus dum ab-sentes essent angeli; et seduxit diabolus matrem vestram, ut manducaret de arbore illicita et contradicta. Et manducavit et dedit mihi. Et statim iratus est nobis Dominus Deus et dixit ad me Dominus: Eo quod dereliquisti mandatum meum et verbum meum quod confortavi tibi non custodisti, ecce inducam in corpus tuum lxx plagas; diversis doloribus ab initio capitis et oculorum et aurium usque ad ungulas pedum, et per singula membra torquemin.

Quum vidisset eum flentem in magnis doloribus, cœpit ipsa flere, dicens: Domine Deus meus, in me transfer dolorem ejus, quoniam ego peccavi. Et dixit Eva ad Adam. Domine mi, da mihi partem dolorum tuorum, quoniam a me culpa hæc tibi accessit. (*Vita Adæ et Evæ*, p. 48, 49.)

7 "When Adam's death," says Eutychus, "drew near, he called his son Seth, Enos, the son of Seth, Cainan, the son of Enos, and Mahalaleel, the son of Cainan, and commanded them saying, 'Let this commandment be to your children. When I am dead embalm my body with myrrh, incense and cassia [or, cinnamon] and lay me in the Cave of Treasures. And whichever of your sons is living at the time of your leaving the borders of the garden (Paradise), let him take my body with him, and place it in the middle of the earth; for from thence will come my salvation and that of all my children.'" (*Nazam al-j.*, p. 18.)

Adam, the first man created, having heard John discoursing of Christ in the region of darkness, said to Seth his son, "O my son, I desire thee to tell the ancestors of our race and the prophets, whither I send thee, when I fell sick unto death." Then Seth said, "Patriarchs and prophets hearken. My father Adam when he fell sick unto death, sent me to make a request unto God, close to the

gates of Paradise, that He would guide me through the leading of an angel, to the Tree of Mercy (that is, of the oil of mercy) that I take some of the oil, and anoint my father, and raise him from his sickness. That, I have done.

"Then, after my prayer, the angel of the Lord coming to me, said, What is thy request, O Seth? Thou askest for the oil that raises the sick, or for the tree whence that oil flows, for thy father's sickness. Thou canst not find it now. Go thy way, and tell thy father, that when five thousand five hundred years from the creation shall be fulfilled, the Only Begotten Son of God, shall come upon earth in a human body, and that He will anoint him with that oil; and that He will wash him and his children (*πλυνεῖ*) with water and with the Holy Ghost; and that thy father will then be cured of every disease. For the present, this is impossible. The patriarchs and prophets hearing this, rejoiced greatly." (*Evangel. Nicodemi Græcè*, c. xix, ed. Thilo.) The Latin copy, as given by Fabricius, *Cod. Apocr. V. T.*, vol. i, p. 278, which is followed by the A.-Saxon version (ed. Thwaites, Oxon, 1698) differs from the Greek in some respects. See also Cotel. *Pat. Apost.*, vol. i, p. 497, note.

8 Adam having in the six hundredth year, repented of his transgression, received by revelation through Uriel, who is set over those who repent,—a knowledge of the Watchers, of the Flood, and of other things to come. (*Sync. Chron.*, p. 18.) He died aged nine hundred and thirty, on the same day as that on which he had transgressed. Inasmuch as one thousand years are as one day among heavenly witnesses, as it was written on the Tree of Knowledge that he should die on the day he ate of its fruit, Adam did not complete the day of one thousand years, by seventy years, but died on that same day. (*Kufale*,

p. 19.) Adam also learnt of Uriel about the prayers sent up on high, day and night, by the whole creation, through Uriel who presides over repentance. At the first hour of the day—prayer in heaven; second hour—prayer of angels; third hour—of birds; fourth hour—of cattle; fifth hour—of wild beasts; sixth hour—angels attend, and set in order the whole creation; seventh hour—angels go into the presence of God, and come out thence; eighth hour—praises and offerings of angels; ninth hour—prayers and supplications of men; tenth hour—prayers of heavenly and earthly beings; eleventh hour—confession and rejoicings of all; twelfth hour—men's intercessions accepted by God. (*Cedren. Hist. Comp.*, p. 18; and *M. Glycas, Annal.*, p. 228; also *Fabric., Cod. Apoc. V. T.*, vol. i, p. 14, sq.)

9 After Seth, Adam begat nine more children. (*Kufale*, p. 16.) And when he died he left thirty-three sons and twenty-six daughters; having been chief of his kindred all the days of his life. (*Syncell. Chron.*, p. 19.)

10 All the time Adam lived, says Said Ibn-Batrik (*Eutychus*), was nine hundred and thirty years. He died on a Friday, in the fourteenth night from the new moon, being the sixth of Nisan, which is Barmudeh, at the ninth hour of that Friday. That is the hour at which he was driven from Paradise. When Adam was dead, his son Seth embalmed him, as he had commanded him. And Seth took his body up the mountain, and buried it in the Cave of Treasures. And they mourned over him forty days. (*Nazam al-j.*, p. 18.)

Et sicut prædixit Michael archangelus, post sex dies venit mors Adæ. Cum cognovisset Adam, quia hora venit mortis suæ, dixit ad omnes filios suos, Ecce sum annorum deccexxxx, et si mortuus fuero, sepelire me contra ortum dei magnum habitationibus. Et fac-

tum est eum finisset omnes sermones illius, tradidit spiritum. Et videt Seth manum domini extensam tenentem Adam. Et sepelierunt Adam et Abel, Michael et Urihel angeli in partibus paradisi, videntibus Seth et matre ejus et alio nemine. (*Vita Adæ et E.*, pp. 58 and 66.)

11 The Life [He who is Life—eternal life, also called Supreme Life, as distinguished from the second or lesser life—that of mortals], the Supreme Life having taken counsel, sent deliverance to Adam, from his body, and from this world of sorrow. Then his soul was severed from the body, to which it said, "Why do we tarry, in this foul body? The Deliverer will come and set us free." Then the Deliverer came—touched Adam, and said to him: "Arise, O Adam, shake off thy foul body, house of clay, which the seven star-angels made for thee; the Life sends me to fetch thee back to the place whence thou camest, where thy parents live." Hearing this, Adam began to weep, and said: "My father, if I go with thee, who will take care of this world—of Eve my wife—of the crops I have sown—of this house which I occupied—of the fruits of my garden? Who will draw water from the Euphrates and from the Tigris to water my plants? Who will bind the ox to the plough—put the seed in the earth—and gather in the harvest? Who will befriend the orphan and the widow, clothe the naked, and set free the captive?"

"Come, come," said the Deliverer to Adam; "come, and put on thy garment of light, where the sun never sets; wear on thy brow the crown of glory; gird thyself with water wherein is no pain, and sit on the throne, made ready for thee by the Eternal Life," etc. "But Father," said Adam, "if I go with Thee who will take care of my body—wake

it up where it lies, and give it food to eat, or shelter it from the storm—or keep the beasts of the field from devouring it, or the birds of the air from nestling themselves in the hair of my head," etc., etc. (*Cod. Nasar.*, pp. 140-142.)

12 Then the Messenger of Life came, took Eve away from an evil crowd, and put an end to her sorrow. She then fell upon her face before him and said, "Welcome art thou, O Lord; take me to Thy company above, and bring my soul out of this body." "I am come," said the Messenger of Life, "to fetch thee—thou shalt rest in light, and thy countenance shall shine for ever," etc. (*Cod. Nasar.*, iii, p. 166, sq.)

Post sex dies vero quod mortuus est Adam, cognoscens Eva mortem suam, congregavit omnes filios suos et filias suas, qui fuerunt Seth cum xxx fratribus et xxx sororibus, et dixit eis Eva: Audite me filii mei—dixit nobis Michael archangelus: propter prævaricationes vestras generi vestro *superinducet* dominus noster iram iudicii sui primum per aquam, secundum per ignem; his duobus judicabit Dominus omne *humanum* genus.

Facite ergo, tabulas lapideas et alias tabulas luteas, et scribe in his omnem vitam meam et patris vestri quæ a nobis audistis et vidistis. Si per aquam judicabit genus nostrum, tabulæ de terra solventur et tabulæ lapideæ permanebunt si autem per ignem judicabit genus nostrum, tabulæ lapideæ solventur, et de terra luteæ decoquentur. Hæc omnia cum dixisset Eva filiis suis tradidit spiritum. Postea cum magno fletu sepelierunt eam—et cum essent lugentes quattuor dies tunc apparuit eis Michael archangelus dicens ad Seth: homo Dei, ne amplius lugeas mortuos tuos quam sex dies, quia septimo die signum resurrectionis est futuri seculi requies.—Tunc Seth fecit tabulas. (*Vita Adæ et E.*, pp. 58, 59, 66.)

13 After the death of Adam, the family of Seth severed itself from the family of Cain the accursed. For Seth, taking with him his firstborn son Enos, with Cainan the son of Enos, and Mahalaleel the son of Cainan, with their wives and children, led them up the mountain to the top, where he buried Adam. But Cain and all his children abode in the vale, where he had slain Abel. (Euty-chus, *Nazam al-j.*, pp. 20, 21.)

But Cain, after many wanderings εἰς τόπον τινὰ Καϊνᾶν ὀνομαζόμενον ἦλθε, came to a certain place called Cainan, where he committed all manner of crimes, laying wait for way-faring men and putting them to death, and heaping up wealth untold from his spoils of them. (S. Eustath. Antioch, in *Hexaemeron*, fol. 749, ed. M.)

14 The children of Seth lived on that mountain in the practice of purity [or, of innocence], and were in the habit of hearing the voices of angels, from whom they were not far apart, and with whom they joined in worshipping and praising God; and they, with their wives and children were called "Sons of God." They did no work, neither sowed nor reaped; but their food was fruits of trees. There was among them neither envy, injustice, nor lying; and their bond (pledge or faith—*imānhum*) was, "No, by the blood of Abel." They went up to the top of the Holy mountain every day, and worshipped before God, and blessed themselves in the body of Adam. (Said Ibn-Bat., *Nazam al-j.*, p. 21.)

15 Then when the death of Seth drew near, he adjured his children by the blood of Abel, that not one of them should go down from this holy mountain, and not to let one of their children go down to the children of Cain the accursed. All the time Seth lived was nine hundred and twelve years. (Said Ibn-B., *Nazam al-j.*, p. 21.)

16 R. Maimonides is not of the same

opinion ; for he says not only that in the days of Enos men went far astray and the mind of thought of wise men became stupified, but that **ואנוש עצמו מן הטועים** Enos himself was among those who erred. [This, too, is far from Philo's distinction between Adam and Enos. *Quæst. Armen. in Gen.*] And the error, says Maimonides, was this, that they worshipped and honoured the heavenly bodies and built temples to them on high places, etc. [R. Maimonides seems to take Gen. iv, 26, "**אז הוּחַל לַקְרָא ב'** as other Hebrews do, to mean—then was the calling on the name of God profaned—and Targ. *Onkelos* **חלו מלצללח ב'** men fell away from praying in the name of the Lord. Targ. *Jonathan*, "That was the age in whose days, men began to go astray, who made to themselves idols, and called them by the name of the Lord." But the LXX read : *Ἐνώς, οὗτος ἡλπίσεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ.*] (R. Maimonides, *Halekot 'Avod. kokav*, etc. Opp., vol. i, fol. ed. Amst.)

R. Abarbanel, however, *Comm. in Pent.*, fol. 31, understands it to mean that in the days of Enos they began to pray in the name of God in all their works, because until then, Adam, Abel, and Set **היו משערים במציאות האל** lived in intercourse with God who was present among them.

17 Cain, says Geo. Syncellus (*Chron.*, p. 19), died the same year as Adam (A.M. 930), killed by the stones of his house that fell upon him, *λίθοις γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν Ἀβὴλ ἀνείλε*—for himself had killed Abel with stones. The *Kufale*, whence this account is taken, adds : "that he was thus killed by righteous judgment ; for it is decreed on the tables of heaven, that with what weapon a man slays another, with such also shall he be slain." (*Kufale*, p. 19, 20.) Cedrenus quotes this legend from

the same source, at p. 16 of his *Hist. Compendium*, where he also says, that Abel having been righteous, his body *ἀφανὲς γεγονέναι*, disappeared [from the sight of man] in order to give those who came after him a good hope [of everlasting life].

18 Here follows in the Ethiopic text : "Then Lamech stood [or, remained] grieved for what he had done ; the cattle went away from him into the open country, and he knew not what to do. But the narrative would be long [or, tedious]." Yet the Arabic original gives even a longer account, says Dr. Trumpp in his note—that Lamech lay there a long time, hungry and thirsty, not knowing whither to go, blind as he was. Then all his people turned out to look for him over hill and down dale ; and at last found him lying on the ground, by the side of the two corpses ; himself half-dead from hunger and thirst. So they brought him home ; gathered the cattle together, and having covered Cain and the young shepherd in gay apparel, they buried them in the neighbourhood, as being the first of the Cainites that had died, and they mourned over them forty days and forty nights. Here, however, the Arabic adds also, "But the story would be [too] long."

In the three hundredth year of Enos, Cain the accursed, Adam's son, who had slain his brother Abel, was himself slain. For a seventh descendant from Cain, called Lamech who was a shepherd, shooting an arrow in play, hit his ancestor Cain through the heart and killed him. For Cain was bewildered and wandering in the open country, not being able to rest in any one place. (*Eutych. Nazam al-j.*, p. 22.)

R. S. Jarchi, in his *Comm. on Gen. iv, 23*, relates this story thus : "Lamech's wives had separated themselves from him, for his having slain

Cain, and Tubal-Cain his son. For Lamech was blind, and was led about by Tubal-Cain, who seeing Cain coming and looking like a wild beast, told Lamech his father, to bend his bow, wherewith he killed Cain. When Lamech found that it was Cain his ancestor, he struck his hands together ; but Tubal-Cain's head happening to be between them, he also was killed by Lamech. On this account did Lamech's wives leave him. But he quieted them, saying, 'Hear ye my voice,' etc. (*Comm. ad l.*, fol. 7, ed. Buxtf.) [The same story is also told in *Sepher ayashar*, *Shalsheleth akkabbala*, etc. See *Kisenm. Ent. Jud.*, vol. i, p. 471.]

Cedrenus and S. Ephrem (in *Gen.*, vol. i, pp. 45 and 143) relate two traditions, in substance like the above account. It is also given in the Armenian *Desuthyun badmuthyants Asdw*. Survey of the histories of the books of Holy Scripture, vol. i, c. 2, p. 13, Cedrenus, however, gives another version of the story, and says "that Lamech committed two murders—of a man and of a child, both of whom were brothers of Enoch, who earnestly prayed God not to let him see such slaughter, and for that, was taken up into heaven." (*H. Comp.*, p. 15.)

Midrash Tankhuma (fol. 6) tells the story pretty much as it is in the Ethiopic ; but adds that the little boy said to Lamech, "I see כמין חיה something like a wild beast." Lamech shot an arrow and killed it. Then the boy seeing Cain with a horn on his forehead, lying dead, said, "O father, this beast is like a man with a horn on the forehead !" Then Lamech clapped his hands together, and so doing, killed the boy. He then went home and said to his wives, "I have slain a man to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt !" Adah and Zillah then said, they would no longer live with him ; so that Lamech had to go with them to Adam for judgment.

19 Joseph B. Gorion, being in a certain island in the neighbourhood of India, "found there men like women, who lived on live fish, and who told him they had in their island the sepulchre of a very ancient king, called Kainan, son of Enos, who lived before the Flood, and ruled the whole world, spirits, demons, etc. In his wisdom he knew that God would bring a flood [and overwhelm the earth] in the days of Noah. Wherefore he wrote what was to happen after him on tables of stone ; and lo they are there ; ויכתוב את העתיד להיות מזה על לוחות אבן והנם שם and the writing is in Hebrew. And he also wrote therein that in his days the ocean overwhelmed a third part of the world ; and so it happened in the days of Enos, the son of Seth, son of Adam the first man." (*Jos. B. Gorion*, lib. ii, c. 18.) There seems to be some confusion between this legend and the one told in a note on Cainan, son of Arphaxad, to which the reader may refer.

20 When the death of Cainan drew near, he called Mahalaleel and adjured him by the blood of Abel, not to let one of his children go down from the mountain to the children of Cain the accursed. All the days of Cainan were nine hundred and ten. (*Entych., Nazam al-j.* p. 22.)

21 This word is of Arabic origin, and is either for the collect, pl. *jinnun* genii, pl. of *junnun*, a demon, devil ; or, it may stand for *junnun*, folly, etc. Anyhow, the "j" being pronounced and transcribed "g" by the Ethiopic translator, shows that the work was done not far from Egypt, where "j" is pronounced "g" hard.

According to Targ. *Jonathan*, in *Gen.* v, Lamech had three sons, Jabel and Tubal, sons of Adah ; and Tubal-Cain and his sister Na'amah, children of Zillah. One account says that the young shepherd slain by Lamech, was

Zillah's son ; and that for that reason she and Adah would no longer live with him. Jenun or Genun, might then be for Tubal-Cain.

22 Abulpharaj, however (*Dyn. Arab.*, pp. 8, 9) says that, the daughters of Cain were reported to have first made instruments of music and sung to them : wherefore a song is called *quinto* in Syriac, and in Arabic *quaīnah* means a singing girl.

Cain, says S. Eustath. Antioch (in *Hexaëmeron*,) invented μέτρα καὶ σταθμούς, καὶ ὄρους, measures, weights and the division of land, and the building of cities.

23 Meanwhile the children of Cain played on instruments of music, until the sound and clamour of them, reached unto the top of the Holy mountain. Then a hundred men of the children of Seth gathered together to go down to the children of Cain the accursed. Jared then adjured them by the blood of Abel, not to go down from the Holy mountain ; but they would not hearken to him, and went down. And when they were come down and saw the daughters of Cain the accursed, those sons of Seth committed adultery with them, and perished in consequence. Of these adulteries giants were born. (*Eutych. Nazam al-j.*, pp. 25, 26.)

24 Then Enoch the scribe said to the Watchers, who had left heaven, and had defiled themselves with women, after the manner of men : "I have written your petition [to the Most High], but in my vision I have seen that it will not be granted you ; judgment has been passed on you, and ye shall not be. And from henceforth, ye shall not go up into heaven, so long as the world endures ; for it has been decreed that ye shall be bound in the earth, all the days of the world.

"But before this, ye shall behold the destruction of your beloved children ;

ye shall not possess them, but they shall fall before you by the sword. And ye shall pray for them, but your prayer shall not be heard," etc. (*Book of Enoch*, c. xii—xiv, pp. 7, 8, 9.)

It was in the four hundredth year of Jared, that the Watchers [ἐγγήγορες] went down the Holy mountain and begat giants of the daughters of Cain. These giants not only were of immense size and awful to look at, and given to all manner of wickedness, but they also invented weapons of war, magic, dyeing stuffs, musical instruments, etc., as taught by Azazel, one of their chiefs. But αὐτοὺς δρακοντόποδας τινες προσήγορευσαν, some say they were dragons (or, serpents) with feet ; because in waging war against the children of Seth who were above on the mountain, they had to creep on their hands and feet, lying flat on the ground, etc. (*Cedren. Hist. Comp.*, p. 18.)

25 But when the sons of Seth who had gone down to the daughters of Cain the accursed, wished to ascend the Holy mountain, the stones of the mountain were made fire, so that they could find no means of again going up the mountain. Then after these, companies after companies went down from the Holy mountain to the daughters of Cain the accursed. (*Eutych. Nazam al-j.*, p. 26.)

26 R. Abarbanel (*Quæst. vi, Comm. in Pent.*, fol. 31) says that "sons of God," is explained to mean, kings, princes or judges, skilled in knowledge and endued with power—or men possessed of divine knowledge ; and that the Nephilim [said by some to be the same as the Anakim] were so called from their fall from heaven (נפיל) into sin, on earth.

27 And it happened in a certain year of this Jubilee (twenty-fifth) that angels of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and took them

to wives who bare them giants, etc. (*Kufale*, c. v, p. 20.)

After the death of Adam, Seth ruled the race of men then living. Then two hundred of his children called Watchers, in the one thousandth year of the world, four hundredth of Jared, and seven hundred and seventieth of Seth, having gone astray went down from the mountain, and took to themselves wives, who bare them giants, as Scripture says. As some doubt this, adds Syncellus, I will bring proofs of it from the Book of Enoch, Moses and S. Peter the chief of the Apostles. (*Chron.*, p. 19 ; *Bar. Hebr.*, pp. 4, 5 ; *Abulphar. Dyn. Arab.*, pp. 8.)

Concerning the Watchers (from the *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, sect. ii, c. 7).

"And it happened when the children of men multiplied in those days, that daughters were born unto them fair and beautiful. And angels, sons of heaven saw them, and desiring them, said among themselves : 'Come let us choose for us wives from among the daughters of men, and beget children for ourselves.' Then Samyaza, chief among them, said : 'I fear lest ye will not do this thing, so that the whole retribution of this sin fall upon me.' And they all answered : 'We will swear with an oath and bind one another with curses, that we will not turn from this deed, but do it amain.' They then swore and bound themselves together with curses, for this thing. And they were two hundred. Then they came down to Ardis, which is on the top of Mount Hermon, and called it Hermon by reason of the oaths and curses wherewith they had bound themselves [חרמון, חרם]. And these are the names of their chiefs :

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------|
| 1. Samyaza, chief | 4. Thamiel. |
| of all. | 5. Ramuel. |
| 2. Urakibameel. | 6. Dan'el. |
| 3. Akibeel. | 7. Ezekeel. |

8. Saraknyal.

9. Asael.

10. Armars.

11. Bathraal.

12. Anani.

13. Zakebe.

14. Samsaweel.

15. Sartael.

16. Thurael.

17. Ynmyael.

18. Arazyal.

"These were the captains of the two hundred, and the rest were with them. Every one chose a wife for himself, who taught him sorcery, divination, etc.; and they brought forth giants, whose stature was three hundred cubits, and who injured all creatures, devoured men and committed such sins as reached unto heaven. Then Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, Suryal, and Uriel looking down upon the blood shed on the earth, addressed the Most High, on behalf of men, etc. (c. 8.)

"These angels of God, with whom He was angry, for their having thus fallen, did the Lord command us, says the Angel of the Face, to bind into the depths of the earth until the Day of Judgment." (*Kufale*, c. v, p. 21.)

And Syncellus adds from Zosimus of Panopolis, in his book *Imuth*—that these fallen angels taught secret arts, and that the first book on the subject was called *χημεία*, ἔνθεν καὶ ἡ τέχνη χημεία καλεῖται, whence the art is called *chemia*=chemistry. (*Chron.*, p. 24.)

28 But when the death of Jared drew near, he called unto him his son Enoch and Methuselah the son of Enoch and Lamech the son of Methuselah, and Noah the son of Lamech, and said unto them: "See that not one of you go down from this Holy mountain; for your sons have erred and have perished. And I know that God, powerful and glorious, will not leave you on this Holy mountain. Therefore whosoever of you shall go out of this place, let him take with him the body of Adam, and these gifts, and place them wherever God shall tell him." And all the days Jared lived was 962 years. He died when Noah

was 206 years old, on a Friday about sunset, the third day of Adar, which is Barmahat. Then his son Methuselah, Lamech and Noah embalmed him and laid him in the Cave of Treasures, and mourned for him forty days. (Entych. *Nazam. al-j.*, pp. 29-32.)

29 Then the Most High spake and sent Arsyalalyur to the son of Lamech, and said unto him: "Tell (him) in My Name: hide thyself. And reveal unto him the destruction of all flesh by the waters of the Flood, that will come over all the earth, and destroy all that is in it. And teach him how he may save himself and establish his seed in the whole earth."

Then He sent Raphael to bind Aza-zeel in the lowest pit, until the Day of Judgment; Gabriel and Michael to punish the wicked inhabitants of the earth.—Let all flesh perish. Then after it has been cleansed, vines shall be planted and bear fruit.—Peace and righteousness shall reign therein, and all the sons of men shall be righteous, and all nations shall bless Me and do Me service, etc. (*Book of Enoch*, c. x, p. 5, 6, 7.)

These are the names of the holy angels who watch.

Uriel, one of the holy angels—over thunder and terror.

Raphael, one of the holy angels—over the spirits of men.

Raguel, one of the holy angels—over the punishment (restraint) of the world and luminaries.

Michael, one of the holy angels—over the good done to men, gives orders to the nations.

Sarakiel, one of the holy angels—over the spirits of men, whose spirits have transgressed.

Gabriel, one of the holy angels—over Akist (?) Paradise and the Cherubim. (*Book of Enoch*, c. xx, p. 13.)

30 According to *Midrash Tankhuma*,

fol. 6, ever since God's curse upon the earth, on account of Adam's transgression, the ground never yielded the seed sown; but אלא היו זירעין חטים when they sowed wheat they reaped thorns and thistles. Therefore did Lamech say, Noah should "comfort them concerning their work;" for after Noah's birth they reaped what they sowed; wheat if they sowed wheat, barley if they sowed barley.

31 I Enoch, scribe of righteousness, alone of all the children of men, have seen a vision of the end of all things (*Book of Enoch*, c. xix, p. 13), and have received a portion of everlasting life. They were a hundred and three parables which I took up to tell those who dwell on the earth. (c. vi, p. 20.)

In the *Coran*, sur. xix, and elsewhere Enoch is praised as *Edris*, the name given him by Arabic writers. He is so called probably from *darasa* דרס, on account of his skill in writing and of his learning. (See Hotting. *Hist. Or.*, p. 31, sq.; and Maracci, *Alcor.*, p. 435.)

Enoch was the first among men who taught writing, science and wisdom of all sorts. He wrote about the signs of heaven, years, months, etc., and gave laws. He also received visions of all that is to happen until the Day of Judgment. (*Kufale*, c. iv, p. 17.)

The ancient Greeks, says Abulpharaj (*Dyn. Arab.*, p. 9), thought Enoch was Hermes Trismegistus, so called for the three great sciences he taught concerning the three qualities inherent in God: (1) His existence; (2) His wisdom; and (3) His eternal life. The Arabs call him *Edris*. The Sabians say that he got his wisdom from Agathodemon, that is Seth, the son of Adam; and others think also that Esculapius was a disciple of his, who grieved so much at Enoch's departure from this world, that he raised a statue of him which was worshipped after the Flood! etc.

As to the Book of Enoch, that contains Jude 14, 15, known to Syncellus who gives extracts from it, and to several of the Fathers, but lost sight of for centuries—it was discovered by Bruce in Abyssinia, written in Ethiopic, several copies of which he brought to Europe. It consists in visions of Paradise, of the coming of the Beloved, of the Flood, and of the end of the world. It is full of excellent sentiments and pious lore, dating probably from a little before the coming of Christ.

Enoch received thirty leaves of writing from heaven, as Adam had received thirty-one and Seth twenty-nine. (Masudi i, c. iii, p. 73.)

ὁὗτος πρῶτος γράμματα μανθάνει καὶ διδάσκει, καὶ θείων μυστηρίων ἀποκαλύψεως ἀξιοῦται. (Cedren. *Hist. Comp.*, p. 17.) Adam is also said to have written a thousand leaves on the property of plants, climate, etc. (See Quatremère's *Agricultura Nabathæorum*, quoted in Chwolson's *Die Ssabier*, i, pp. 706, 708.

32 I then inquired of the Angel of Peace who was going about with me : "For whom are the instruments I see prepared?" And he said : "For the host of Azazel, to be delivered to the [or, cast under] the lowest condemnation—Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Phanuel shall be strengthened at that time—when the Lord of Spirits sends forth chastisement—then shall the stores of waters that are above the heavens burst open, on the fountains of water that are on the earth and under the earth. Those waters shall then mix together as it were in union, and shall blot out all that is in the earth, unto the borders of heaven. Thus shall they be made to know the iniquity they have committed in the earth; and thus shall they be punished." (*Book of Enoch*, c. lix., p. 30.)

"And now Methuselah my son," said

Enoch, "I have made known unto thee all [that Uriel told me concerning the seasons, days, years and stars of heaven]. Keep, O Methuselah my son, the books of [me] thy father, that thou mayest transmit them to generations in the world. I have given wisdom to thee and to thy children, and to the children thou shalt have, that they may give it to those that are to come for ever. (c. lxxxii, p. 57.)

"I have made known to thee, Methuselah my son, all that I saw before thy birth; now listen to another vision I have had. As I was in the house of Mahalaleel, my father-in-law, I saw heaven fall upon the earth. And as it fell, the earth was suspended in a great abyss, mountains upon mountains, hills upon hills, great trees were wrenched off their roots [trunks] and were thrown in a heap into the abyss. And I cried, The earth is destroyed! Mahalaleel heard my cry. I told him the vision. My son, said he, the earth will be destroyed, in a great overthrow because of the sins of men. Now then, arise, and pray the Lord that a remnant be left," etc. (c. lxxxiii, pp. 59, 60.)

33 "And now, Methuselah my son," said Enoch, "call together all thy brothers and all thy mother's sons—for a voice calls me; and my spirit within me is troubled, to make known unto you all that shall ever happen to you." Then Methuselah brought them to Enoch, who said to all his righteous children : "Hear, O my children, the words of your father—my beloved : Love righteousness, and walk therein. Approach not right [or, integrity] with a double heart, and make no fellowship with double-hearted men. But walk in righteousness, O my children; for it will lead you in good paths. And let righteousness be your companion.—Hearken unto me, therefore, O my children : Walk in the ways of right-

cousness, and avoid those of violence; for those who walk therein shall perish for ever." (*Book of Enoch*, xci, pp. 74, 75.)

34 "After that—I went up to heaven," says Enoch, "and I saw the sons of holy angels treading on flame of fire, whose garments were white and their faces brilliant like [hail] crystal. And I saw two rivers of fire, like unto hyacinth; and I then fell on my face before the Lord of Spirits. But Michael took me by the hand and raised me up. —But I fell again on my face, my flesh was dissolved, and my spirit was changed; and I cried with a loud voice and great spirit, I blessed, and praised, and extolled. And what I did was acceptable to the Ancient of Days—who came with Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Phanuel, and thousands of angels—one of which came to me and

said: Thou art the son of a man, born for righteousness; righteousness has rested on thee, and the righteousness of the Ancient of Days shall not forsake thee. And the angel said to me: He will give thee peace in His name for ever—and it shall be so unto thee for ever and ever.—Thus shall be length of days with this son of sons of men, and peace shall be to the righteous; His right path shall be to them [to follow] in the name of the Lord of Spirits, for ever." (*Book of Enoch*, c. lxxi, pp. 45, 46.)

Sed et Enoch sine circumcissione placens Deo, cum esset homo, Dei legatione ad Angelos jungebatur, et translatus est. (S. Irenæus, *Hæres.*, lib. iv, c. 30. See also Fabric. *Cod. Apoc. V. T.*, vol. i, p. 160, sq. for other authorities.)

NOTES TO BOOK III.

1 After a time, said Enoch, my son Methuselah, took for his son Lamech, a wife who bare him a son, whose body was white like hoar-frost, and red like the blossom of a rose; the hair of his head was white as wool, and as long; he had beautiful eyes, that shone like the sun, and lighted up the whole house, when he opened them. No sooner did he leave the hands of the midwife, than he began to speak to the Lord in righteousness.

Then Lamech his father was afraid of him, and running, came to his father Methuselah, and said unto him: "A son is born unto me, strange and unlike other children of men, but like a child of angels of heaven; his nature [crea-

tion] is different, and is not like us. His eyes are like the rays [feet] of the sun; his countenance glorious; and, altogether, he looks as if not born of me, but rather of angels; and I am afraid some wonder will be wrought on the earth in his days. I beseech thee, go and inquire of Enoch, who is in heaven, concerning him."

Methuselah then came and found me at the end of the earth, and told me what had happened.

Then I, Enoch, said to him, that in the days of that child a great flood would destroy the earth, and all the inhabitants thereof, except that one and his three sons, whose children should beget giants, not spiritual, but carnal,

etc. And tell Lamech that his son's name shall be Noah; because he shall be the one of you that shall be left after you, etc. (*Book of Enoch*, c. cv, p. 87, 88.) [Eth. *nuah*, long. The Hebrew etymology is given further on.]

2 Noah was 600 years old, when Methuselah died aged 969 years on a Friday, about mid-day, the twenty-first of Ilul, which is Thut. Then Noah and Shem embalmed him and laid him in the Cave of Treasures, and mourned for him forty days. There was now no one left on the Holy mountain, but only Noah with his wife, whose name was Haikal, daughter of Namusa, Enoch's son, and his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, with their wives, who were of the daughters of Methuselah. Shem's wife was called Salit; Ham's wife, Nahlat; and Japhet's wife, Arisisah.

But when iniquity increased on the earth through the intercourse of the children of Seth with those of Cain the accursed, and they committed all manner of wickedness and took to all sorts of amusements, God made known to Noah, saying, I shall send the Flood over the earth and destroy everything in it. And He commanded Noah to come down the Holy mountain, and to build a ship, of square timber (some say of the wood of the Indian plane-tree), three hundred yards long, fifty broad, and thirty high, lined with pitch and bitumen both in and out, with three stories; the lower for four-footed beasts, the middle for birds, and the upper for himself and his family, with a door [opening or window] on the eastern side, with cisterns for water, and places for food. (Eutyech. *Nazam al-j.*, pp. 34, 37.)

3 Philo, *Quæst.*, c. ii, p. 5, Armen. in Gen., compares the ark to the human body, after whose pattern he thinks it was made. It seems that both S. Augus-

tine (*Contra. Faust.*, l. xii, c. 39) and S. Ambrose (*Hexaëmer.* l. vi. c. 9) were of the same opinion, which they borrowed from Philo.

4 And God commanded Noah to make a bell (*nāgus*, a flat piece of wood, suspended and beaten with a wooden clapper, commonly used in the east, to call to prayer) three yards long, of the wood of the Indian plane (*sāj*), a yard and a half broad, with a clapper of the same wood. And that Noah should beat it three times a day; in the morning, to gather men to their work; again at noon at the hour of dinner; and again in the evening, at the time of parting. "And when they hear thee," said God to Noah, "beating the bell, and they ask thee saying: What is it thou art doing? Tell them, God is about to send a flood." (Eutyech. *Nazam al-j.*, p. 73.)

It is evident that Eutyechus borrowed his information from the Arabic copy of this book; for he mentions the *sāj* "Indian plane," or teak tree; the wood of which Noah is said to have built the ark, because it does not rot [or, is not attacked by worms], but is passed over by the Ethiopic translator, who probably did not understand the term, as suggested by Dr. Trumpp, for he hereby rendered it "ebony."

Dionysius Bar Salibi in his *Pushogo d'quroro*, or "Exposition of the Liturgy," ch. iv, asks whence comes *noqusho*, the wooden clapper or bell beaten to call people to church, or the small brass bell rung, during the service: "We answer," says he, "that it is written in many histories, that when God commanded Noah to build the ark, He also told him to make a bell; which was beaten in the morning to gather workmen to their work at the ark; then at noon, for them to enjoy their meal; and again in the evening, for them to rest from their work." (Asseman, *Bibl. Or.*, vol. ii, p. 179.)

5 God raised Noah a preacher of righteousness in those days; whose words were hard (*i.e.*, as clear) as torches. He said to them: "Repent, or the Flood will overwhelm you." But they laughed at him—That old man of the ark! and said: "A flood! whence will it come? If it is of fire, we have a thing called *עליטה*, Alitha, that will save us from it. If it is a flood of waters, from the earth, we have iron plates [or, hoes] wherewith to dig; and if it comes from the heaven, we have a thing called *עקרב*, a sponge, to soak it up." Then he said to them: "It will come from between the soles of your feet." [With a play on *עקרב* or *עקרב* a sponge, and *עקב* sole or heel, of the foot, etc.] Talmud Bab., *Sanhedr.*, p. 216.

6 According to the Talmud and to Jewish Rabbis, Og, king of Bashan, was one of these giants who had escaped drowning in the Flood, by being shut up in a box with a unicorn, or by sitting on the top of the ark, and fed by Noah. (Targ. *Jonathan* in Gen. xiv.) Others say he was the same Eliezer, Abraham's servant, whom he used to cover with the palm of his hand, etc. But in the Targum of Jonathan B. Uzziel, on Numb. xxi, 36, we read that: Og seeing the camp of the Israelites three miles long, went and fetched a mountain of that size, to throw it upon the camp. Upon which the Word of God *מן יד זמין זחלה* prepared at once a snail [or, worm] that ate a hole through the mountain; so that Og's head passed through it [the mountain resting on his shoulders]. He then tried to get it out: but his teeth having grown on each side of his mouth, he could not do so. Moses then took a hatchet ten cubits long, and smote him in the heel, etc.

7 It is said in the Law that Sons of God (called Beni Elohim), when

they looked upon the beautiful daughters of Cain, came down to them; whence giants were born. But he errs, and knows not what he is saying, who tells us that angels came down to daughters of men (lit. of the flesh). But they were the sons of Seth who came down from the Holy mountain to the daughters of Cain the accursed, for the sons of Seth were called Beni Elohim, or sons of God, by reason of their purity, and so long as they dwelt on the Holy mountain. They err then, who say that angels came down to the daughters of men (lit. of the flesh); for the essence of angels is simple [or, single] and their nature is in no need of marriage. Man, however, is composite in his nature, who requires marriage, like other animals. If angels had intercourse with daughters of men, not one of them would remain a virgin. (Eutych. *Nazam al-j.*, p. 26.)

8 God commanded Noah to make a ship, and when it was finished, Gabriel brought the coffin containing the bones of Adam, which was laid in the ark. (Masudi i, ch. iii, p. 74.)

Eutychus puts the following words in the mouth of Lamech, who, when dying, in the five hundred and fifty-ninth year of Noah, said unto him: "God, the mighty and glorious, will not leave thee on this mountain. When, therefore, thou shalt go down, take with thee the body of Adam, and bring with thee the three offerings, namely, the gold, the myrrh, and the incense. Then command thy son that after thy death he take the body of our father Adam, and lay it in the middle of the earth.

"Then appoint from among thy sons one man to minister there; a man devoted to God all the days of his life; without a wife; who shall shed no blood, and bring no offering, neither bird nor beast, but only bread and

wine ; for from thence shall come the salvation of Adam [or, of man]. His raiment shall be of the skin of wild beasts ; he shall not shave his hair, neither pare his nails ; but remain alone ; for he shall be called priest of God, that is, Melchizedec." After giving these commandments to his son Noah, Lamech died on a Sunday, at sunset, the nineteenth of Adar, which is Barmahat ; Noah then embalmed him, and laid him in the Cave of Treasures, and they mourned for him forty days. (Eutych. *Nazam al-j.*, p. 33.)

9 The apocryphal history of Melchizedec found among the writings of S. Athanasius (vol. ii, p. 7, sq.) tells us that "there was a queen of Salem whose son was called Salaad." This Salaad had a son called Melchi, and Melchi having married a wife called Salem, had by her two sons, Melchi and Melchizedec.

Melchizedec, who was an idolater, was brought to the knowledge of the true God, by beholding the starry heavens and the works of nature. He then renounced his idols ; and, leaving his home to avoid the sacrifice of his brother to the seven planets, went up Mount Tabor, where he prayed God to destroy all those who had slain and sacrificed his brother to idols. Upon this the earth suddenly opened, and swallowed up the whole of Melchizedec's family. Therefore is he said to be ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, ἀγενεαλόγητος. He then continued seven years to live in a thick forest on Mount Tabor, almost naked, until his back became ὥσεϊ δέρμα χελώνης, like the back of a tortoise.

Then Abraham went to fetch him ; pared his nails, and clothed him in pontifical vestments. Melchizedec then blessed Abraham, and gave him ποτήριον ἄκρατον καὶ κλάσμα ἄρτου καὶ τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ τῆς, a cup of pure wine and a morsel of bread, to him and

to the three hundred and eighteen men who were with him. This is the figure of the holy Eucharist, and of the three hundred and eighteen fathers assembled at the Council of Nicæa. Melchizedec also is taken for the Son of God, but not εἰς τὴν χάριν, as to spiritual gifts.

Gregory of Dathev, a celebrated Armenian divine of the fourteenth century, seems to have known this tradition. In his book (*Kirk hartsmants*, c. xvii, p. 300, ed. Const.) he says : "Melchizedec's father was called Melchi, and his mother, Sala ; and they dwelt at Salem. From his birth he was consecrated to idols ; but he was carried away by an angel to Mount Tabor, and fed there, until he was grown up. One day a cloud descended upon the mountain, and a hand stretched out of the cloud, ordained him priest saying : "Melchizedec, without father, mother or kindred, and like unto the Son of God ;" because having been taken from his parents when quite a child, he had grown unlike them, not knowing them, and unknown to them. His dwelling was on Mount Golgotha where he sowed wheat with his own hands and made his own wine. So that when Abraham met him, he brought out to him some unleavened bread still warm, and some wine ; a figure of the Lord's Supper.

"But why does S. Ephrem in his writings, say that Melchizedec was Shem?" asks Gregory. And he answers : "He had not two names neither is he a different person. But Irinos (Irenæus ?) gives the reason which is difficult to understand. Noah blessed Shem, but Shem had no son like himself to bless. Abraham, however, was of the family of Shem, and worthy of a blessing. But Shem was not then living, to bless him ; and Terah could not bless. So Melchizedec took Shem's

place and did what Shem would have done, he blessed Abraham, and was called Shem."

The passage in S. Ephrem (Opp. Syr., vol. i, c. xiii, p. 60) runs thus: "Melchizedec was Shem. He was king by reason of his power as the head of fourteen tribes. He was also priest, having received the priesthood in due order [or, course *b'gvolō*] from Noah. Not only was he living in the days of Abraham, but he also saw Jacob and Esau, and was consulted by Rebecca, as to the children she was then bearing.

To this S. Chrysostom (*Hom.* xxxv in Gen.) says that Melchizedec was ἰσως αἰτοχειροτόνητος οὕτω γὰρ ἦσαν τότε οἱ ἱερεῖς, perhaps self-ordained as priests were in those days; or by reason of his old age; or, may be, he had practised the offering of sacrifices like Abel, Noah, Abraham, etc. Marcus Eremita (*Opusc.* x, de Melchizedec), borrows from S. Athanasius, and agrees with his account, of the three hundred and eighteen men who were with Abraham, that they were a figure of the three hundred and eighteen patriarchs, who on Christ's side, ἐν τῇ Νικαίων πόλει ἀποστολικῶς ὁπλισάμενοι ἐτροπώσαντο τὰς αἱρέσεις, and in apostolic armour, put to flight heresies, when assembled at Nicæa. And so also wrote S. Ambrose. (*Comp. de Fide* lib. i, prolog. and *de Patr. Abrahamo*, lib. i, c. 3.)

10 R. Meir O. Gabbai, in *Avod. haqqodesh* iii, fol. 80 (quoted in Eisenm. vol. i, p. 318) found in the Midrash that R. Jukhanan taught, that God took Shem the son of Noah, and והפרישו לשרתו לכהן עליון set him apart for Priest of the Most High, to minister before His Shekinah; and then changed his name to Melchizedec; and that his brother Japhet had learnt the law in his school. And R. Bekhai (*Biur.* fol. 24) says of Melchizedec, king of Salem,

זה שם בן נח "he is Shem, the son of Noah."

Tradunt Hebræi hunc esse Sem, primum filium Noe, et eo tempore quo ortus est Abraham, habuisse antiquitatis annos ccxc. Nec esse novum si Melchizedech victori Abraham obviam processerit—et benedixerit ei quod ab nepote suo jure paternitatis dederit, etc. Salem etiam, Hierusalem esse plurimi arbitrantur, quod absurdum est. Non enim invia Abrahæ Hierusalem erat, sed oppidum in metropoli Sichem, dequa in Evangelio legimus. (S. Ambrose in *Epist. ad Hebr.*, c. vii.)

See *Apophthegmata Patrum*, c. viii, in *Eccles. Græc. Monumenta*, ed. Coteler, vol. i, p. 423, for an account of a monk of the desert who believed Melchizedec to have been the Son of God. The matter was referred to S. Cyril of Alex. who rebuked him for it. Meanwhile the monk had a revelation of all the patriarchs from Adam; when he saw that Melchizedec was indeed a man. (For the sect of the Melchizedekians, see S. Epiph. *Hæres.* xxxv, vol. i; and J. Damascen, *Hæres.* lv. in Cotel. *Eccl. Græc. Mon.* vol. i, p. 295.)

11 Then Noah went into the Cave of Treasures and embraced the body of Seth, of Enos, of Cainan, of Mahalaleel, of Jared, of Methuselah and of Lamech. Then he took the body of Adam, and also the offerings: Shem carried the gold, Ham the myrrh, and Japhet the incense. (*Eutyck. Nazam al-j.*, p. 37.)

12 And as they came down the Holy mountain, they lifted up their eyes and wept, saying: "Farewell (lit. peace on thee) O thou sacred Paradise!" Then they kissed the stones and embraced the trees of the Holy mountain and came down. (*Eutyck. Nazam al-j.*, p. 37.)

13 Then Noah went into the ark, he, his wife, his sons and their wives, and Noah carried the body of Adam and laid it in the middle of the ark, and the

offerings (of gold, incense and myrrh) upon it. Then he and his sons occupied the eastern side of the ark, and his wife and his sons' wives, the western side; lest they should come together. (Eutych. *Nazam al-j.*, p. 38.)

14 And God said unto Noah: "Fasten into the ark precious stones and pearls, to lighten you up as in mid-day." (Talmud Bab. *Sanhedr.*, p. 176.)

And God said to Noah: "Go to Phison, and choose from thence a precious stone [יוֹדֵהָ, Pers. *juwar*, a 'gem,' also a 'pearl'] and fix it in the ark, in order to give you light." (Targ. *Jonathan* in Gen. vii.)

15 In *Bereshith Rabbah* (ad loc.) we are told that Mount Gerizim was not covered with the waters of the Flood; because it is but a small mountain; and only the highest mountains are said to have been covered! S. Eustathius Antiochenus, however, mentions in his *Hexaëmeron* (col. 752, ed. M.) that petrified shells and fishes were found on the top of Mount Lebanon, in proof that the waters of the flood had reached and covered the highest summits of that chain.

16 On the seventeenth day of Ilul, which is Thut, the seventh month (according to the reckoning of the Christians of Egypt), the ark rested on the mountains of Ararat, that is Djebel el-Djudi, near Mosul, in the country of Diarabia, near a town called Korda; but it is now called the land of Thamanim and Djezire Ben Omar. (Eutych. *Nazam al-j.*, p. 41.)

Quotations from the Assyrian accounts of the Flood, as well as from the Pehlevi *Bundehesh* [or, *Creation*] would be out of place here. But they are well worth the study of all who take interest in these matters.

The mountain on which the ark rested, is generally called Mount Ararat. But "Ararat" is the name of one of the provinces of Armenia, and is the

Hebrew term for Armenia. The Armenians themselves, call that mountain Mount Masis. (See for a learned treatise on this subject, and for the many names of the mountain, Injidjean, *Armen. Geogr.*, vol. i, p. 54, sq.)

17 From the day this world was destroyed by fire, to the day it was destroyed by water, 100,000 years elapsed. Then 8000 years later, a voice came to me: "Build an ark." He then got builders, and cut cedars in Haran and in Lebanon, and was three hundred years building the ark, three hundred yards long, fifty broad, and thirty in height; wherein he gathered animals of all kinds, male and female. Then the fountains of heaven and earth broke forth—and the ark after floating on the waters eleven months, rested on the mountains of Kardun. [*Kardu*, Targ. *Onk. Carducci M.* in Ararat.] Then Noah sent forth a raven, saying to it: "Go and see if the flood has abated." The raven went, found a carcass on which it began to feed, and forgot Noah's order. Then Noah sent forth a dove, saying to it: "Go and see if the flood is assuaged, and where the raven is I sent forth before thee." The dove went forth, found the raven feeding on a carcass; and then brought back a branch of olive to Noah, who then knew that the flood had abated. Then Noah cursed the raven, but blessed the dove. Thus was the race of his son Shem and of his wife Nuraïto preserved; and by them was the earth peopled, etc. (*Cod. Nasar.* iii, p. 72.)

Bar. Hebræus *Syr.* (p. 7) says that the ark rested at Apamæa, chief city of Pisidia [of which there exists coins with the ark and the dove. Bryant. *Anc. Myth.*, vol. iii, p. 47, sq.]; but Bar. Hebræus *Arab.*, says, with the Targum, *Cod. Nasar.*, and the Coran, that it rested on Mount Kardun, or Juda [now called Dshudi] of Ararat or

Armenia. [This agrees with Scripture ; and seems most likely, from the situation of those mountains as regards the plain at Shinar—Sinjar—where the first families settled after the Flood. The *Kufale* calls Lubar the mountain on which the ark rested ; and the Samaritan Pentateuch (Gen. viii, 4) says it rested in Serandib, or Ceylon.]

18 The dove is a figure of the Holy Ghost, says S. Ephrem (vol. i, p. 149.) Her finding no resting place for her foot, the first time, represents the wickedness of men's manners among which the Holy Ghost finds no resting place. The second time the dove went forth, figures the coming of Christ, and the shedding forth of the Holy Ghost ; while the olive branch is an emblem of our reconciliation with God the Father. The raven is of the devil. [See the original for a very fair explanation of the rainbow.]

19 Cedrenus alluding to the floods of Ogyges in Attica and of Deucalion in Thessaly says, that the Egyptians made mention of the flood of Deucalion, declaring that it had not reached them ; and rightly too, says Cedrenus τοπικὸς γὰρ γέγονεν οὗτος ὁ κατακλυσμός· τὸν γὰρ πρότερον ἦτοι τὸν καθολικὸν κατακλυσμὸν οὐδὲ γινώσκουσιν· for that flood was local ; and they could have no knowledge of the universal deluge, for their ancestor was not yet born. For Ham, son of Noah, was father of Mitsraim, whence are the Egyptians. (*Hist. Comp.*, p. 26.)

One shows still on Mount Djudi the spot on which the ark rested, says Masudi [but so do Armenians the same, on Mount Masis, or Ararat]. Then the earth was commanded to absorb the waters ; some portions of the earth were slow at obeying God, other portions did so at once. Those that obeyed, yield fresh water when dug ; the disobedient, were punished by God, by remaining

salt. So that the seas are the remnant of the waters in which the families [of the earth] perished. (Masudi i, c. iii, p. 75.)

And on the seventh month, Nisan, the ark rested on the mountains of Kadron ; the name of one mountain is Kardania, and of the other, Armenia ; and there was the city of Armenia built, in the land of the east—so says Targ. *Jonathan* in Gen. viii.

So says also Abulfeda *Geogr. Arab.*, p. 69, and El-kaswini, 'Ajaib, vol. i, p. 156, that remnants of the ark were still to be seen on Mount Djudi, whither people went on pilgrimage, and whence they brought wood of the ark.

20 S. Ephrem (vol. i, p. 54, 150) repeats this, which he rests on Gen. vii, 7, literally taken. But R. Jochanan says that three disobeyed Noah's order in this respect : the dog, the raven, and Ham, all of which were punished. The dog, by the leash ; the raven, by contempt ; and Ham, in his skin. (Talm. Bab. *Sanhedrin*, p. 216.)

21 And when they were come out of the ark, they built themselves a city and called it *Thamanin*, according to their number, for (said they) "we are eight."

And the sons of Noah planted a vine, and gave of the wine to their father, etc. (Eutych. *Nazam al-j.*, p. 43.)

22 Νῶε ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπέλῳνα ἐν ὄρει Λουβάν τῆς Ἀρμενίας. (Cedrenus, *Hist. Comp.*, p. 21, A.M. 2251.) [Ararat, the name of a province of Armenia, and the Hebrew name for Armenia—bounded in the south by the Mountains Kardu, on which the ark most probably rested. They form the chain of mountains, north of the Plain of Shinar.] (See Injidjean *Geogr. of Armenia*, in Armenian, vol. i, p. 54.)

23 There are three, says *Midr. Tankhuma*, fol. 12, who, by their connection with the land, made it חוֹלִין common [or, unclean] Cain, Noah and Uziah.

When Noah was planting the vine, Satan stood by him, and asked him what he was doing. "Planting the vine," answered Noah. "What is the good of it?" asked Satan. "The fruit thereof is soft and sweet, whether fresh or dry, and they make of it 'wine, that maketh glad the heart of man' as it is written." "Let me have a hand in it, and let us do it together," said Satan. And by and by, he brought a lamb under the vine and slew it there; likewise a lion, and also a swine. Thereby meaning that a man who was as meek as a lamb, is made furious by wine, or that he who drinks in moderation (as it becometh him) is made strong thereby, and he that drinks too much revels in filth like a swine.

In the third year after coming out of the ark, says S. Ephrem, did Noah sow vine, *men kamshune daphkoshitō*, with stones of raisins [or, dried grapes] which he had stored up as provisions with him in the ark. It would then take the vine three or four years to bear fruit; so that Noah drank of the wine thereof, probably in the sixth or seventh year after the waters of the Flood were assuaged. (*Ibid.* vol. i, p. 56.)

According to the *Kufale* (c. vii, pp. 29, 30) Noah planted the vine first on Mount Lubar, on which the ark rested, one of the mountains of Ararat. Then Ham, after Noah's curse on him, severed himself from the rest and built a city, called after his wife, Nehelata-mek. Japhet, jealous of him, also built a city, called after his wife, Adatenases; and Shem did the same, and built a city which he called Sedukatelbab, also after his wife. These three cities are all near Mount Lubar, east, west and south. [Noah's city, "Semanan" is "Shamanin," "eight." It is mentioned by Abulfeda *Geogr. Arab.*, p. 69.]

Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, lib. i, c. iii, p. 5) says, "that the place where the ark

rested, and whence Noah descended, is called 'Αποβατήριον, and is shown by the inhabitants." And Mich. Tchamich in his *History of Armenia*, vol. i, p. 56, says, that the ark having rested on a mountain of Ararat [a province of Armenia, so called], that is on Mount Masis (τὸ Μάσιον, Strab. *Geogr.*, lib. xii, c. ii), Noah made *ür istchevan* his descent near it; there he settled his sons, and called the name of the city *Nakh-istchevan*, the "first descent," or according to others, *Nakh-tohwan*, "first departure," or migration. (See also Idjidjean, *Geogr. of Armenia*, vol. i, p. 54, sq.)

And Epiphan. *Hæres*, lib. i, c. 1, p. 4, speaking of the ark, says, it rested *ἐν ὄρεσι τοῖς Ἀραράτ ἀνὰ μέσον Ἀρμενίων καὶ Καρδύων ἐν τῇ Λουβάρ ὄρει καλουμένῃ*—and that the settlement was there, *πρόσω βαίνοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Λουβάρ ὄρους, καὶ ὀρέων τῆς Ἀρμενίας—γίνονται ἐν πεδίῳ Σενναάρ, ἐνθά που ἐπελέξαντο*.

Ἡλίβατον τανύμηκες ὄρος, Ἀραράτ δὲ καλεῖται. (*Orac. Sibyll.* p. 152.)

And Berosus (ed. Richter, p. 56, sq.) telling how Xisuthrus having been divinely warned to build himself a ship—length five stadia—breadth two stadia—wherein to escape the Flood, he, his wife, children and all animals, etc., adds that the ship stood fast *ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ ἔτε μέρος τε (αὐτοῦ) ἐν τοῖς Κορδυαίων ὄρεσι τῆς Ἀρμενίας διαμένειν*—in Armenia, a portion of the ship still remained on the Cordyæan Mountains, whence people brought away some of the asphalte, or bitumen wherewith the ship was lined, etc. See also Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, lib. i, c. iii, p. 6) who quotes a passage from Nicholas Damascenus, concerning Mount Baris [*i.e.*, *βάρις*, an ark or boat] in Armenia, whither many fled for safety at the time of the Flood, and

where one landed in a ship, the wood of which remained there a long time. Perhaps it is the one mentioned by Moses. (See also Nicolas Dam. *Historiarum fragm.*, etc., ed. Jo. Conradus Orellius, Lips., p. 123.)

"We know," says Cedrenus (*Hist. Comp.*, p. 20), "that Mount Ararat *ἐν τῇ Παρθίᾳ τῆς Ἀρμενίας εἶναι*, is in the Parthian province of Armenia; some say in *Κελαίναϊς τῆς Φρυγίας* in the Celænæ of Phrygia." [Legend of Apamæa Kibotos.]

24 According to the *Kufale* (c. vii, p. 31), in the twenty-eighth Jubilee, Noah began to give his laws and precepts to his children's children, with right and judgment, and adjured them to practise righteousness, to cover the shame of their bodies, to bless their Creator, to honour their father and mother, to love their neighbour, and to keep themselves from all adultery, defilement, and violence. For it was on account of this that God had overwhelmed the earth with the Flood. [These are the precepts which alone were binding on the proselytes of the Gate, or sojourners, among the Israelites. Maimonides, *Melakim*, c. xiv, vol. iv, p. 300, ed. fol. Amst.]

According to *Avodath haqqodesh* iii, fol. 80 (quoted in Eisenmenger, vol. i, p. 318), albeit the law was created before the world, yet it had so far been forgotten, and was likely to be forgotten still so much more through the wickedness and troubles that were before the Flood, that God decreed to give as few and as short commandments as possible; so as to be easily remembered. Noah had learnt these commandments at school under Seth, and handed them down to his sons.

25 When the death of Noah drew near he called secretly his son Shem and commanded him saying: "Take out of the ark, unknown to any one, the

body of Adam; and take with thee bread and wine as provision by the way; then take with thee Melchizedec the son of Phalek, and go and lay the body of Adam where the angel of God shall show you. Then command Melchizedec to settle in that place; not to take him a wife; but to devote himself to the service of God all the days of his life; for God has chosen him to minister before Him. He shall not build for himself a house, neither shall he shed the blood of either beast, bird, or other living thing; neither shall he bring there any other offering to God than bread and wine. His raiment shall be skins of wild beasts [or, of a lion]; he shall not shave his hair, nor pare his nails; but he shall remain alone [or, single] as priest of the Most High. And the angel of God will go with you two (lit. between you two) until ye come to the place where ye shall bury the body of Adam. And know thou that that place is the middle of the earth. (Entych, *Nazam al-j.*, p. 45.)

26 The *Kufale* makes Noah divide the earth by lot, among his sons. He rejoiced over the lot fallen to Shem, in fulfilment of his blessing on him, because his possession which was to be for ever, reached unto the River Gihon and the Garden of Eden, taking in the most holy places on earth, Mount Zion, Mount Sinai, and the Garden of Eden, where the Lord dwelt. (*Ibid.* c. viii, pp. 36, 73.)

And the three sons of Noah, divided the lot of their inheritance, among their children, in presence of Noah their father, who adjured them with a curse, not to seek another inheritance than that which had fallen by lot to them, and they all said, *laikun walaikun*, So be it, and so be it! (*Ibid.* c. ix, p. 40.)

Soon after wicked spirits, or devils, began to lead astray the children of Noah, that were born in the earth. He

then prayed to God, who commanded us, said the Angel of the Face, to bind them for ever. But the Prince of the Spirits, Mastema, stood before the Lord, and prayed that He would leave him some spirits of his race whereby to deceive and harass the children of men. So the Lord granted him one-tenth part of his spirits; and the rest he sent to the place of judgment. Then we taught Noah the use of remedies and the art of healing; and he gave all his writings to his son Shem, whom he loved most. (*Kufale*, c. x, pp. 41, 42.)

But whereas Ham, Cush and Mitsraim, took possession of the land fallen to them by lot, Canaan took with violence possession of the land he coveted, along the sea-shore. His brothers remonstrated with him, and told him he would be accursed for having taken a lot that belonged to Shem and had not fallen to him. But he would not hearken to them; and dwelt in the land from Hamath to Egypt. (*Ibid.* pp. 44, 45.)

Bar. Hebr. *Syr.*, p. 9, attributes this to all the sons of Ham.

27 Noah died nine hundred and fifty years old. According to the reckoning of the LXX, there are two thousand two hundred and forty-two years from the Creation to the Flood; according to the Jews, sixteen hundred and six; and according to the Samaritans, thirteen hundred and seven, which reckoning is entirely wrong; in that it makes Noah to have lived two hundred and twenty-three years with Adam, whereof nothing is said, either by God or by His prophets. According to the reckoning of Abinanus [Anianus?] of Alexandria, however, from the creation of Adam and the night of the Friday on which the Flood began, there were two thousand two hundred and twenty-six years, one month, twenty-three days, and four hours. (*Abulpharaj*, *Dyn. Arab.*, p. 14.)

28 It is commonly reported, says Abulpharaj (*Dyn. Arab.*, p. 15), that Noah just before his death gave Shem a commandment saying: "When I am dead, bring the coffin of our father Adam out of the ark, and take with thee of thy children, Melchizedec, for he is priest of the Most High God, and go with him and the coffin to the place, whither the angel of the Lord will lead you." Those two did according to this commandment; and the angel brought them to the hill of Beth-el-Maqdes [or, Muqaddas] and Melchizedec laid the coffin on the hill, and settled there; but Shem went back to his people.

Melchizedec, however, did not go back, but built there the city of Jerusalem, which means the City of Peace (whence himself is also called Melek Salem, that is King of Peace); and he spent the rest of his days in devotion to the service of God; he never drew near a woman; never shed blood; and his offering [qorban] was of bread and wine only. But as Holy Scripture, speaking of his exalted state, mentions neither his birth nor his death, the holy Apostle Paul says of him that he had "neither beginning of days, nor end of life." He was made a type of Christ in David's prophecy. "Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedec." On the very same hill on which our father Adam was buried, was Christ also crucified.

Melchizedec is called Lamech, Noah's grandson, by Masudi, who adds that those who believe the Scripture, think Lamech is still living; because God said to Shem that he to whom He should entrust the body of Adam, would live for ever. And Shem, after having laid Adam's body in the centre of the earth, left it in charge of Lamech. (*Masudi* i, ch. iii, pp. 80, 81.)

29 And Phalek begat Melchizedec the priest. Then Shem did according to what Noah had commanded him; he went into the ark by night, and brought out the body of Adam; no one being aware of it. He then called his brothers and said to them: "My father, indeed, did command me before his death, that I go forth until I arrive at the sea, and see how the land lies and the rivers and valleys thereof; then that I return to you. I will, therefore, leave with you my wife and children; and take care of them until my return."

Then Shem said to Phalek: "Give me thy son Melchizedec, to be a help to me on my journey." Then Shem took with him the body of Adam and Melchizedec, and departed. And the angel of God met them, and did not depart from between them until he had led them to the middle of the earth, and showed them the spot. When they alighted the body of Adam upon it, the earth opened itself; Shem and Melchizedec laid the body into the place that had thus opened itself; and it closed itself again. And the name of that is *El-jaljala*, that is, Cranium (Golgotha). (Eutych. *Nazam al-j.*, p. 49.)

30 On this day—third of Epagumene—we commemorate the death of Melchizedec. This Melchizedec was the son of Cainan, son of Shem. And when he was fifteen years old, God commanded Noah to send Shem his son, with the body of our father Adam, and to lay it in the middle of the earth, which is Cranin [Cranium, Golgotha]; and told him how the Saviour of the world should come, be sacrificed there, and redeem Adam with His blood.

Then Shem took Melchizedec from his father's house, and hid (him), and brought him hither, whither the Angel of the Lord brought them; and Melchizedec was consecrated priest, and

took twelve stones, and offered on them a sacrifice of bread and wine, that came down to him from heaven in his sight (lit. he seeing), the mystery of a new (covenant) law. Angels also brought him food; and his raiment was of skins with a leathern girdle. And he continued to minister before the body of our father Adam. And when Abraham returned from his victory over the kings, Melchizedec offered him bread and wine; and Abraham also gave him tithe of all. And he was called priest and king of Salem. (Melchizedec, in Dillmann's *Chrestom. Æthiop.*, p. 16.)

31 Our Rabbis of blessed memory, says R. Abarbanel (*Com. in Pent.*, fol. 46) and R. Abendana (in *Leqet Shecha*, fol. 6) are of opinion that Melchizedec is Shem, the son of Noah. He is called, Melchizedec, that is king of Jerusalem, for Jerusalem is *Zedec* (righteousness), because it makes righteous its inhabitants. *Beresh. Rabbah*, fol. 47, and *Yedei Moshe*, ad l. add that Melchizedec was born already circumcised.

See S. Epiphanius (*Adv. Hær.*, vol. i, p. 468, sq.) for his refutation of the sect of Melchizedechians, who worshipped Melchizedec instead of Christ. S. Epiphanius says he has crushed them ὡς περ μυογαλλίδιον λίθῳ πεπαικότις, "like a young shrewmouse struck with a stone." (p. 476.)

32 Then Shem gave Melchizedec the commandment he had received from Noah, and said unto him: "Abide here, and be priest of God: for God has chosen thee to minister before Him. And His angel shall come down to thee at all times." Then Shem went back to his brothers; and when Phalek asked him what had become of the youth Melchizedec, Shem answered, that he was dead, and that he had buried him. And they were much grieved at it. (Eutych. *Nazam al-j.*, p. 50.)

34 Arphaxad took to wife Rasuya,

daughter of Susan, daughter of Elam, who bare him a son, Cainan. This Cainan, taught letters by his father, while looking for a place where to build a city [Haran], found an inscription on stone, the work of the Watchers, wherein was recorded the course of heavenly bodies, etc.; but he hid the discovery from Noah. (*Kufale*, c. viii, p. 34.) Abulpharaj (*Dyn. Syn.*, p. 7, 8; *Arab.*, p. 15) remarks that Cainan, who lived four hundred and thirty years, is not reckoned in the Hebrew, Samaritan, and Syriac texts. But he is reckoned [in the LXX, and also] by S. Luke [c. iii]. He is said to have invented astrology; and that his children raised a statue to him, and worshipped him as a god.

That inscription of the Watchers, or children of Seth, and discovered by Cainan, is alluded to by Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, lib. i, c. ii, p. 3) when he says that: "the children of Seth, like their father, excellent men given to virtue and to the study of the heavenly bodies—and not wishing that their discoveries should perish altogether, with the world that was to be destroyed by fire and water—set up two pillars, one of brick and the other of stone, on which they wrote their astronomical observations. So that if the pillar of brick was destroyed by the waters, the one of stone should remain. And it subsists to this day κατὰ γῆν τὴν Σιρίαδα, somewhere in the Sirian land.

35 Χώρα ἐν Ἀσσυρίῃ, ὁμόφωνοι δ' ἔσαν ἅπαντες,

Καὶ βούλοντ' ἀναβῆν' εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα,

— αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἄνθρωποι μέγαν ἐψόθει πύργον

Πῖσαν, καὶ θνητοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι ἔριν ὥρσαν,

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πύργος τ' ἔπεσε, γλῶσσαι τ' ἀνθρώπων

Παντοδαπαῖς φωναῖσι δίστρεφον·

(*Orac. Sibyll.*, p. 336, quoted in Joseph *Ant. Jud.*, lib. i, c. iv, p. 3.)

36 After they had worked at it forty years, God sent a strong wind, that threw down the tower. (*Bar. Hebr. Syr.*, p. 9; and *Arab.*, p. 18.) The languages were then seventy-two and one—ὄθεν καὶ Μέροπις οὔτοι κέκληνται, διὰ τὴν μεμερισμένην φωνήν. καὶ τὸν πύργον ἀνέμων βολὴ κατέστρεψεν. (*S. Epiph. Hæres.*, lib. i, c. i, p. 5.)

37 S. Basil and Mar Ephrem say that the original tongue was Syriac; but S. James and John of Medin say it was Hebrew, spoken by Eber, who would not consent to the building of the tower of Babel; whose tongue, therefore, was not altered (Abulpharaj, *Syr.*, p. 9; *Arab.*, pp. 16, 18; Cedren. *Hist. Comp.*, p. 22), who thinks it is a proof that Hebrew was the primitive tongue spoken by Adam.

In those days the language and speech of men were one and the same. Some say it was the Syriac tongue; others say it was the Hebrew; others again say, that the tongue was Greek; and this approves itself to me. For the Greek language is wiser, clearer and broader than either the Hebrew or the Syriac.

Then seventy-two men from among the people gathered together and said: "Let us build a city, and fortify it with a wall; and let us build a tower that shall reach unto heaven; that if a flood betake us hereafter we may be saved from it." They were three years making bricks, every one of which was thirteen yards long, ten yards broad, and five yards thick, etc., and they were forty years building the city. Then an angel came down, and confounded their languages, so that one could not understand another; and the name of that city was called Babel, because the languages were confused there, and the people were dispersed. Of these seventy-two men, twenty-five were of the

children of Shem, thirty-two of those of Ham, and fifteen of the children of Japhet. Every one of these spake a different tongue, that spread over the face of the earth with their families. (Eutychn. *Nazam al-j.*, pp. 53, 54.)

38 Bar Hebræus relates a similar legend, and says that Nimrud's royal crown was made of woven material [*zaqîro*—filagree?] (*Dyn. Syr.*, p. 9), but the Arabic copy adds that—some said the crown had been let down from heaven. (p. 18).

In the days of Ragu the queen of Saba reigned many years. She built the city of Saba; and after her queens reigned over that country until the days of Solomon son of David.

In those days also reigned Karon, and they say that he melted gold, and built the city of Ukinin with bricks made of gold. (Eutychn. *Nazam al-j.*, p. 61.)

39 In the beginning of the thirty-fifth Jubilee, Ragu took Ara, the daughter of Kesed's son, who bare him Serug, so called [שרג] because in his day men increased greatly in wickedness fought one against another, took captives, made idols and defiled the earth with blood, etc. Ur, the son of Kesed, built a city which he called Ara, where he set up the worship of the host of heaven and idols, and taught men to worship them. Then did prince Mastema exert himself to further all manner of idolatry and wickedness among men. Serug dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees, where his wife Melka brought forth Nahor, who in time took Iyosaka daughter of Kheber the Chaldee, to wife, who bare him Terah, Abraham's father. (*Kufale*, c. xi, pp. 45, 46.)

Abulpharaj (*Syn.*, p. 10; and *Arab.*, p. 18, 19) relates that Serug invented the coining of money; and that the art of spinning silk and of dyeing, was introduced in his day, by Samirus, king of Babylon.

In the days of Serug idolatry began. καὶ ὁ Ἑλληνισμὸς and Gentile worship and superstitions. For not until then, were there statues carved in wood, stone, gold or silver; before that man's imagination represented wickedness only in colours. Serug begat Nahor, and Nahor Terah, who was the first to make idols of clay; and for his sin—in thus setting himself as rival against God ἔξοτε ἀντίζηλον τῷ Θεῷ προεστήσατο, διὰ τῆς ἰδίας πηλουργίας τεχνήσαμενος, by his making idols of clay, he was punished by seeing the death of his son. (S. Epiphan. *Hæres.*, lib. i, c. i, p. 6.) Masudi (vol. i, p. 82, sq.) repeats the same thing, partly borrowed from the *Coran*, sur. c. vi, p. 75, sq. etc.; c. xix, p. 38, sq.

Arad the Canaanite, says Abulpharaj (*Dyn. Syr.*, p. 10), affirms that at this time the conflict of Job with Satan took place. He fought him seven times, and defeated him in every temptation.

And the Coptic calendar says that on the first day of the year, Job took a warm bath, that cured him of his leprosy.

40 In those days giants multiplied in the earth. Then was 'Ad born, son of Aram, son of Shem, son of Noah, in whose time measures and weights were invented. In his days there was also a great and violent earthquake, such as there had never been before; and this was, because the worship of idols had increased, and men sacrificed their sons and their daughters to devils; therefore did God send upon them a tempestuous wind, and a hurricane that broke down all the idols, and demolished their shrines; until the dust of them became heaps and mounds that subsist unto this day. (Eutychn. *Nazam al-j.*, p. 61.)

41 After the Flood, in the days of Eber and Phaleg, when the first city and the tower were built, Nembroth

[Nimrud] was the first to gather people together and to exercise dominion over them. Νεμβρώθ γὰρ βασιλεύει—ὅς πρόσω χωρήσας ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνατολικά

μέρη, δικιστῆς γίνεται Βάκτρων, ἐντεῦθεν τὰ κατὰ τὴν γῆν παράνομα διανενέμηται. (S. Epiphan. *Hæres.*, lib. i, c. i, p. 6.)

NOTES TO BOOK IV.

1 "Things," says R. Maimonides, "went on from bad to worse, and the knowledge of God continued only among a few, such as Shem, Methuselah, Enoch, Noah and Eber, until the pillar of the world, our father Abraham, was born. No sooner was that valiant one weaned, than he began to wonder, or doubt, in his own mind, and small as he was, he began to think day and night, how it could be הגלגל הזה נוהג תמיד ולא יהיה לו מנהיג that this round world could go on so continually without a Ruler; or who makes it go round, since it could not go round of itself. And so he went on doubting, until he came to the knowledge of the only true God, at forty-eight years of age," etc. (*Halakot 'avoda kok.*, Opp. vol. i, fol. p. 26.)

2 Astrologers [men of the stars] observed the rising of the year in which Abraham was born; and they sent word to Nimrud that a child should be born who would set at naught their dreams and overturn their worship. Then Nimrud ordered all children to be put to death. But Abraham was hidden in a cave [shown as his birth-place at Ur, or Urfah]. (*Masudi* i, c. iii, p. 83.)

3 "It is well known," says R. M. Maimonides, "that our father Abraham, on whom be peace, was brought up in the faith of the Sabæans, and דערסם

שאין אלוה רק הכוכבים in their teaching [or, knowledge, doctrine] that there was no other God than the stars. When Abraham objected to this, and opposed their worship, we read in העבורה הנבטיה the Book of the Agriculture of the Nabathæans, that the king of the place where Abraham lived, shut him up in prison; but fearing lest his people should be turned from their faith, he confiscated all his property and banished him לקצה המזרח to the extreme east. (*More Nevukim*, iii, c. 29.)

In those days prince Mastema [Satan] sent ravens in great numbers, that devoured the seed sown, and the crops that were raised; so that men gathered in the fruits of the earth with great difficulty. And about that time Terah took Edna, daughter of Abram, to wife, who bare him a son whom he called Abram, after his wife's father. This Abram, when fourteen years old, began to pray his Creator to save him from the wickedness around him, and to give him an inheritance with the righteous. Then came sowing time; and Abram went with others to watch the fields sown with seed. A flight of ravens then came down, and when about to alight, Abram ran, and bade them go back to whence they came. He did so seven times that day. And all people came to entreat him to go

with them when they sowed their seed, to keep off the ravens. He then contrived a plough whereby the seed fell into the earth and got covered at once; so that they no longer were afraid of the ravens. And Abram's name waxed great in Chaldæa. (*Kufale*, c. xi, pp. 47, 48.)

This legend is variously told by eastern writers. Bar. Hebræus (*Chron. Syr. Arab.*, p. 11) simply says Abram drove away ravens, when fourteen years old; but (in his *Hist. Dyn. Arab.*, p. 19, 20) he adds, "God heard Abram's prayers when fifteen years old, about magpies that laid waste the land of Chaldæa. S. Ephrem (vol. i, p. 156) says, "that Abram when a child, having been sent by Terah to drive away ravens [wrongly rendered 'locusts' by the translator] sent to destroy the crops, as a punishment for the idolatry of the land, Abram—unable to drive them away—by a sudden impulse called upon God to order them off, who answered: 'Here am I,' and ordered the ravens away from Terah's field." [For the story of Abraham being cast into a burning furnace by the inhabitants of Ur, see *Coran*, sur. xxi; and *Kufale*, c. xii.]

Targ. *Jonathan*, in Gen. xii, says: "Abram was cast into the fiery furnace by order of Nimrud; because he would not worship the idol Nimrud had set up," etc.

4 Terah was a worshipper of idols. But Abraham turned him from them, and talked to him, and taught him Hebrew, his native tongue [lit. of his creation]; and showed him how God had commanded him to go out of Haran unto the land of Canaan, to look at it, and come back. To which Terah said: "Go in peace, God of the worlds prosper thy way, and the Lord keep thee safe from all evil, and show thee kindness and mercy, and give thee favour in the eyes of all those who see

thee; that no man do thee harm. Go in peace. And if thou seest the land is pleasant in thine eyes, to dwell there, then come and take me to be with thee. Take with thee Lot, the son of Haran thy brother, to be a son unto thee. But leave thy brother Nahor with me, until thy return in peace; when all of us shall go together with thee." (*Kufale*, c. xii, pp. 51, 52.)

5 "In those days appeared Melchizedec, παρθένος ἱερεύς, an unmarried priest, son of king Sidus, son of Egyptus, who founded the town of Sidon. He is said to be without father and mother, and without kindred, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι Ἰουδαϊκῆς γενεᾶς κατὰ γένεσθαι, from his not being of the Jewish race, and because his parents being wicked, they were not reckoned among the good, and because, being ruler or prince among the Canaanites, he reigned at Jerusalem. He met Abraham, and as priest, ἐν ἄρτῳ καὶ οἶνῳ προσηπῶν τὴν ἀνάγκαν θυσίαν Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν figuring with bread and wine, the bloodless sacrifice of Christ our God." (Cedrenus, *Hist. Comp.*, p. 49.)

Melchizedec, king of Jerusalem, and king of righteousness, מלך שלום he is Shem, Noah's son, priest of the Most High. (Targ. *Jonathan* and *Hieros*, in Gen. xiv.)

6 When Abraham came to Egypt, he shnt up Sarah in a box. But at the custom-house the officers asked him to pay duty on his luggage. "What is it, wares?" asked they. "I will pay duty on them," answered Abraham. "Is it gold?" "Also on gold," said he. "Is it pearls, then?" "I will pay duty also on pearls," answered Abraham. "This will never do," said the officers, "Open thy trunk!" As Abraham opened it the whole land of Egypt was מְזִיקָה מְזִיקָה lighted up with Sarah's brilliancy. (*Beresith Rabbah*, sect. xl, fol. 44.)

7 About the rising of the moon [new moon] of the fourth month, "We," says the Angel of the Face, "appeared unto Abraham, by the oak of Mamrim, and we conversed with him, and gave him to understand that a son would be given him of Sarah his wife. But Sarah laughed, when she heard us say these words to Abraham; and we rebuked her; but she was afraid and lied about having laughed at these [our] words." (*Kufale*, c. xvi, pp. 61, 62.)

About this time as our father Abraham sat at the door of his tent, three ministering angels were sent to him, on three errands: (1) to tell him of the birth of his son; (2) to deliver Lot; (3) to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah; for it cannot be that a ministering angel be sent with *ליתיר מן מילה חד* more than one message at a time. (Targ. *Jonathan* and *Hieros*, in Gen. xvii.)

8 Isaac was thirty-seven years old, born when Sarah was ninety years of age. Hearing of God's order to Abraham to sacrifice Isaac, she sickened, from grief, and died of that sickness that same year, aged one hundred and twenty-seven. (Eutych. *Nazam al j.*, p. 77.)

For the conversation that took place between Abraham and Isaac on this occasion, see S. Eustathius Antioch, in *Hexæmeron*, col. 764, ed. M.

9 And it happened about this time that words were spoken in heaven about Abraham, how faithful he was in all that the Lord told him, and how true in all temptations. Then prince Mastema came forward and said to God: "Behold, Abraham loves his son Isaac best of all, tell him to offer him in sacrifice upon an altar; then shalt thou see if he will do it, and be true and faithful in all that Thou commandest him." Then follows the Scripture account, as far as "Abraham took a knife," etc., when I, the Angel of the

Face, stood before God and Prince Mastema. And God said to me: "Go and tell him not to lay his hand on the child, and not to hurt him; for I know now that he fears God," etc. Then Mastema felt ashamed of himself. (*Kufale*, c. xvii, xviii, pp. 67, 68, 69.)

Cedrenus (*Hist. Comp.*, p. 53) repeats this legend, but calls Mastema, *Μαστιφάρ* borrowed probably from the Greek original of the Ethiopic *Kufale*.

"It is well known," says R. M. Maimonides, "that the worshippers of idols always chose high places and mountains whereon to build their temples. Therefore did Abraham choose Mount Moriah, on which *פרסם שם ביהוד* he proclaimed the unity of God, as being one of the highest hills in that neighbourhood. But he consecrated the western side of it for the sanctuary; so as to turn his back on the idolaters who always turn to the east, in worshipping the morning sun." (*More Nevukim*, sect. iii, ch. 45.)

10 After Abraham had done blessing all his children and grandchildren, he and Jacob, lay together on the same bed. Then Abraham in his anxiety [or care] embraced Jacob seven times, and rejoiced over him, and added yet more to all the blessings he had given him. He then lay two of Jacob's fingers on his own eyes; he blessed the God of gods, covered his face, stretched his legs, and died. And when Jacob awoke from sleep, he knew not that Abraham was dead, but called to him: "Father, father!" But when he felt him cold, he ran and told Rebekah, his mother, who told Isaac; and they both came with a light, and found Abraham laid out. Then they buried him, in the double-cave [Machpelah], and mourned over him forty days. (*Kufale*, c. xxii, xxiii, pp. 82, 83.)

Abraham lived upwards of three Jubilees and a half, because he was

righteous ; for after the Flood man's life was cut short. And from Abraham forth, it will be said that, whereas the patriarchs lived eighteen or nineteen Jubilees, and had peace, now men only live seventy or eighty years and all is trouble, because of the wickedness of the world, that will grow worse and worse. Men will be covetous, eager for wealth, in order to get themselves a name thereby ; and defile the Most Holy with their evil deeds. They shall do evil—the young with the old, the old with the young ; the poor with the rich, and rich with the poor ; the mean with the judge, by reason of the law and judgment ; because they shall have forgotten the commandments of God and right, feasts, moons, Sabbaths, jubilees, and all manner of judgment. (*Kufale*, c. xxiii, pp. 84, 85.)

11 Eutyclus says Hiram was the first to clothe himself in purple, that was discovered thus : There was a shepherd with his dog one day tending his sheep on the sea-shore. The dog found a purple shell creeping on the shore and having eaten it, the shepherd wiped with some wool the dog's mouth that was full of purple colour. With the wool thus dyed the shepherd made himself a fillet or crown which he placed on his head. Every one who saw him walking in the sun thus arrayed, thought that a ray of light shone forth from his head. Hiram heard of it, sent for the shepherd, wondered at the beauty of the colour, and ordered his dyers of stuffs to dye a cloak for him of the same colour. (*Nazam al-j.*, pp. 173, 174.)

12 As with Abraham, so with Solomon there exists a whole literature about his wisdom and marvellous deeds, celebrated from his throne (Takht-i-Suleyman) on the Suleyman range of the Hindoo Koosh, to his dialogue with Saturn in the far north. The *Suleyman*

Nameh, of which extracts are given by Baron Hammer-Purgstall, in *Rosen-äl*, vol. i, is said to consist of sixty volumes ; but the stories of him in the Targum of Jerusalem on Esther, and in the Talmud (Gittin 68 ; see Fürst *Perlenschüre*, p. 121) are a thousand years older ; so also the accounts of the Wise King found in Eusebius (*Præp. Ev.*), Josephus, the Coran, etc. For his psalms, see Fabric. *Cod. Apoc. V. T.*, vol. i, and Woide's Sahidic New T. pref. for the same in Sahidic.

"In the opinion of many Syrian authors," says Abr. Echellensis (*Catal. Lib. Hebed Jesu*, p. 238, sq.), "Solomon not only translated into Syriac the greater part of the Old Testament—the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, David, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, and Job—at Hiram's especial request, but he also invented the characters, according to Jesudad, who says that, 'Whereas Moses invented the Hebrew letters, Solomon invented all others, which he gave to the peoples by which he was honoured ; but he first of all invented the Syriac letters which he gave to Hiram, king of Tyre.'"

13 After the death of Hezekiah, Manasseh forgot his father's commandments ; and Samaël took possession of Manasseh, and clung to him. Then Manasseh forsook God, served Satan, his angels and his powers, and turned his heart to the worship of Berial [Belial]. Then all manner of wickedness, magic and sorcery increased in Jerusalem ; Isaiah seeing this removed from Jerusalem, went and dwelt at Bethlehem. But as Bethlehem was equally corrupt, he and Michaiiah, Joel, and Habakkuk and his son Josheb, and others who believed that the righteous would go up to heaven—resided on a hill, clothed in skins and living on roots and herbs of the mountains.

Then Isaiah had a vision of the

coming of the Beloved, for which Berial was angry with him, and took possession of the heart of Manasseh who sawed Isaiah with a saw to cut wood.

While he was being thus cut asunder, Belkira, Bankembeki and Berial stood opposite, deriding him. Manasseh also and Melkira and his false prophets, stood by looking on. But Isaiah while being thus sawn asunder neither cried nor wept; but his mouth conversed with the Holy Ghost.

Thus did Manasseh according to the will of Satan. (*Ascension of Isaiah*, c. 2-5.)

14 The Ethiopic translator omitted the story told in the Arabic original—that, when Isaiah was about to be sawn asunder, he wanted water to drink and prayed God to give him some, as He had done to Moses, when smiting the rock. Then God told him to stamp the rock under him with his foot, whence a spring of water at once burst forth, that has continued unto this day.

15 As for Jeremiah the prophet, they found him hidden and covered with mud in a land of waters (marsh). (Euseb. *De Stella*, p. 2, ed. W. Wright.) Jeremiah having fled into Egypt, was there stoned to death, and buried. But Alexander when he came into Egypt, brought the body of Jeremiah to Alexandria, and buried it there. (Eutych. *Nazam al-j.*, p. 252.)

16 Entychus reckons thus:—

From the end of Cleopatra's reign to the birth of Christ	30 yrs.
From Alexander's reign	319 „
From the removal to Babylon . .	582 „
From David's reign	1059 „
From the Exodus	1665 „
From Abraham	2172 „
From Phaleg	2713 „
From the Flood	3244 „
From Adam	5500 „

17 In the year 309 of Alexander, the Lord Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, when Cyrenius was sent by Cæsar to Jerusalem. Joseph went up with Mary to Bethlehem to inscribe their names. Mary brought forth. And Magi in their journeyings came and offered unto Christ gold, incense and myrrh, who on their first interview with Herod, when asked by him their errand, said to him: "There was a great man among us who prophesied in a book he wrote, that in Palestine should be born a child of heavenly race, whom the greater part of the world would serve. And the sign thereof unto you will be a star that will guide you to the place where the child is; and when ye see it ye shall offer to Him gold, incense and myrrh. We saw the star and we are come to worship Him," etc. (Abulpharaj, *Dyn. Arab.*, pp. 109, 110.)

This supposed prophecy is again mentioned by Abulpharaj (*id.*, p. 83). When speaking of Cyrus he says: "In those days came Zeradasht, chief of the Magian sect, by birth of Adjerbijan, or, as some say, of Assyria. It is reported that he was one of the prophet Elijah's disciples [as Confucius was of Daniel (?)], and he informed the Persians of the sign of the birth of Christ, and that they should bring Him gifts. And he told them that in after-time a virgin should be with child without having known man; and that about the time of her bringing forth a star brilliant by day would appear, in the midst of which would be seen the figure of a young virgin. You, then, my children, will be favoured before all other people with the Light of that Star; and when ye see it, go whither it leads you; worship the child, and offer Him gold, incense and myrrh."

It is needless to say that no such prophecy of Zeradasht or Zoroaster does

exist. Neither does Abulpharaj allude to it in his Syriac work, which in many respects differs from the same in Arabic; done by him shortly before his death for his Arab friends at Mabug, some considerable time after his first work in Syriac.

The number of Magi—or, as some say, of kings with their armies—is variously stated. Eutychus (*Nazam al-j.*, p. 310) says that only three Magi came, who told Herod the star had appeared to them two years before their arrival at Jerusalem. τὸν ἀστέρα, ἐπιτίλλοντα ἤδη πρὸ δύο μάλιστα τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν, καὶ οὐχὶ μετὰ δύο τῆς γεννήσεως ἔτη, says Nicephorus Callixtus (*Eccles. Hist.*, lib. i., c. 13), who with Origen, S. Basil, S. Chrysostom, etc., refers the star to Balaam's prophecy. Nay, Eusebius probably wrote the small treatise on the star attributed to him, which exists only in Syriac, in order to show that Balaam's prophecy travelled eastward from Moab, and was handed down by Persian kings until the days of Augustus Cæsar; when the star did actually appear. Then were the king and the people greatly troubled at the light of the star that outshone all other celestial bodies by day as well as by night. The king therefore prepared offerings of myrrh and of incense, which he sent by Magi, worshippers of fire. But as the king did not know where Christ was born, he commanded those who carried the gifts, saying: "Follow the leading of the star as you go, by day and by night keep to the light of the star; for the brilliancy thereof will guide you even when the sun is risen." Then they went to Bethlehem, and returned and told the king what they had seen and heard, etc. (Pp. 16, 17, fol. 12 of MS., ed. W. Wright.)

Et factum est, cum natus esset Dominus Jesus Bethlehemi, ecce!

Magi venerunt ex Oriente Hierosolymas quemadmodum prædixerat Zoradascht, erantque cum ipsis munera, aurum, thus et myrrha, et adoraverunt eum, suaque ipsi munera obtulerunt. Eadem hora apparuit illis angelus in forma stellæ [οὐκ ἦν οὗτος φύσει ἀστήρ, ἀλλ' ὄψει μόνον ἀστήρ, καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς θεία τις δύναμις, S. Chrys. et Euthym., ad. loc.] illius, quæ antea dux itineris ipsis fuerat.

Aderant autem Reges and Principes illorum rogantes, ecquidnam vidissent aut egissent? Quomodo ivissent ac rediissent? Quos tandem itineris comites habuissent? Hi vero protulerunt illis fasciam istam, quam Diva Maria ipsis tradiderat, etc. (*Evangel. Infantia*, c. vii, viii, ed. Fabr.)

M. Tchamitch, in his *Badmuthyün Hayots* ("History of Armenia"), vol. i, p. 277, relates also that "the wonderful birth of Christ was made known by means of a star, *erits makuts thakavorats*, to three Magi-kings, who came to Judæa to find Him and to worship Him." (See note from the "History of Georgia," at Book I, ch. xx.)

"What sign then did you see," asked Herod of the wise men, "to tell you a king was born." They said unto him: "We saw a very large star, shining among the celestial bodies, and outshining them all, and we thus knew that a great king was born in Israel, and we came to worship Him." (*Proto-ev. Jacobi*, c. xxi.)

Fabricius thus quotes from his own edition of Chalcidius, p. 219, *ad Timæum* "Est quoque alia sanctor et venerabilior historia, quæ perhibet ortu stellæ cujusdam non morbos mortesque denunciatas, sed descensum Dei venerabilis ad humanæ conservationis verumque mortaliū gratiam. Quam stellam cum nocturno itinere suspexissent Chaldæorum profecto sapientes viri—quæsisse dicuntur recentem ortum Dei,

repertaque illa majestate puerili, veneratos esse," etc. (*Cod. Ap. N.T.*, vol. ii, p. 116.)

Solomon, Bp. of Botsra (or Bassora), says in his *Deburitho* (or Bee, as quoted by *Assem. Bibl. Or.*, vol. iii, p. 316), that the Magi were twelve Persian princes, whose names he gives at length. These occur also, with few changes, in other MSS., both Syriac and Arabic. Bar. Hebræus, or Abulpharaj, in his *Ozar rosé*, or "Store house of secrets," says that the Magi were only three princes who came with a thousand men (sent by Mahir-Shapur, king of Persia, to worship Christ). But James, the Bishop, says they were twelve princes, who having left seven thousand of their men

at the Euphrates, came to Jerusalem with only one thousand. The Bp. of Botsra, however, does not quote the tradition received by other historians, that the presents brought by the Magi to Christ were those which Adam had laid up in the Cave of Treasures; which he made over to his son Seth, and which had been handed down unto the coming of Christ.

Of those twelve princes, four, namely, Zarvandad, Hormisdas, Guznasaph, and Arsaces brought gold; four, Zarvandad son of Varzud, Orthoes, Artaxerxes, and Estnabudanes brought myrrh; and four, Maruch, Assuerus, Sardalach and Merodach brought incense; according to the Bp. of Botsra.

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The Testament of Solomon

translated by F. C. Conybeare
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1. Testament of Solomon, son of David, who was king in Jerusalem, and mastered and controlled all spirits of the air, on the earth, and under the earth. By means of them also he wrought all the transcendent works of the Temple. Telling also of the authorities they wield against men, and by what angels these demons are brought to naught.

Of the sage Solomon.

Blessed art thou, O Lord God, who didst give Solomon such authority. Glory to thee and might unto the ages. Amen.

2. And behold, when the Temple of the city of Jerusalem was being builded, and the artificers were working thereat, Ornias the demon came among them toward sunset; and he took away half of the pay of the chief-deviser's (?) little boy, as well as half his food. He also continued to suck the thumb of his right hand every day. And the child grew thin, although he was very much loved by the king.

3. So King Solomon called the boy one day, and questioned him, saying: "Do I not love thee more than all the artisans who are working in the Temple of God? Do I not give thee double wages and a double supply of food? How is it that day by day and hour by hour thou growest thinner?"

4. But the child said to the king: "I pray thee, O king. Listen to what has befallen all that thy child hath. After we are all released from our work on the Temple of God, after sunset, when I lie down to rest, one of the evil demons comes and takes away from me one half of my pay and one half of my food. Then he also takes hold of my right hand and sucks my thumb. And lo, my soul is oppressed, and so my body waxes thinner every day."

5. Now when I Solomon heard this, I entered the Temple of God, and prayed with all my soul, night and day, that the demon might be delivered into my hands, and that I might gain authority over him. And it came about through my prayer that grace was given to me from the Lord Sabaoth by Michael his archangel. [He brought me] a little ring, having a seal consisting of an engraved stone, and said to me: "Take, O Solomon, king, son of David, the gift which the Lord God has sent thee, the highest Sabaoth. With it thou shalt lock up all demons of the earth, male and female; and with their help thou shalt build up Jerusalem. [But] thou [must] wear this seal of God. And this engraving of the seal of the ring sent thee is a Pentalpha."

6. And I Solomon was overjoyed, and praised and glorified the God of heaven and earth. And on the morrow I called the boy, and gave him the ring, and said to him: "take this, and at the hour in which the demon shall come unto thee, throw this ring at the chest of the demon, and say to him: 'In the name of God, King Solomon calls thee hither.' And then do thou come running to me, without having any misgivings or fear in respect of aught thou mayest hear on the part of the demon."

7. So the child took the ring, and went off; and behold, at the customary hour Ornias, the fierce demon, came like a burning fire to take the pay from the child. But the child according to the instructions received from the king, threw the ring at the chest of the demon, and said: "King Solomon calls thee hither." And then he went off at a run to the king. But the demon cried out aloud, saying: "Child, why hast thou done this to me? Take the ring off me, and I will render to thee the gold of the earth. Only take this off me, and forbear to lead me away to Solomon."

8. But the child said to the demon: "As the Lord God of Israel liveth, I will not brook thee. So come hither." And the child came at a run, rejoicing, to the king, and said: "I have brought the demon, O king, as thou didst command me, O my master. And behold, he stands before the gates of the court of thy palace, crying out, and supplicating with a loud voice; offering me the silver and gold of the earth if I will only bring him unto thee."

9. And when Solomon heard this, he rose up from his throne, and went outside into the vestibule of the court of his palace; and there he saw the demon, shuddering and trembling. And he said to him: "Who art thou?" And the demon answered: "I am called Ornias."

10. And Solomon said to him: "Tell me, O demon, to what zodiacal sign thou art subject." And he answered: "To the Water-pourer. And those who are consumed with desire for the noble virgins upon earth [...], these I strangle. But in case there is no disposition to sleep, I am changed into three forms. Whenever men come to be enamoured of women, I metamorphose myself into a comely female; and I take hold of the men in their sleep, and play with them. And after a while I again take to my wings, and hide me to the heavenly regions. I also appear as a lion, and I am commanded by all the demons. I am offspring of the archangel Uriel, the power of God."

11. I Solomon, having heard the name of the archangel, prayed and glorified God, the Lord of heaven and earth. And I sealed the demon and set him to work at stone-cutting, so that he might cut the stones in the Temple, which, lying along the shore, had been brought by the Sea of Arabia. But he, fearful of the iron, continued and said to me: "I pray thee, King Solomon, let me go free; and I will bring you all the demons." And as he was not willing to be subject to me, I prayed the archangel Uriel to come and succour me; and I forthwith beheld the archangel Uriel coming down to me from the heavens.

12. And the angel bade the whales of the sea come out of the abyss. And he cast his destiny upon the ground, and that [destiny] made subject [to him] the great demon. And he commanded the great demon and bold Ornias, to cut stones at the Temple. And accordingly I Solomon glorified the God of heaven and Maker of the earth. And he bade Ornias come with his destiny, and gave him the seal, saying: "Away with thee, and bring me hither the prince of all the demons."

13. So Ornias took the finger-ring, and went off to Beelzeboul, who has kingship over the demons. He said to him: "Hither! Solomon calls thee." But Beelzeboul, having heard, said to him: "Tell me, who is this Solomon of whom thou speakest to me?" Then Ornias threw the ring at the chest of Beelzeboul, saying: "Solomon the king calls thee." But Beelzeboul cried aloud with a mighty voice, and shot out a great burning flame of fire; and he arose, and followed Ornias, and came to Solomon.

14. And when I saw the prince of demons, I glorified the Lord God, Maker of heaven and earth, and I said: "Blessed art thou, Lord God Almighty, who hast given to Solomon thy servant wisdom, the assessor of the wise, and hast subjected unto me all the power of the devil."

15. And I questioned him, and said: "Who art thou?" The demon replied: "I am Beelzebub, the exarch of the demons. And all the demons have their chief seats close to me. And I it is who make manifest the apparition of each demon." And he promised to bring to me in bonds all the unclean spirits. And I again glorified the God of heaven and earth, as I do always give thanks to him.

16. I then asked of the demon if there were females among them. And when he told me that there were, I said that I desired to see them. So Beelzeboul went off at high speed, and brought unto me Onoskelis, that had a very pretty shape, and the skin of a fair-hued woman; and she tossed her head.

17. And when she was come, I said to her: "Tell me who art thou?" But she said to me: "I am called Onoskelis, a spirit wrought ...[?shabtai/Saturn?], lurking upon the earth. There is a golden cave where I lie. But I have a place that ever shifts. At one time I strangle men with a noose; at another, I creep up from the nature to the arms [in marg: "worms"]. But my most frequent dwelling-places are the precipices, caves, ravines. Oftentimes, however, do I consort with men in the semblance of a woman, and above all with those of a dark skin. For they share my star with me; since they it is who privily or openly worship my star, without knowing that they harm themselves, and but whet my appetite for further mischief. For they wish to provide money by means of memory (commemoration?), but I supply a little to those who worship me fairly."

18. And I Solomon questioned her about her birth, and she replied: "I was born of a voice untimely, the so-called echo of a man's ordure [1] dropped in a wood."

[1. For the demon born of an echo we have an analogue in the Hebrew Bath Kol, "the daughter of a voice." In the Gnostic Hymn to Hermes, edited by Dieterich, Abrasax, p 19, we read, l. 104...]

19. And I said to her: "Under what star dost thou pass?" And she answered me: "Under the star of the full moon, for the reason that the moon travels over most things." Then I said to her: "And what angel is it that frustrates thee?" And she said to me: "He that in thee [or "through thee"] is reigning." And I thought that she mocked me, and bade a soldier strike her. But she cried aloud, and said: "I am [subjected] to thee, O king, by the wisdom of God given to thee, and by the angel Joel."

20. So I commanded her to spin the hemp for the ropes used in the building of the house of God; and accordingly, when I had sealed and bound her, she was so overcome and brought to naught as to stand night and day spinning the hemp.

21. And I at once bade another demon to be led unto me; and instantly there approached me the demon Asmodeus, bound, and I asked him: "Who art thou?" But he shot on me a glance of anger and rage, and said: "And who art thou?" And I said to him: "Thus punished as thou art, answerest thou me?" But he, with rage, said to me: "But how shall I answer thee, for thou art a son of man; whereas I was born an angel's seed by a daughter of man, so that no word of our heavenly kind addressed to the earth-born can be overweening. Wherefore also my star is bright in heaven, and men call it, some the Wain, and some the dragon's child. I keep near unto this star. So ask me not many things; for thy kingdom also after a little time is to be disrupted, and thy glory is but for a season. And short will be thy tyranny over us; and then we shall again have free range over mankind, so as that they shall revere us as if we were gods, not knowing, men that they are, the names of the angels set over us."

22. And I Solomon, on hearing this, bound him more carefully, and ordered him to be flogged with thongs of ox-hide, and to tell me humbly what was his name and what his business. And he answered me thus: "I am called Asmodeus among mortals, and my business is to plot against the newly wedded, so that they may not know one another. And I sever them utterly by many calamities, and I waste away the beauty of virgin women, and estrange their hearts."

23. And I said to him: "Is this thy only business?" And he answered me: "I transport men into fits of madness and desire, when they have wives of their own, so that they leave them, and go off by night and day to others that belong to other men; with the result that they commit sin, and fall into murderous deeds."

24. And I adjured him by the name of the Lord Sabaôth, saying: "Fear God, Asmodeus, and tell me by what angel thou art frustrated." But he said: "By Raphael, the archangel that stands before the throne of God. But the liver and gall of a fish put me to flight, when smoked over ashes of the tamarisk." I again asked him, and said: "Hide not aught from me. For I am Solomon, son of David, King of Israel. Tell me the name of the fish which thou reverest." And he answered: "It is the Glanos by name, and is found in the rivers of Assyria; wherefore it is that I roam about in those parts."

25. And I said to him: "Hast thou nothing else about thee, Asmodeus?" And he answered: "The power of God knoweth, which hath bound me with the indissoluble bonds of yonder one's seal, that whatever I have told thee is true. I pray thee, King Solomon, condemn me not to [go into] water." But I smiled, and said to him: "As the Lord God of my fathers liveth, I will lay iron on thee to wear. But thou shalt also make the clay for the entire construction of the Temple, treading it down with thy feet." And I ordered them to give him ten water-jars to carry water in. And the demon groaned terribly, and did the work I ordered him to do. And this I did, because that fierce demon Asmodeus knew even the future. And I Solomon glorified God, who gave wisdom to me Solomon his servant. And the liver of the fish and its gall I hung on the spike of a reed, and burned it over Asmodeus because of his being so strong, and his unbearable malice was thus frustrated.

26. And I summoned again to stand before me Beelzeboul, the prince of demons, and I sat him down on a raised seat of honour, and said to him: "Why art thou alone, prince of the demons?" And he said to me: "Because I alone am left of the angels of heaven that came down. For I was first angel in the first heaven being entitled Beelzeboul. And now I control all those who are bound in Tartarus. But I too have a child, and he haunts the Red Sea. And on any suitable occasion he comes up to me again, being subject to me; and reveals to me what he has done, and I support him.

27. I Solomon said unto him: "Beelzeboul, what is thy employment?" And he answered me: "I destroy kings. I ally myself with foreign tyrants. And my own demons I set on to men, in order that the latter may believe in them and be lost. And the chosen servants of God, priests and faithful men, I excite unto desires for wicked sins, and evil heresies, and lawless deeds; and they obey me, and I bear them on to destruction. And I inspire men with envy, and [desire for] murder, and for wars and sodomy, and other evil things. And I will destroy the world."

28. So I said to him: "Bring to me thy child, who is, as thou sayest, in the Red Sea." But he said to me: "I will not bring him to thee. But there shall come to me another demon called Ephippas. Him will I bind, and he will bring him up from the deep unto me." And I said to him: "How comes thy son to be in the depth of the sea, and what is his name?" And he answered me: "Ask me not, for thou canst not learn from me. However, he will come to thee by any command, and will tell thee openly."

29. I said to him: "Tell me by what angel thou art frustrated." And he answered: "By the holy and precious name of the Almighty God, called by the Hebrews by a row of numbers, of which the sum is 644, and among the Greeks it is Emmanuel [1]. And if one of the Romans adjure me by the great name of the power Eleéth, I disappear at once."

[1. The text must be faulty, for the word Emmanuel is the Hebrew. The sum 644 is got by adding together the Greek numbers.]

30. I Solomon was astounded when I heard this; and I ordered him to saw up Theban [1] marbles. And when he began to saw the marbles, the other demons cried out with a loud voice, howling because of their king Beelzeboul.

[1. We hear of Pentelic marble in Strabo, but the reference in the text may be to Thebes in Egypt.]

31. But I Solomon questioned him, saying: "If thou wouldst gain a respite, discourse to me about the things in heaven." And Beelzeboul said: "Hear, O king, if thou burn gum, and incense, and bulb of the sea [1], with nard and saffron, and light seven lamps in an earthquake [2], thou wilt firmly fix thy house. And if, being pure [3], thou light them at dawn in the sun alight, then wilt thou see the heavenly dragons, how they wind themselves along and drag the chariot of the sun."

[1. Perhaps the "sea-bulbs" were the balls of hair-like texture which the sea washes up on Mediterranean shores, e.g. in Tunisia. 2. Perhaps "in a row," should be read. 3. For the condition here insisted on cp. Dieterich, *Abrasax*, p. 141, where in an incantation ceremonial purity is similarly insisted on. The ritual of a magic papyrus given by Dieterich, p. 169, is very similar to that here prescribed in the Testament.]

32. And I Solomon, having heard this, rebuked him, and said: "Silence for this present [1], and continue to saw the marbles as I commanded thee." And I Solomon praised God, and commanded another demon to present himself to me. And one came before me who carried his face high up in the air, but the rest of the spirit curled away like a snail. And it broke through the few soldiers, and raised also a terrible dust on the ground, and carried it upwards; and then again hurled it back to frighten us, and asked what questions I could ask as a rule. And I stood up, and spat [2] on the ground in that spot, and sealed with the ring of God. And forthwith the dust-wind stopped. Then I asked him, saying: "Who art thou, O wind?" Then he once more shook up a dust, and answered me: "What wouldst thou have, King Solomon?" I answered him: "Tell

me what thou art called, and I would fain ask thee a question. But so far I give thanks to God who has made me wise to answer their evil plots."

[1. So Luke xxii. 51. 2. For the use of spittle to produce a cure or other effect in a magical way, cp. Mark vii. 33 and viii. 23. In John ix. 6, Jesus, we read, "spat on the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and anointed the eyes with the clay." Of this magic use of spittle Pliny, in his Natural History, gives numerous examples. It was common in antiquity.]

33. But [the demon] answered me: "I am the spirit of the ashes (Tephras)." And I said to him: "What is thy pursuit?" And he said: "I bring darkness on men, and set fire to fields; and I bring homesteads to naught. But most busy am I in summer. However, when I get an opportunity, I creep into corners of the wall, by night and day. For I am offspring of the great one, and nothing less." Accordingly I said to him: "Under what star dost thou lie?" And he answered: "In the very tip of the moon's horn, when it is found in the south. There is my star. For I have been bidden to restrain the convulsions of the hemitertian fever; and this is why many men pray to the hemitertian fever, using these three names: Bultala, Thallal, [24] Melchal. And I heal them." And I said to him: "I am Solomon; when therefore thou wouldst do harm, by whose aid dost thou do it?" But he said to me: "By the angel's, by whom also the third day's fever is lulled to rest." So I questioned him, and said: "And by what name [1]?" And he answered: "That of the archangel Azazel." And I summoned the archangel Azazel, and set a seal on the demon, and commanded him to seize great stones, and toss them up to the workmen on the higher parts of the Temple. And, being compelled, the demon began to do what he was bidden to do.

[1. Cp. Acts iv. 7.]

34. And I glorified God afresh who gave me this authority, and ordered another demon to come before me. And there came seven spirits [1], females, bound and woven together, fair in appearance and comely. And I Solomon, seeing them, questioned them and said: "Who are ye?" But they, with one accord, said with one voice [2]: "We are of the thirty-three elements of the cosmic ruler of the darkness [3]." And the first said: "I am Deception." The second said: "I am Strife." The third: "I am Klothod, which is battle." The fourth: "I am Jealousy." The fifth: "I am Power." The sixth: "I am Error." The seventh: "I am the worst of all, and our stars are in heaven. Seven stars humble in sheen, and all together. And we are called as it were goddesses. We change our place all and together, and together we live, sometimes in Lydia, sometimes in Olympus, sometimes in a great mountain."

[1. The Pleiades seem to be referred to. Cp. Job xxxviii. 31, in the Revised Version: "Canst thou bind the cluster of the Pleiades?" They had a malign influence. The grouping of evil spirits by sevens is common in Babylonian and Jewish folk-lore. As examples I may cite the Testamentum of Reuben, ch. 2, and the seven evil spirits of the N.T. Possibly, however, the Seven Planets are here in question; though this is unlikely, for they do not tally with the description given. 2. Rom. xv. 6 has the same phrase. For "thirty-three" we should read "thirty-six" elements. Note that later in the Testament these seven spirits are not among the Kosmokrators, a proof that the document before us is a composite one. 3. Paul speaks of the Kosmokrators in Eph. vi. 12: "Our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness." See Iren. Haer. I. i. 10.]

35. So I Solomon questioned them one by one, beginning with the first, and going down to the seventh. The first said: "I am Deception, I deceive and weave snares here and there. I whet and excite heresies. But I have an angel who frustrates me, Lamechalal."

36. Likewise also the second said: "I am Strife, strife of strifes. I bring timbers, stones, hangers, my weapons on the spot. But I have an angel who frustrates me, Baruchiachel."

37. Likewise also the third said: "I am called Klothod [1], which is Battle, and I cause the well-behaved to scatter and fall foul one of the other. And why do I say so much? I have an angel that frustrates me: "Marmarath."

[1. Fabricius, Cod. Pseudepigr. V.T. vol. I, p. 1047, reads Klothos, which must be i.q. Kludon, which Hesychius explains thus: ...]

38. Likewise also the fourth said: "I cause men to forget their sobriety and moderation. I part them and split them into parties; for Strife follows me hand in hand. I rend the husband from the sharer of his bed, and children from parents, and brothers from sisters. But why tell so much to my despite? I have an angel that frustrates me, the great Balthial."

39. Likewise also the fifth said: "I am Power. By power I raise up tyrants and tear down kings. To all rebels I furnish power. I have an angel that frustrates me, Asteroth."

40. Likewise also the sixth said: "I am Error [1], O King Solomon. And I will make thee to err, as I have before made thee to err, when I caused thee to slay thy own brother [2]. I will lead you into error, so as to pry into graves [3]; and I teach them that dig, and I lead errant souls away from all piety, and many other evil traits are mine. But I have an angel that frustrates me, Uriel."

[1. Cp. Testam. of Symeon, ch. 3. 2. See I Kings ii. 25. 3. A reference to necromancy, of which the object was to oblige the spirit of the dead to enter oneself.]

41. Likewise also the seventh said: "I am the worst, and I make thee worse off than thou wast; because I will impose the bonds of Artemis. But the locust [1] will set me free, for by means thereof it is fated that thou shalt achieve my desire [...]. For if one were wise, he would not turn his steps toward me."

[1. This refers to the closing incident narrated in the Testament, the sacrificing by Solomon of five locusts to Moloch. Tatian, Orat. ad Graecos, cap. 12, speaks of Artemis magos. She is the same as Hecate.]

42. So I Solomon, having heard and wondered, sealed them with my ring; and since they were so considerable, I bade them dig the foundations of the Temple of God. For the length of it was 250 cubits. And I bade them be industrious, and with one murmur of joint protest they began to perform the tasks enjoined.

43. But I Solomon glorified the Lord, and bade another demon come before me. And there was brought to me a demon having all the limbs of a man, but without a head. And I, seeing him, said to him: "Tell me, who art thou?" And he answered: "I am a demon." So I said to him: "Which?" And he answered me: "I am called Envy. For I delight to devour heads, being desirous to secure for myself a head; but I do not eat enough, but am anxious to have such a head as thou hast."

44. I Solomon, on hearing this, sealed him, stretching out my hand against his chest. Whereon the demon leapt up, and threw himself down, and gave a groan, saying: "Woe is me! where am I come to? O traitor Ornias, I cannot see!" So I said to him: "I am Solomon. Tell me then how thou dost manage to see." And he answered me: "By means of my feelings." I then, Solomon, having heard his voice come up to me, asked him how he managed to speak. And he answered me: "I, O King Solomon, am wholly voice, for I have inherited the voices of many men. For in the case of all men who are called dumb, I it is who smashed their heads, when they were children and had reached their eighth day. Then when a child is crying in the night, I become a spirit, and glide by means of his voice [...]. In the crossways [1] also I have many services to render, and my encounter is fraught with harm. For I grasp in all instant a man's head, and with my hands, as with a sword, I cut it off, and put it on to myself. And in this way, by means of the fire which is in me, through my neck it is swallowed up. I it is that sends grave mutilations and incurable on men's feet, and inflict sores."

[1. This seems the sense of enodiai, unless understood, trivialibus dis, "to the demons of the wayside or cross-road." Hecate was such a goddess, and in C.I. 26 we have mention of a daimon enodia, the Latin Trivia. As a subst. the neut. plur. enodia: = blisters caused by walking, in Theophr. Sud. 15.]

45. And I Solomon, on hearing this, said to him: "Tell me how thou dost discharge forth the fire? Out of what sources dost thou emit it?" And the spirit said to me: "From the Day-star [1]. For here hath not yet been found that Elburion, to whom men offer prayers and kindle lights. And his name is invoked by the seven demons before me. And he cherishes them."

[1. Or, "from the Orient."]

46. But I said to him: "Tell me his name." But he answered: "I cannot tell thee. For if I tell his name, I render myself incurable. But he will come in response to his name." And on hearing this, I Solomon said to him: "Tell me then, by what angel thou art frustrated?" And he answered: "By the fiery flash of lightning." And I bowed myself before the Lord God of Israel, and bade him remain in the keeping of Beelzeboul until Iax [1] should come.

[1. Bornemann conjectures "a guardian or watcher." But the angel Iax recurs below in # 86.]

47. Then I ordered another demon to come before me, and there came into my presence a hound, having a very large shape, and it spoke with a loud voice, and said, "Hail, Lord, King Solomon!" And I Solomon was astounded. I said to it: "Who art thou, O hound?" And it answered: "I do indeed seem to thee to be a hound, but before thou wast, O King Solomon, I was a man that wrought many unholy deeds on earth. I was surpassingly learned in letters, and was so mighty that I could hold the stars of heaven back. And many divine works did I prepare. For I do harm to men who follow after our star, and turn them to [...]. [1] And I seize the frenzied men by the larynx, and so destroy them."

[1. The MS. has a vox nihili. Can it mean "her that is born of echo" (see above, p. 19, n. 8).?]

48. And I Solomon said to him: "What is thy name?" And he answered: "Staff" (Rabdos). And I said to him: "What is thine employment? And what results canst thou achieve?" And he replied: "Give me thy man, and I will lead him away into a mountainous spot, and will show him a green stone tossed to and fro, with which thou mayest adorn the temple of the Lord God."

49. And I Solomon, on hearing this, ordered my servant to set off with him, and to take the finger-ring bearing the seal of God with him. And I said to him: "Whoever shall show thee the green stone, seal him with this finger-ring. And mark the spot with care, and bring me the demon hither. And the demon showed him the green stone, and he sealed it, and brought the demon to me. And I Solomon decided to confine with my seal on my right hand the two, the headless demon, likewise the hound, that was so huge [1]; he should be bound as well. And I bade the hound keep safe the fiery spirit so that lamps as it were might by day and night cast their light through its maw on the artisans at work.

[1. The text seems corrupt here.]

50. And I Solomon took from the mine of that stone 200 shekels for the supports of the table of incense, which was similar in appearance. And I Solomon glorified the Lord God, and then closed round the treasure of that stone. And I ordered afresh the demons to cut marble for the construction of the house of God. And I Solomon prayed to the Lord, and asked the hound, saying: "By what angel art thou frustrated?" And the demon replied: "By the great Briarus [1]."

[1. Briareus is suggested by Bornemann as the right reading, but with little probability, since Briareus would not have been turned into an angel.]

51. And I praised the Lord God of heaven and earth, and bade another demon come forward to me; and there came before me one in the form of a lion roaring. And he stood and answered me saying: "O king, in the form which I have, I am a spirit quite incapable of being perceived. Upon all men who lie prostrate with sickness I leap, coming stealthily along; and I render the man weak, so that his habit of body is enfeebled.

But I have also another glory, O king. I cast out demons, and I have legions under my control. And I am capable of being received [1] in my dwelling-places, along with all the demons belonging to the legions under me." But I Solomon, on hearing this, asked him: "What is thy name?" But he answered: "Lion-bearer, Rath [2] in kind." And I said to him: "How art thou to be frustrated along with thy legions? What angel is it that frustrates thee?" And he answered: "If I tell thee my name, I bind not myself alone, but also the legions of demons under me."

[1. dektikos seems here to bear this sense, as also in the fragment of a very old commentary on the Shepherd of Hermas in the Oxyrhynchus papyri. part i, by Grenfell and Hunt, 1898, p. 9. The dwelling-places are the persons of whom the spirit, good or evil, takes possession. So in the Docetic Acta Iohannis (ed. M.R. James) the Christ says: "I have no dwelling, and I have dwellings; I have no place, and I have places; I have no temple, and I have temples. ... Behold thyself in me who address thee." 2. radinos, "slender tapering" is suggested by Bornemann as the true reading, because a "staff" might be such.]

52. So I said to him: "I adjure thee in the name of the God Sabaoth, to tell me by what name thou art frustrated along with thy host." And the spirit answered me: "The 'great among men,' who is to suffer many things at the hands of men, whose name is the figure 644, which is Emmanuel; he it is who has bound us, and who will then come and plunge us from the steep [1] under water. He is noised abroad in the three letters which bring him down [2]."

[1. The allusion is to the swine of Gadara. 2. The three characters are apparently the numbers 644.]

53. And I Solomon, on hearing this, glorified God, and condemned his legion to carry wood from the thicket. And I condemned the lion-shaped one himself to saw up the wood small with his teeth, for burning in the unquenchable furnace for the Temple of God.

54. And I worshipped the Lord God of Israel, and bade another demon come forward. And there came before me a dragon, three-headed, of fearful hue. And I questioned him: "Who art thou?" And he answered me: "I am a caltrop-like spirit [1], whose activity in three lines. But I blind children in women's wombs, and twirl their ears round. And I make them deaf [2] and mute. And I have again in my third head means of slipping in [3]. And I smite men in the limbless part of the body, and cause them to fall down, and foam, and grind their teeth. But I have my own way of being frustrated, Jerusalem being signified in writing, unto the place called 'of the head [4].'" For there is fore-appointed the angel of the great counsel, and now he will openly dwell on the cross. He doth frustrate me, and to him am I subject."

[1. Tribolaos. The tribolos was a three-spiked instrument, thrown on the ground to wound horses' feet. 2. bubá, an unknown word. 3. a word of doubtful sense. 4. i.e. Golgotha. The old legend was that Adam's skull reposed in this spot, and that the cross was planted upon it.]

55. "But in the place where thou sittest, O King Solomon, standeth a column in the air, of purple... [1] The demon called Ephippas hath brought [it] up from the Red Sea, from inner Arabia. He it is that shall be shut up in a skin-bottle and brought before thee. But at the entrance of the Temple, which thou hast begun to build, O King Solomon, lies stored much gold, which dig thou up and carry off." And I Solomon sent my servant, and found it to be as the demon told me. And I sealed him with my ring, and praised the Lord God."

[1. The meaning of the last part of this compound is unknown.]

56. So I said to him: "What art thou called?" And the demon said: "I am the crest of dragons." And I bade him make bricks in the Temple. He had human hands.

57. And I adored the Lord God of Israel, and bade another demon present himself. And there came before me a spirit in woman's form, that had a head without any limbs [1], and her hair was dishevelled. And I said to her: "Who art thou?" But she answered: "Nay, who art thou? And why dost thou want to hear concerning

me? But, as thou wouldst learn, here I stand bound before thy face. Go [30] then into thy royal storehouses and wash thy hands. Then sit down afresh before thy tribunal, and ask me questions; and thou shalt learn, O king, who I am."

[1. Here we seem to have the Greek head of Medusa transformed into a demon.]

58. And I Solomon did as she enjoined me, and restrained myself because of the wisdom dwelling in me [1]; in order that I might hear of her deeds, and reprehend them, and manifest them to men. And I sat down, and said to the demon: "What art thou?" And she said: "I am called among men Obizuth; and by night I sleep not, but go my rounds over all the world, and visit women in childbirth. And divining the hour I take my stand [2]; and if I am lucky, I strangle the child. But if not, I retire to another place. For I cannot for a single night retire unsuccessful. For I am a fierce [3] spirit, of myriad names and many shapes. And now hither, now thither I roam. And to westering parts I go my rounds. But as it now is, though thou hast sealed me round with the ring of God, thou hast done nothing. I am not standing before thee, and thou wilt not be able to command me. For I have no work other than the destruction of children, and the making their ears to be deaf, and the working of evil to their eyes, and the binding their mouths with a bond, and the ruin of their minds, and paining of their bodies."

[1. The Sophia, identified by Philo and the early Fathers with the Logos, is supposed to have entered into and taken possession of Solomon as it afterwards did with Jesus. 2. stamatihi, an unknown verb. 3. xalepón.]

59. When I Solomon heard this, I marvelled at her appearance, for I beheld all her body to be in darkness. But her glance was altogether bright and greeny, and her hair was tossed wildly like a dragon's; and the whole of her limbs were invisible. And her voice was very clear as it came to me. And I cunningly said: "Tell me by what angel thou art frustrated, O evil spirit?" By she answered me: "By the angel of God called Afarôt, which is interpreted Raphael, by whom I am frustrated now and for all time. His name, if any man know it, and write the same on a woman in childbirth, then I shall not be able to enter her. Of this name the number is 640 [1]." And I Solomon having heard this, and having glorified the Lord, ordered her hair to be bound, and that she should be hung up in front of the Temple of God; that all the children of Israel, as they passed, might see it, and glorify the Lord God of Israel, who had given me this authority, with wisdom and power from God, by means of this signet.

[1. Bornemann (Zeitschr. f.d. Hist. Theol. 1844, p. 38) gives the tale of figures. r = 100; a = 1; f = 500; a = 1; m = 8; l = 30. Total 640.]

60. And I again ordered another demon to come before me. And the came, rolling itself along, one in appearance like to a dragon, but having the face and hands of a man. And all its limbs, except the feet, were those of a dragon; and it had wings on its back. And when I beheld it, I was astonished, and said: "Who art thou, demon, and what art thou called? And whence hast thou come? Tell me."

61. And the spirit answered and said: "This is the first time I have stood before thee, O King Solomon. I am a spirit made into a god among men, but now brought to naught by the ring and wisdom vouchsafed to thee by God. Now I am the so-called winged dragon [1], and I chamber not with many women, but only with a few that are of fair shape, which possess the name of xuli, of this star. And I pair with them in the guise of a spirit winged in form, coitum habens per nates. And she on whom I have leapt goes heavy with child, and that which is born of her becomes eros. But since such offspring cannot be carried by men, the woman in question breaks wind. Such is my role. Supposed then only that I am satisfied, and all the other demons molested and disturbed by thee will speak the whole truth. But those composed of fire [2] will cause to be burned up by fire the material of the logs which is to be collected by them for the building in the Temple."

[1. pterodrâkun, a word not in the lexicons. 2. Tà dè diâ pyrós.]

62. And as the demon said this, I saw the spirit going forth from his mouth, and it consumed the wood of the frankincense-tree, and burned up all the logs which we had placed in the Temple of God. And I Solomon saw what the spirit had done, and I marvelled.

63. And, having glorified God, I asked the dragon-shaped demon, and said: "Tell me, by what angel art thou frustrated?" And he answered: "By the great angel which has its seat in the second heaven, which is called in Hebrew Bazazeth. And I Solomon, having heard this, and having invoked his angel, condemned him to saw up marbles for the building of the Temple of God; and I praised God, and commanded another demon to come before me.

64. And there came before my face another spirit, as it were a woman in the form she had. But on her shoulders she had two other heads with hands. And I asked her, and said: "Tell me, who art thou?" And she said to me: "I am Enêpsigos, who also have a myriad names." And I said her: "By what angel art thou frustrated?" But she said to me: "What seekest, what askest thou? I undergo changes, like the goddess I am called. And I change again, and pass into possession of another shape. And be not desirous therefore to know all that concerns me. But since thou art before me for this much, hearken. I have my abode in the moon, and for that reason I possess three forms. At times I am magically [1] invoked by the wise as Kronos. At other times, in connexion with those who bring me down, I come down and appear in another shape. The measure of the element [2] is inexplicable and indefinable, and not to be frustrated. I then, changing into these three forms, come down and become such as thou seest me; but I am frustrated by the angel Rathanael, who sits in the third heaven. This then is why I speak to thee. Yonder temple cannot contain me."

[1. mageyoméne. 2. Perhaps "the place or size of the heavenly body."]

65. I therefore Solomon prayed to my God, and I invoked the angel of whom Enêpsigos spoke to me, and used my seal. And I sealed her with a triple chain, and (placed) beneath her the fastening of the chain. I used the seal of God, and the spirit prophesied to me, saying: "This is what thou, King Solomon, doest to us. But after a time thy kingdom shall be broken, and again in season this Temple shall be riven asunder [1]; and all Jerusalem shall be undone by the King of the Persians and Medes and Chaldaeans. And the vessels of this Temple, which thou makest, shall be put to servile uses of the gods; and along with them all the jars, in which thou dost shut us up, shall be broken by the hands of men. And then we shall go forth in great power hither and thither, and be disseminated all over the world. And we shall lead astray the inhabited world for a long season, until the Son of God is stretched upon the cross. For never before doth arise a king like unto him, one frustrating us all, whose mother shall not have contact with man. Who else can receive such authority over spirits, except he, whom the first devil will seek to tempt, but will not prevail over? The number of his name is 644 [2], which is Emmanuel. Wherefore, O King Solomon, thy time is evil, and thy years short and evil, and to thy servant shall thy kingdom be given [3]."

[1. I conjecture the sense which the word must bear in this context. 2. xmd. 3. This prophecy corresponds roughly to the one which Lactantius, Instit. Div. lib. iv. c. 18, quotes from an apocryphal Book of Solomon.]

66. And I Solomon, having heard this, glorified God. And though I marvelled at the apology of the demons, I did not credit it until it came true. And I did not believe their words; but when they were realized, then I understood, and at my death I wrote this Testament to the children of Israel, and gave it to them, so that they might know the powers of the demons and their shapes, and the names of their angels, by which these angels are frustrated. And I glorified the Lord God of Israel, and commanded the spirits to be bound with bonds indissoluble.

67. And having praised God, I commanded another spirit to come before me; and there came before my face another demon, having in front the shape of a horse, but behind of a fish. And he had a mighty voice, and said to me: "O King Solomon, I am a fierce spirit of the sea, and I am greedy of gold and silver. I am such a spirit as rounds itself and comes over the expanses of the water of the sea, and I trip up the men who

sail thereon. For I round myself into a wave [1], and transform myself, and then throw myself on ships and come right in on them. And that is my business, and my way of getting hold of money and men. For I take the men, and whirl them round with myself, and hurl the men out of the sea. For I am not covetous of men's bodies, but cast them up out of the sea so far. But since Beelzeboul, ruler of the spirits of air and of those under the earth, and lord of earthly ones, hath a joint kingship with us in respect of the deeds of each one of us, therefore I went up from the sea, to get a certain outlook [2] in his company.

[1. Cp. Jude 13. That Jude here indulges in no mere metaphor is clear from the words which follow, which embody the belief detailed in the Testament of Solomon, p. 40. 2. "descent, or spiritual assault."]

68. "But I also have another character and role. I metamorphose myself into waves, and come up from the sea. And I show myself to men, so that those on earth call me Kuno[s]paston [1], because I assume the human form. And my name is a true one. For by my passage up into men, I send forth a certain nausea. I came then to take counsel with the prince Beelzeboul; and he bound me and delivered me into thy hands. And I am here before thee because of this seal, and thou dost now torment me [2]. Behold now, in two or three days the spirit that converseth with thee will fail, because I shall have no water."

[1. Cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. 24. 74 "Cynosbaton, alii Cynospaston, alii neurospaston vocant; folium habet vestigio hominis simile. Fert et uvam nigram, in cuius acino nervum habet, unde neurospastos dicitur." The human form revealed itself in the footstep, which the leaf resembled. 2. basanixeis. Cp. Matt. viii. 6, 29; xiv. 24; Mark v. 7.]

69. And I said to him: "Tell me by what angel thou art frustrated." And he answered: "By Iameth." And I glorified God. I commanded the spirit to be thrown into a phial along with ten jugs of sea-water of two measures each [1]. And I sealed them round above the marbles and asphalt and pitch in the mouth of the vessel. And having sealed it with my ring, I ordered it to be deposited in the Temple of God. And I ordered another spirit to come before me.

[1. Cp. John ii. 6.]

70. And there came before my face another enslaved spirit, having obscurely the form of a man, with gleaming eyes, and bearing in his hand a blade. And I asked: "Who art thou? But he answered: "I am a lascivious spirit, engendered of a giant man who dies in the massacre in the time of the giants." I said to him: "Tell me what thou art employed on upon earth, and where thou hast thy dwelling."

71. And he said: "My dwelling is in fruitful places, but my procedure is this. I seat myself beside the men who pass along among the tombs, and in untimely season I assume the form of the dead; and if I catch any one, I at once destroy him with my sword. But if I cannot destroy him, I cause him to be possessed with a demon, and to devour his own flesh, and the hair to fall off his chin." But I said to him: "Do thou then be in fear of the God of heaven and of earth, and tell me by angel thou art frustrated." And he answered: "He destroys me who is to become Saviour, a man whose number, if any one shall write it on his forehead [1], he will defeat me, and in fear I shall quickly retreat. And, indeed, if any one write this sign on him, I shall be in fear." And I Solomon, on hearing this, and having glorified the Lord God, shut up this demon like the rest.

[1. Rev. ix. 4; xiii, 16, 17.]

72. And I commanded another demon to come before me. And there came before my face thirty-six spirits, their heads shapeless like dogs, but in themselves they were human in form; with faces of asses, faces of oxen, and faces of birds. And I Solomon, on hearing and seeing them, wondered, and I asked them and said: "Who are you?" But they, of one accord with one voice, said [1]: "We are the thirty-six elements, the world-rulers [2] of this darkness. But, O King Solomon, thou wilt not wrong us nor imprison us, nor lay command on us; but since the Lord God has given thee authority over every spirit, in the air, and on the earth, and under the earth, therefore do we also present ourselves before thee like the other spirits, from ram

and bull, from [35] both twin and crab, lion and virgin, scales and scorpion, archer, goat-horned, water-pourer, and fish.

[1. Acts ii. 1. 2. kosmokratores. Cp. Paul, Eph. vi. 12; Origen, c. Celsum, viii, 58.]

73. Then I Solomon invoked the name of the Lord Sabaoth, and questioned each in turn as to what was its character. And I bade each one come forward and tell of its actions. Then the first one came forward, and said: "I am the first decans of the zodiacal circle, and I am called the ram, and with me are these two." So I put to them the question: "Who are ye called?" The first said: "I, O Lord, am called Ruax, and I cause the heads of men to be idle, and I pillage their brows. But let me only hear the words, 'Michael, imprison Ruax,' and at once I retreat."

74. And the second said: "I am called Barsafael, and I cause those who are subject to my hour to feel the pain of migraine. If only I hear the words, 'Gabriel, imprison Barsafael,' at once I retreat."

75. The third said: "I am called Arôtosael. I do harm to eyes, and grievously injure them. Only let me hear the words, 'Uriel, imprison Aratosael' (sic), at once I retreat[1]"

[1. There seems to be a lacuna here.]

76. The fifth said: "I am called Iudal, and I bring about a block in the ears and deafness of hearing. If I hear, 'UrueI Iudal,' I at once retreat."

77. The sixth said: "I am called Sphendonaêl. I cause tumours of the parotid gland, and inflammations of the tonsils, and tetanic recurvation [1]. If I hear, 'Sabrael, imprison Sphendonaêl,' at once I retreat."

[1. The Greek medical terms which stand in the Greek text are found in Hippocrates, Galen, and Cuel. Aurel.]

78. And the Seventh said: "I am called Sphandôr, and I weaken the strength of the shoulders, and cause them to tremble; and I paralyze the nerves of the hands, and I break and bruise the bones of the neck. And I, I suck out the marrow. But if I hear the words, 'Araêl, imprison Sphandôr,' I at once retreat."

79. And the eight said: "I am called Belbel. I distort the hearts and minds of men. If I hear the words, 'Araêl, imprison Belbel,' I at once retreat."

80. And the ninth said: "I am called Kurtaêl. I send colics in the bowels. I induce pains. If I hear the words, 'Iaôth, imprison Kurtaêl,' I at once retreat."

81. The tenth said: "I am called Metathiax. I cause the reins to ache. If I hear the words, 'Adônaêl, imprison Metathiax,' I at once retreat."

82. The eleventh said: "I am called Katanikotaêl. I create strife and wrongs in men's homes, and send on them hard temper. If any one would be at peace in his home, let him write on seven leaves of laurel the name of the angel that frustrates me, along with these names: Iae, Ieô, sons of Sabaôth, in the name of the great God let him shut up Katanikotaêl. Then let him wash the laurel-leaves in water, and sprinkle his house with the water, from within to the outside. And at once I retreat."

83. The twelfth said: "I am called Saphathoraél, and I inspire partisanship in men, and delight in causing them to stumble. If any one will write on paper these names of angels, Iacô, Iealô, Iôelet, Sabaôth, Ithoth, Bae, and having folded it up, wear it round his neck or against his ear, I at once retreat and dissipate the drunken fit."

84. The thirteenth said: "I am called Bobêl (sic), and I cause nervous illness by my assaults. If I hear the name of the great 'Adonaêl, imprison Bothothêl,' I at once retreat."

85. The fourteenth said: "I am called Kumeatêl, and I inflict shivering fits and torpor. If only I hear the words: 'Zôrôêl, imprison Kumentaêl,' I at once retreat."

86. The fifteenth said: "I am called Roêlêd. I cause cold and frost and pain in the stomach. Let me only hear the words: 'Iax, bide not, be not warmed, for Solomon is fairer than eleven fathers,' I at [once] retreat."

87. The sixteenth said: "I am called Atrax. I inflict upon men fevers, irremediable and harmful. If you would imprison me, chop up coriander [1] and smear it on the lips, reciting the following charm: 'The fever which is from dirt. I exorcise thee by the throne of the most high God, retreat from dirt and retreat from the creature fashioned by God.' And at once I retreat."

[1. Pliny, Nat. Hist. xx. 20, notes the same use of coriander: "Seminis grana tria in tertianis devorari iubent aliqui ante accessionem, vel plura illini fronti." The Testament evidently belongs to Pliny's age.]

88. The seventeenth said: "I am called Ieropaêl. On the stomach of men I sit, and cause convulsions in the bath and in the road; and wherever I be found, or find a man, I throw him down. But if any one will say to the afflicted into their ear these names, three times over, into the right ear: 'Iudarizê, Sabunê, Denôê,' I at once retreat."

89. The eighteenth said: "I am called Buldumêch. I separate wife from husband and bring about a grudge between them. If any one write down the names of thy sires, Solomon, on paper and place it in the ante-chamber of his house, I retreat thence. And the legend written shall be as follows: 'The God of Abram, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob commands thee -- retire from this house in peace.' And I at once retire."

90. The nineteenth said: "I am called Naôth, and I take my seat on the knees of men. If any one write on paper: 'Phnunoboêol, depart Nathath, and touch thou not the neck,' I at once retreat."

91. The twentieth said: "I am called Marderô. I send on men incurable fever. If any one write on the leaf of a book: 'Sphênêr, Rafael, retire, drag me not about, flay me not,' and tie it round his neck, I at once retreat."

92. The twenty-first said: "I am called Alath, and I cause coughing and hard-breathing in children. If any one write on paper: 'Rorêx, do thou pursue Alath,' and fasten it round his neck, I at once retire... [1]"

[1. There must here be a lacuna in the text.]

93. The twenty-third said: "I am called Nefthada. I cause the reins to ache, and I bring about dysury. If any one write on a plate of tin the words: 'Iathôth, Uruêl, Nephthada,' and fasten it round the loins, I at once retreat."

94. The twenty-fourth said: "I am called Akton. I cause ribs and lumbic muscles to ache. If one engrave on copper material, taken from a ship which has missed its anchorage, this: 'Marmaraôth, Sabaôth, pursue Akton,' and fasten it round the loin, I at once retreat."

95. The twenty-fifth said: "I am called Anatreth, and I rend burnings and fevers into the entrails. But if I hear: 'Arara, Charara,' instantly do I retreat."

96. The twenty-sixth said: "I am called Enenuth. I steal away men's minds, and change their hearts, and make a man toothless (?). If one write: 'Allazoôl, pursue Enenuth,' and tie the paper round him, I at once retreat."

97. The twenty-seventh said: "I am called Phêth. I make men consumptive and cause hemorrhagia. If one exorcise me in wine, sweet-smelling and unmixed by the eleventh aeon [1], and say: 'I exorcise thee by the eleventh aeon to stop, I demand, Phêth (Axiôphêth),' then give it to the patient to drink, and I at once retreat."

[1. A Gnostic reference. Just above "eleven fathers" were mentioned.] **98.** The twenty-eighth said: "I am called Harpax, and I send sleeplessness on men. If one write 'Kokphnêdismos,' and bind it round the temples, I at once retire."

99. The twenty-ninth said: "I am called Anostêr. I engender uterine mania and pains in the bladder. If one powder into pure oil three seeds of laurel and smear it on, saying: 'I exorcise thee, Anostêr. Stop by Marmaraô,' at once I retreat."

100. The thirtieth said: "I am called Alleborith. If in eating fish one has swallowed a bone, then he must take a bone from the fish and cough, and at once I retreat."

101. The thirty-first said: "I am called Hephesimireth, and cause lingering disease. If you throw salt, rubbed in the hand, into oil and smear it on the patient, saying: 'Seraphim, Cherubim, help me!' I at once retire."

102. The thirty-second said: "I am called Ichthion. I paralyze muscles and contuse them. If I hear 'Adonaêth, help!' I at once retire."

103. The thirty-third said: "I am called Agchoniôn. I lie among swaddling-clothes and in the precipice. And if any one write on fig-leaves 'Lycurgos,' taking away one letter at a time, and write it, reversing the letters, I retire at once. 'Lycurgos, ycurgos, kurgos, yrgos, gos, os [1].'"

[1. botrydôn, for which Bornemann conjectures boystrofydôn. There is a parallel in a magic papyrus edited by Dieterich (Abraxas, p. 185).]

104. The thirty-fourth said: "I am called Autothith. I cause grudges and fighting. Therefore I am frustrated by Alpha and Omega, if written down."

105. The thirty-fifth said: "I am called Phthenoth. I cast evil eye on every man. Therefore, the eye much-suffering, if it be drawn, frustrates me."

106. The thirty-sixth said: "I am called Bianakith. I have a grudge against the body. I lay waste houses, I cause flesh to decay, and all else that is similar. If a man write on the front-door of his house: 'Mêltô, Ardu, Anaath,' I flee from that place."

107. And I Solomon, when I heard this, glorified the God of heaven and earth. And I commanded them to fetch water in the Temple of God. And I furthermore prayed to the Lord God to cause the demons without, that hamper humanity, to be bound and made to approach the Temple of God. Some of these demons I condemned to do the heavy work of the construction of the Temple of God. Others I shut up in prisons. Others I ordered to wrestle with fire in (the making of) gold and silver, sitting down by lead and spoon. And to make ready places for the other demons in which they should be confined.

108. And I Solomon had much quiet in all the earth, and spent my life in profound peace, honoured by all men and by all under heaven. And I built the entire Temple of the Lord God. And my kingdom was prosperous, and my army was with me. And for the rest the city of Jerusalem had repose, rejoicing and delighted. And all the kings of the earth came to me from the ends of the earth to behold the Temple which I build to the Lord God. And having heard of the wisdom given to me, they did homage to me in the Temple, bringing gold and silver and precious stones, many and divers, and bronze, and iron, and lead, and cedar logs. And woods decay not they brought me, for the equipment of the Temple of God.

109. And among them also the queen of the South, being a witch, came in great concern and bowed low before me to the earth. And having heard my wisdom, she glorified the God of Israel, and she made formal trial of all my wisdom, of all love in which I instructed her, according to the wisdom imparted to me. And all the sons of Israel glorified God.

110. And behold, in those days one of the workmen, of ripe old age, threw himself down before me, and said: "King Solomon, pity me, because I am old." So I bade him stand up, and said: "Tell me, old man, all you will." And he answered: "I beseech you king, I have an only-born son, and he insults and beats me openly, and plucks out the hair of my head, and threatens me with a painful death. Therefore I beseech you avenge me.

111. And I Solomon, on hearing this, felt compunction as I looked at his old age; and I bade the child be brought to me. And when he was brought I questioned him whether it were true. And the youth said: "I was not so filled with madness as to strike my father with my hand. Be kind to me, O king. For I have not dared to commit such impiety, poor wretch that I am." But I Solomon on hearing this from the youth, exhorted the old man to reflect on the matter, and accept his son's apology. However, he would not, but said he would rather let him die. And as the old man would not yield, I was about to pronounce sentence on the youth, when I saw Ornias the demon laughing. I was very angry at the demon's laughing in my presence; and I ordered my men to remove the other parties, and bring forward Ornias before my tribunal. And when he was brought before me, I said to him: "Accursed one, why didst thou look at me and laugh?" And the demon answered: "Prithee, king, it was not because of thee I laughed, but because of this ill-starred old man and the wretched youth, his son. For after three days his son will die untimely; and lo, the old man desires to foully make away with him."

112. But I Solomon, having heard this, said to the demon: "Is that true that thou speakest?" And he answered: "It is true; O king." And I, on hearing that, bade them remove the demon, and that they should again bring before me the old man with his son. I bade them [40] make friends with one another again, and I supplied them with food. And then I told the old man after three days to bring his son again to me here; "and," said I, "I will attend to him." And they saluted me, and went their way.

113. And when they were gone I ordered Ornias to be brought forward, and said to him: "Tell me how you know this;" and he answered: "We demons ascend into the firmament of heaven, and fly about among the stars. And we hear the sentences which go forth upon the souls of men, and forthwith we come, and whether by force of influence, or by fire, or by sword, or by some accident, we veil our act of destruction; and if a man does not die by some untimely disaster or by violence, then we demons transform ourselves in such a way as to appear to men and be worshipped in our human nature."

114. I therefore, having heard this, glorified the Lord God, and again I questioned the demon, saying: "Tell me how ye can ascend into heaven, being demons, and amidst the stars and holy angels intermingle." And he answered: "Just as things are fulfilled in heaven, so also on earth (are fulfilled) the types [1] of all of them. For there are principalities, authorities, world-rulers [2], and we demons fly about in the air; and we hear the voices of the heavenly beings, and survey all the powers. And as having no ground (basis) on which to alight and rest, we lose strength and fall off like leaves from trees. And men seeing us imagine that the stars are falling from heaven. But it is not really so, O king; but we fall because of our weakness, and because we have nowhere anything to lay hold of; and so we fall down like lightnings [3] in the depth of night and suddenly. And we set cities in flames and fire the fields. For the stars have firm foundations in the heavens like the sun and the moon."

[1. Cp. Heb. viii. 5. 2. Cp. Rom. viii. 38. 3. Luke x. 18: "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven." June 13.]

115. And I Solomon, having heard this, ordered the demon to be guarded for five days. And after the five days I recalled the old man, and was about to question him. But he came to me in grief and with black face. And I said to him: "Tell me, old man, where is thy son? And what means this garb?" And he answered:

"Lo, I am become childless, and sit by my son's grave in despair. For it is already two days that he is dead." But I Solomon, on hearing that, and knowing that the demon Ornias had told me the truth, glorified the God of Israel.

116. And the queen of the South saw all this, and marvelled, [41] glorifying the God of Israel; and she beheld the Temple of the Lord being builded. And she gave a siklos [1] of gold and one hundred myriads of silver and choice bronze, and she went into the Temple. And (she beheld) the altar of incense and the brazen supports of this altar, and the gems of the lamps flashing forth of different colours, and of the lamp-stand of stone, and of emerald, and hyacinth, and sapphire; and she beheld the vessels of gold, and silver, and bronze, and wood, and the folds of skins dyed red with madder. And she saw the bases of the pillars of the Temple of the Lord. All were of one gold ... [2] apart from the demons whom I condemned to labour. And there was peace in the circle of my kingdom and over all the earth.

[1. A shekel. Philo has the form síklos, i. 468. síglos is the usual spelling in the LXX. 2. There seems to be here a lacuna in the MS.]

117. And it came to pass, which I was in my kingdom, the King of the Arabians, Adares, sent me a letter, and the writing of the letter was written as follows: --

"To King Solomon, all hail! Lo, we have heard, and it hath been heard unto all the ends of the earth, concerning the wisdom vouchsafed in thee, and that thou art a man merciful from the Lord. And understanding hath been granted thee over all the spirits of the air, and on earth, and under the earth. Now, forasmuch as there is present in the land of Arabia a spirit of the following kind: at early dawn there begins to blow a certain wind until the third hour. And its blast is harsh and terrible, and it slays man and beast. And no spirit can live upon earth against this demon. I pray thee then, forasmuch as the spirit is a wind, contrive something according to the wisdom given in thee by the Lord thy God, and deign to send a man able to capture it. And behold, King Solomon, I and my people and all my land will serve thee unto death. And all Arabia shall be at peace with thee, if thou wilt perform this act of righteousness for us. Wherefore we pray thee, condemn not our humble prayer, and suffer not to be utterly brought to naught the eparchy subordinated to thy authority. Because we are suppliants, both I and my people and all my land. Farewell to my Lord. All health!"

118. And I Solomon read this epistle; and I folded it up and gave it to my people, and said to them: "After seven days shalt thou remind me of this epistle. And Jerusalem was built, and the Temple was being completed. And there was a stone [1], the end stone of the corner lying there, great, chosen out, one which I desired lay in the head of the corner of the completion of the Temple. And all the workmen, and all the demons helping them came to the same place to bring up the stone and lay it on the pinnacle of the holy Temple, and were not strong enough to stir it, and lay it upon the corner allotted to it. For that stone was exceedingly great and useful for the corner of the Temple."

[1. Cp. I Pet. ii. 6, 7, who combines in the same way Ps. cxviii. 22 and Isa. xxviii. 16. Cp. Matt. xxi. 42, Mark xii, 10, Luke xx, 17.]

119. And after seven days, being reminded of the epistle of Adares, King of Arabia, I called my servant and said to him: "Order thy camel and take for thyself a leather flask, and take also this seal. And go away into Arabia to the place in which the evil spirit blows; and there take the flask, and the signet-ring in front of the mouth of the flask, and (hold them) towards the blast of the spirit. And when the flask is blown out, thou wilt understand that the demon is (in it). Then hastily tie up the mouth of to flask, and seal it securely with the seal-ring, and lay it carefully on the camel and bring it me hither. And if on the way it offer thee gold or silver or treasure in return for letting it go, see that thou be not persuaded. But arrange without using oath to release it. And then if it point out to the places where are gold or silver, mark the places and seal them with this seal. And bring the demon to me. And now depart, and fare thee well."

120. Then the youth did as was bidden him. And he ordered his camel, and laid on it a flask, and set off into Arabia. And the men of that region would not believe that he would be able to catch the evil spirit. And when it was dawn, the servant stood before the spirit's blast, and laid the flask on the ground, and the finger-ring on the mouth of the flask. And the demon blew through the middle of the finger-ring into the mouth of the flask, and going in blew out the flask. But the man promptly stood up to it and drew tight with his hand the mouth of the flask, in the name of the Lord God of Sabaôth. And the demon remained within the flask. And after that the youth remained in that land three days to make trial. And the spirit no longer blew against that city. And all the Arabs knew that he had safely shut in the spirit.

121. Then the youth fastened the flask on the camel, and the Arabs sent him forth on his way with much honour and precious gifts, praising and magnifying the God of Israel. But the youth brought in the bag and laid it in the middle of the Temple. And on the next day, I King Solomon, went into the Temple of God and sat in deep distress about the stone of the end of the corner. And when I entered the Temple, the flask stood up and walked around some seven steps and then fell on its mouth and did homage to me. And I marvelled that even along with the bottle the demon still had power and could walk about; and I commanded it to stand up. And the flask stood up, and stood on its feet all blown out. And I questioned him, saying: "Tell me, who art thou?" And the spirit within said: "I am the demon called Ephippas, that is in Arabia." And I said to him: "Is this thy name?" And he answered: "Yes; wheresoever I will, I alight and set fire and do to death."

122. And I said to him: "By what angel art thou frustrated?" And he answered: "By the only-ruling God, that hath authority over me even to be heard. He that is to be born of a virgin and crucified by the Jews on a cross. Whom the angels and archangels worship. He doth frustrate me, and enfeeble me of my great strength, which has been given me by my father the devil." And I said to him: "What canst thou do?" And he answered: "I am able to remove [1] mountains, to overthrow the oaths of kings. I wither trees and make their leaves to fall off." And I said to him: "Canst thou raise this stone, and lay it for the beginning of this corner which exists in the fair plan of the Temple [2]?" And he said: "Not only raise this, O king; but also, with the help of the demon who presides over the Red Sea, I will bring up the pillar of air [3], and will stand it where thou wilt in Jerusalem."

[1. Cp. the faith which removes mountains. 2. Bornemann suggests that the gate of the Temple called Beautiful (Acts iii. 2, 10) is referred to. 3. I conjecture the sense.]

123. Saying this, I laid stress on him, and the flask became as if depleted of air. And I placed it under the stone, and (the spirit) girded himself up, and lifted it up top of the flask. And the flask went up the steps, carrying the stone, and laid it down at the end of the entrance of the Temple. And I Solomon, beholding the stone raised aloft and placed on a foundation, said: "Truly the Scripture is fulfilled, which says: 'The stone which the builders rejected on trial, that same is become the head of the corner.' For this it is not mine to grant, but God's, that the demon should be strong enough to lift up so great a stone and deposit it in the place I wished."

124. And Ephippas led the demon of the Red Sea with the column. And they both took the column and raised it aloft from the earth. And I outwitted these two spirits, so that they could not shake the entire earth in a moment of time. And then I sealed round with my [44] ring on this side and that, and said: "Watch." And the spirits have remained upholding it until this day, for proof of the wisdom vouchsafed to me. And there the pillar was hanging of enormous size, in mid air, supported by the winds. And thus the spirits appeared underneath, like air, supporting it. And if one looks fixedly, the pillar is a little oblique, being supported by the spirits; and it is so to day.

125. And I Solomon questioned the other spirit which came up with the pillar from the depth of the Red Sea. And I said to him: "Who art thou, and what calls thee? And what is thy business? For I hear many things about thee." And the demon answered: "I, O King Solomon, am called Abezithibod. I am a descendant of the archangel. Once as I sat in the first heaven, of which the name is Ameleouth -- I then am a fierce spirit and winged, and with a single wing, plotting against every spirit under heaven. I was present when Moses went in before Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and I hardened his heart. I am he whom Iannes and

Iambres invoked homing [1] with Moses in Egypt. I am he who fought against Moses [2] with wonders with signs."

[1. οἰκοϋxύμενοι in the MS., a vox nihili. If we had the apocryph of Iannes and Iambres we might understand the reference. 2. 2 Tim. iii. 8.]

126. I said therefore to him: "How wast thou found in the Red Sea?" And he answered: "In the exodus of the sons of Israel I hardened the heart of Pharaoh. And I excited his heart and that of his ministers. And I caused them to pursue after the children of Israel. And Pharaoh followed with (me) and all the Egyptians. Then I was present there, and we followed together. And we all came up upon the Red Sea. And it came to pass when the children of Israel had crossed over, the water returned and hid all the host of the Egyptians and all their might. And I remained in the sea, being kept under this pillar. But when Ephippas came, being sent by thee, shut up in the vessel of a flask, he fetched me up to thee."

127. I, therefore, Solomon, having heard this, glorified God and adjured the demons not to disobey me, but to remain supporting the pillar. And they both sware, saying: "The Lord thy God liveth, we will not let go this pillar until the world's end. But on whatever day this stone fall, then shall be the end of the world [1]."

[1. This legend of the heavy cornerstone and of the spirits supporting a column in the Temple reappears in the Georgian Acts of Nouna in the fourth century. There it is a huge wooden column that is lifted by spirit-agency, when the king and workmen had failed to move it into place. The spirits support it in the air before letting it sink into its place. These Acts will shortly appear in an English translation by Miss Wardrop in the forthcoming number of the *Studie Biblica*, Clarendon Press, 1898.]

128. And I Solomon glorified God, and adorned the Temple of the Lord with all fair-seeming. And I was glad in spirit in my kingdom, and there was peace in my days. And I took wives of my own from every land, who were numberless. And I marched against the Jebusaeans, and there I saw Jebusaeans, daughter of a man: and fell violently in love with her, and desired to take her to wife along with my other wives. And I said to their priests: "Give me the Shunammite (i.e. Shunammite) to wife [1]." But the priests of Moloch said to me: "If thou lovest this maiden, go in and worship our gods, the great god Raphan and the god called Moloch." I therefore was in fear of the glory of God, and did not follow to worship. And I said to them: "I will not worship a strange god. What is this proposal, that ye compel me to do so much?" But they said: ". . . . [2] by our fathers."

[1. Song of Sol. vi. 12. 2. *utheis* (sic) stands in the MS.; perhaps *taïs theaïs* should be read.]

129. And when I answered that I would on no account worship strange gods, they told the maiden not to sleep with me until I complied and sacrificed to the gods. I then was moved, but crafty Eros brought and laid by her for me five grasshoppers, saying: "Take these grasshoppers, and crush them together in the name of the god Moloch; and then will I sleep with you." And this I actually did. And at once the Spirit of God departed from me, and I became weak as well as foolish in my words. And after that I was obliged by her to build a temple of idols to Baal [1], and to Rapha, and to Moloch, and to the other idols.

[1. Fem. So Rom. xi. 4.]

130. I then, wretch that I am, followed her advice, and the glory of God quite departed from me; and my spirit was darkened, and I became the sport of idols and demons. Wherefore I wrote out this Testament, that ye who get possession of it may pity, and attend to the last things [1], and not to the first. So that ye may find grace for ever and ever. Amen.

[1. Cp. Rev. ii. 19.]

The Apocalypse of Peter in Context

DANIEL C. MAIER
JÖRG FREY
THOMAS J. KRAUS
(eds.)

PEETERS

THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER IN CONTEXT

Edited by J.N. Bremmer (*editor-in-chief*), J.E. Spittler and T. Nicklas

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List of Abbreviations

<i>AELAC</i>	<i>Association pour l'étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
<i>ASE</i>	<i>Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi</i>
<i>AYBD</i>	<i>Anchor Yale Bible Dictionary</i>
<i>BASP</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
<i>BBR</i>	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
<i>BDAG</i>	<i>Bauer's Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i>
<i>BR</i>	<i>Journal of the Chicago Society of Biblical Research</i>
<i>CAe</i>	<i>Clavis aethiopica</i>
<i>CANT</i>	<i>Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti</i>
<i>CAVT</i>	<i>Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti</i>
<i>CPG</i>	<i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i>
<i>CQR</i>	<i>Church Quarterly Review</i>
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
<i>EC</i>	<i>Early Christianity</i>
<i>EMIP</i>	<i>Ethiopian Manuscript Imaging Project</i>
<i>EMML</i>	<i>Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library</i>
<i>EncDSS</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i>
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
<i>GCAL</i>	<i>Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>HMML</i>	<i>Hill Museum & Manuscript Library</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>IGUR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i>
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation: A Journal of Bible and Theology</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JEastCS</i>	<i>Journal of Eastern Christian Studies</i>
<i>JECH</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian History</i>
<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JThS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>

<i>LDAB</i>	<i>Leuven Database of Ancient Books</i>
<i>LSJ</i>	<i>Liddell-Scott-Jones</i>
<i>MGs</i>	<i>The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek</i>
<i>NASSCAL</i>	<i>North American Society for the Study of Christian Apocryphal Literature</i>
<i>OrChr</i>	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>
<i>OTE</i>	<i>Old Testament Essays</i>
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RIÉ</i>	<i>Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie</i>
<i>ROC</i>	<i>Revue de l'Orient chrétien</i>
<i>RSCr</i>	<i>Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo</i>
<i>SLA</i>	<i>Studies in Late Antiquity</i>
<i>THAT</i>	<i>Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i>
<i>ThWNT</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>ThWQ</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Qumran-Aramäisch</i>
<i>TLG</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae</i>
<i>V(ig)C(hris)</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>ZAC</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
<i>ZWT</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i>

Notes on Contributors

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Preface

In recent years the *Apocalypse of Peter* has finally received some of the attention it deserves. Its relationship to 2 Peter and the question which of the two Petrine writings came first have been the subject of illuminating debates. The various proposals concerning its provenance have shed light on the eschatological beliefs of different origins circulating in the nascent Christian communities of the time. In general, the dictum of M.R. James that the Apocalypse was “not a great book”¹ because of its allegedly blunt claims about hell and paradise has been overcome, and its intriguing theology and eschatology, which negotiates the divine treatment of the righteous and the sinners at the end of the world, is increasingly appreciated. However, much remains to be done. Some of the still puzzling, enigmatic motifs found in the different recensions of the text and in the history of the text of the Apocalypse itself can only be fully understood in their proper context, which is as fascinating as it is complex.

The necessity of a broader context is probably self-evident for the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period, with which the Revelation to the Prince of the Apostles is still strongly connected, and for the early Christian writings, of which our Apocalypse is one of the first extra-canonical representatives we have. Beyond these natural counterparts, the present volume demonstrates that the reception of the Apocalypse in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages is crucial for understanding the early steep rise in popularity of the text and its subsequent fall into oblivion. Moreover, new approaches to its purported author, its transmission context, and its materiality offer a valuable window into the beliefs, fears, and hopes of the early Christian communities that composed, used, and transmitted the Apocalypse for various reasons. Taken as a whole, the present collection of articles and the translation of the entire Ethiopic text, including its

¹ M.R. James, ‘The Recovery of the Apocalypse of Peter’, *CQR* 80 (1915) 1–36 at 2.

Pseudo-Clementine framework (see chapter 15), thus provides, as the title suggests, a broad contextualization of the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

The volume is the product of a conference that brought together a group of scholars from different disciplines and traditions, united in their interest in this fascinating early Christian text. It is the result of the fruitful discussions and exchanges that took place in Zurich, Switzerland, September 10 to 12, 2021. We would like to express our sincere gratitude to the University of Zurich for hosting this conference, to its Graduate Campus for making the physical exchange possible through a generous grant, to all the participants for their insightful contributions, to the editors of the series *Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha* for their valuable feedback and to the readers of this volume for their interest in the fascinating world of early Christian literature.

Our hope is that this volume will serve as a valuable resource for scholars, students, and anyone interested in the Genesis of heaven and hell in early Christianity, apocryphal literature, or the broader historical context in which the *Apocalypse of Peter* was created, received, and transmitted. We likewise want to express the wish that the discussions, analyses, and translations presented here will stimulate further research and dialogue about this central and captivating witness to a distinct branch of apocalyptic thought.

Daniel Maier
Jörg Frey
Thomas Kraus

Zurich, June 2023

I. Petrine Traditions and Petrine Authorship Constructions in Early Christianity

JÖRG FREY

Peter's authority in the early Jesus movement and in later Christianity is largely uncontested. There is no other figure whose fundamental role and authority is as undisputed as that of Peter, the rock. Yet it is unclear what 'Peter' represents. Since the 'historical' Peter probably left nothing in writing, very different writings emerged under his name or authority that represented diverse theological interests. Peter's authority could have been used for a variety of purposes, and the traditions about Peter might have been utilized in various ways to authorize 'Petrine' writings.

After introducing the 'historical' Peter and his significance (1.), this discussion will raise the question of what he precisely stands for in the texts attributed to him. In an exploration of various pseudo-Petrine writings (2.), it will be demonstrated how 'negotiable' the figure of Peter was, at least in the second and third centuries. There are various forms of authority and author construction in these texts, and the aspects of the Petrine tradition adopted in those writings differ from one another. Then, some final reflections (3.) will draw conclusions in regard to the text in focus in this volume, the *Apocalypse of Peter* and its literary context.¹

¹ Cf. for some earlier reflections on Petrine Traditions, see J. Frey, 'Von der petrinischen Schule zum petrinischen Diskurs. Der zweite Petrusbrief und seine literarischen Bezüge', in J. Frey and M. Wallraff (eds), *Petrusliteratur und Petrusarchäologie* (Tübingen, 2020) 87–124; cf. also id., 'Autorfiktion und Gegnerbild im Judasbrief und im zweiten Petrusbrief', in J. Frey et al. (eds), *Pseudepigraphie und Verfasserfiktion in frühchristlichen Briefen* (Tübingen, 2009) 683–732, and the discussion of Petrine literature in my

1. *Peter's Uncontested Authority*

Peter is undoubtedly a key figure in early Christian tradition. The fisherman from the Sea of Galilee is the apostle whom we probably know the most about. In his person, Peter unites several roles: that of the disciple, Easter witness, and community leader, but also that of the failure who denies his Lord in the hour of trial and then breaks down repentantly before being commissioned again. He is a rock and a failure, a testimony and a martyr.² Therefore, Peter's 'career' has become an example of the experience of guilt and forgiveness.

For the church as a whole, not only the church of Rome, Peter remains fundamental. As an ecumenical figure, he unites and yet remains controversial: Peter is the one with whom Paul argues and finally opposes 'to his face' (Galatians 2:11). Equally, a letter written in Peter's name suggests that the letters of 'our dear brother Paul' are hard to understand and can be easily misunderstood (2 Peter 3:15). So, the two central figures, Peter and Paul, are associated with disputes and opposing views. The Reformation tradition has always preferred Paul, while Peter and the 'Petrine office' are claimed by the Roman Church.³ Yet, in this unequal competition, Peter has an

commentary on Second Peter: J. Frey, *Der Judasbrief. Der zweite Petrusbrief* (Leipzig, 2015) 169–75; English translation: id., *The Letter of Jude and the Second Letter of Peter. A Theological Commentary*. Translated by Kathleen Ess (Waco, TX, 2018) 201–08.

² Cf. the titles of the monographs by O. Cullmann, *Petrus. Jünger – Apostel – Märtyrer. Das historische und das theologische Petrusproblem* (Zürich, 1970³), and C. Böttrich, *Petrus. Fischer, Fels und Funktionär* (Leipzig, 2001). See further Ch. Grappe, *Images de Pierre aux deux premiers siècles* (Paris, 1996); P. Dschulnigg, *Petrus im Neuen Testament* (Stuttgart, 1996); J. Gnülka, *Petrus und Rom. Das Petrusbild in den ersten zwei Jahrhunderten* (Freiburg, 2002); M. Hengel, *Der unterschätzte Petrus. Zwei Studien* (Tübingen, 2006); J. Becker, *Simon Petrus im Urchristentum* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2009); M. Bockmuehl, *The Remembered Peter. In Ancient Perception and Modern Debate* (Tübingen, 2010); id., *Simon Peter in Scripture and Memory. The New Testament Apostle in the Early Church* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2012); L. Hurtado and H. Bond (eds), *Peter in History and Tradition* (Minneapolis, 2015) 130–45.

³ This is lucidly shown in the history of research on the Antiochene incident by A. Wechsler, *Geschichtsbild und Apostelstreit. Eine forschungsgeschichtliche und exegetische Studie über den antiochenischen Zwischenfall (Gal 2,11–14)* (Berlin, 1992).

undisputed advantage. He was a disciple of the earthly Jesus and a witness of his ministry and passion, while Paul was not. And his experience of the Risen Lord was also of a different kind than Paul's.

1.1. *Historical Roots and the Early Tradition*

Historically, many details remain unclear.⁴ We do not know when Peter was born. Even his death, probably due to persecution under Nero, can only be inferred from later sources.⁵ We do not know what Peter looked like. The familiar image from Christian art of the mature, fully bearded man with a bald forehead is a later iconographic typification. The most difficult – or paradoxically the most influential – aspect is that we have no written testimonies from Peter. The two epistles in the New Testament are probably written after his death by authors who speak in his name on later issues, claiming his authority to do so. Also in Acts, his authority is used for the 'Petrine' discourses actually constructed by Luke.

What do we know?⁶ His Hebrew name, *Shim'on* (שִׁמְעוֹן) is one of the most popular Jewish names of his time, due to *Shim'on* the Maccabee, the commander who brought about Judaeian independence from the Seleucid rule (1 Macc 13:49–53).⁷ But we also know that

⁴ In spite of the hermeneutical tendency to talk preferably about the Peter of later memory (cf. Bockmuehl, *The Remembered Peter*), we cannot do so without asking about the historical plausibilities according to the earliest traditions. This is – in all due caution – the aim of the present sub-chapter which draws in parts on an earlier article originally written in preparation of the passion play in Oberammergau: J. Frey, 'Der Fels in der Krise. Simon Petrus in der Passionsgeschichte', in M. Kratz and L. Mödl (eds), *Freunde und Feinde – Vertraute und Verräter. Sieben biografische Zugänge zu biblischen Personen im Passionsgeschehen* (Munich, 2009), 71–96. For the present purpose, I will follow in my reconstruction a narrative style and add only the most necessary references.

⁵ Thus 1 Clem 5:1–7; Apoc. Petr. 14:4 (according to P. Vindobonensis Gr. 39756, and Ascen. Isa. 4:2–3; cf. Böttrich, *Petrus*, 220–27, for further discussion see P. Gemeinhardt, 'Liegt Petrus in Rom, und wenn ja, seit wann? Zur Herausbildung der römischen Petrus-tradition im 2. Jahrhundert', in J. Frey and M. Wallraff, *Petrusliteratur und Petrusarchäologie. Römische Begegnungen* (Tübingen, 2020) 219–54, here 229–47.

⁶ On the historical issues, see in particular Hengel, *Petrus*, 1–166; Becker, *Simon Petrus*, and Böttrich, *Petrus*.

⁷ See T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity* (Tübingen, 2002) 218–26 who mentions 257 men with that name which was 'the most popular

Shim'on's brother bore a Greek name that was not based on a Hebrew equivalent, Ἀνδρέας (Mark 1:16). This was by no means unusual for Jews of the Roman period, but it shows a certain openness of the family to be associated with Greek-speaking people. The Aramaic nickname כִּיפָּא (*kēfā* = rock) in Greek transcription Κηφᾶς, later rendered by Πέτρος (John 1:42),⁸ was given to him by Jesus, but it remains unclear when this occurred and for what reason.

Simon and Andrew were said to come from the village of Bethsaida (that is 'fishing-house')⁹, located on the north shore of the Sea of Galilee (John 1:42), in the Gaulanitis, the territory of the Tetrarch Philip, but close to the border of the Galilee of Herod Antipas.¹⁰ Their home was in a rural area, far from Jerusalem and even further from Rome. But it did have a privileged location, on the road between Damascus and Egypt, so one can assume they enjoyed a certain prosperity supported by trade. Shortly after the time of Jesus' ministry, in 30/31 CE, Bethsaida was raised to the status of a residence by Philip and renamed Julias in honor of Augustus's wife. It is also likely that an emperor cult was installed in that new 'city' quite quickly.¹¹

name for Palestinian males in this period' (226). The Greek transcription Σίμων is even a genuine Greek name that is already mentioned in Aristophanes. In the bilingual area, such similar-sounding names could easily be used as double names. Cf. Hengel, *Petrus*, 30–31.

⁸ On the philological details, see O. Cullmann, Πέτρος, Κηφᾶς, *ThWNT* VI, 99–112, here 99–100.

⁹ Cf. F. Schipper, Art. Bethsaida/Julias, *Wiblex* online, see www.bibelwissenschaft.de/stichwort/15140/. See also M. Bockmuehl, 'Simon Peter and Bethsaida', in B.D. Chilton and C.A. Evans (eds), *The Missions of James, Peter and Paul. Tensions in Early Christianity* (Leiden, 2005) 54–91.

¹⁰ On location, see Josephus, *Ant.* 18.2.1; *J.W.* 2.9.1; 2.10.7; *Life* 72. Regarding the widely accepted identification with et-Tell, see Schipper, Bethsaida/Julias; more extensively H.-W. Kuhn, 'Betsaida und et-Tell in frühromischer Zeit. Historische, archäologische und philologische Probleme einer als Wirkungsstätte Jesu angenommenen Ortslage', *ZNW* 101 (2010), 1–32.174–203; id., 'Wo wirkte Jesus in der Gaulanitis? Archäologische und historische Feststellungen zur Gleichsetzung von Betsaida / Julias mit et-Tell in frühromischer Zeit', in C. Claußen and J. Frey (eds), *Jesus und die Archäologie Galiläas* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2008) 149–83.

¹¹ On the emperor cult in the Herodian residences, see M. Bernett, *Der Kaiserkult in Judäa unter den Herodiern und Römern. Untersuchungen zur politischen und religiösen Geschichte Judäas von 30 v. bis 66 n. Chr.* (Tübingen, 2007).

But in the time of Jesus' ministry, we find Simon no longer in Bethsaida, but in Capernaum, in the territory of Herod Antipas. He must have moved across the border where he, or his wife and her family, had a house where, according to Mark, his mother-in-law also lived (Mark 1:29–30). The move was possibly related to his marriage. The extended family, consisting of his wife, probably his children, his mother-in-law, and possibly even more relatives, all lived together in quite a cramped space. We can leave it open whether this was actually the house in the 'insula' under the octagonal structure now bridged by the modern Franciscan pilgrimage church, but the cramped living area is aptly visualized there, and the living conditions were roughly the same in the entire village.

The move was possible because of his marriage, or perhaps because of Peter's and Andrew's profession as fishermen. These fishermen had a reasonably secure economic basis: they were not day labourers or mere casual workers, as we also know them from Jesus' parables, but self-employed workers, with small family businesses, who might have even occasionally hired others.¹² Peter practiced the profession together with his brother, possibly in a small fishing cooperative. They fished with cast nets and trawls, probably owned a boat, and had a regular, albeit busy, life.¹³

We should not underestimate those who made a living fishing in the sea of Galilee. They were not highly educated (cf. Acts 4:13), yet they had to be capable of dealing with the passing travellers, and therefore knew at least some Greek in addition to their everyday Aramaic language (and probably also the Hebrew of the Bible and Jewish prayers). Simon and Andrew might have received their education from their father and then moved to the synagogue, where Jewish education was imparted. Like Jesus, these people were not well-versed in Scripture, but were influenced by the vivid Jewish-religious piety in rural Galilee.

This geographical area, which had often been regarded disrespectfully by Jerusalem, had been judaized since the late second century BCE during the expansion of the Hasmonean rule. But, around the turn of the era, the identity and imprint of the population was mostly Jewish. We know of several synagogues, and those who could afford it occasionally

¹² This is presupposed in Mark 1:20 for Zebedee, the father of John and James.

¹³ The fishing boat found in the mud in 1986, which is now well-restored and presented in the Yigal Alon Museum in Ginosar, illustrates the size and the technique used.

made pilgrimages to Jerusalem for the pilgrim festivals. From the inauguration of the Zealot movement through the Galilean Judas around 6/7 CE, there was a strong hope that God would soon expel the occupiers, restore the honor of the people of Israel, and bring justice to the poor. We do not know how much Peter shared these expectations and whether he, too, was looking for a 'Messiah'. There is no evidence that he was a Zealot, but it is possible that he and his brother belonged to the group of those who sympathized with John the Baptist¹⁴.

From our earliest testimony (Mark 1:16–20), which may already summarize the events in retrospect, we learn of a life-changing encounter. At the lake, during their work, Peter and Andrew met a wandering charismatic who had been immersed in the Jordan River by John the Baptist and was now preaching in Galilee. He did not practice a profession, although he likely had one in the past. He had worked as a carpenter, but now went through villages speaking in parables and catchy words about the kingdom of God. He focused on the sick and oppressed and liberated some of them by a mere word, and therein saw a sign that God wanted to draw near to Israel – not as the destroying judge as John had proclaimed, but with mercy and devotion. The news of this healer and preacher spread throughout the villages, and now he was there, according to Mark, addressing Peter, Andrew, and two others: 'Up! Follow me! I will make you fishers of men!' (Mark 1:17).

We do not know what moved the two brothers to leave everything – their boat, their profession, and their families – and join this wandering preacher called *Yeshua*. Was it mere curiosity, their personal fascination with this stranger, or the hope that the divine liberation would now come true? In any case, it is said that the men 'left everything' and joined Jesus (Mark 1:18; cf. 10:28). And the twelve men whom Jesus gathered around himself (Mark 3:16) could be seen as a symbol of the renewal of the people of God, the twelve tribes of Israel.

We can infer that Peter's relatives were not amused that he would leave his job, wife, and family, and run after this itinerant preacher. We know that Jesus' mother and brothers thought he was mad and wanted to call him back home (Mark 3:21). The group of disciples surrounding Jesus, occasionally joined by others, including a few

¹⁴ This is suggested in the Johannine scene in John 1:35–41, which passes on some historically accurate information stating that some of the first disciples of Jesus came from the circle of John the Baptist.

women, moved through the villages without shelter, living off small donations and the hospitality of sympathizers. But during this time, they witnessed things that confirmed and increased their expectations of Jesus. They supported him and participated in his mission, yet they, too, proclaimed the message of God's liberating presence, possibly delivering people from evil spirits and diseases (Mark 3:15).

In this circle, Peter seemed to take a leading role. He had the personality traits of a leader and was one who stood his ground and did not recoil in risky situations. Why did Jesus give him the nickname *kēfâ*, 'rock'? Was it because of his personal qualities, or was it, rather, a prophetic calling? While *kēfâ* means 'rock' or 'stone', the later rendering *πέτρος* only means stone.¹⁵ Thus, the Aramaic nickname did not yet imply the idea of a foundation of a building, as is expressed later the famous saying in Matthew 16:18.

Together with another pair of brothers, James and John, who were also honoured with an Aramaic nickname (Βοανηργές = "sons of thunder"; cf. Mark 3:17), Peter belonged to the inner circle around Jesus. It is only reported of Peter that Jesus entered his house. Indeed, it seems that for a time, Jesus used Capernaum, where Peter lived, as his 'headquarters' or home (Mark 2:1; Matt 4:13). And, the narrative that Jesus healed Peter's mother-in-law from a fever is so strongly linked with the biography of Peter that it can hardly be a later addition.¹⁶ When it comes to the question of what people think of Jesus, it is Peter who says: 'You are the Messiah' (Mark 8:29).

But there are also ambivalent and negative aspects of Peter. When he wants to hold his master back and save him from getting into danger, Jesus 'threatens' him (Mark 8:32). Peter is strictly rejected, even called 'Satan', or tempter (Mark 8:33). And, when Jesus is arrested before the Passover feast and the rulers put him on trial, Peter denies knowing Jesus (Mark 14:68, 70). Like the others, perhaps excluding a few women, he seeks to distance himself and flees the city to save his own life (Mark 14:50). It is very remarkable that the early church preserved the memory of these events, which were by no means flattering for Peter, nor supportive of his position of leadership in later times.

¹⁵ See Hengel, *Petrus*, 33–35; further J.A. Fitzmyer, 'Aramaic *Kephā*' and Peter's Name in the New Testament,' in id., *To Advance the Gospel. New Testament Studies* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1981) 112–24, here 114–20.

¹⁶ Cf. Hengel, *Petrus*, 169–71.

The next significant turn in Peter's life is narrated indirectly. The crucified and buried Jesus had appeared to him (Luke 24:24; cf. 1 Cor 15:5). But this experience was not easy for him to understand, nor for others who had similar experiences that were ultimately interpreted in terms of the resurrection from the dead. This apparition was also connected with the experience of acceptance, forgiveness, and a renewal of commissioning.

It was probably Peter who called the group of disciples back together and then became the spokesman of the group that had returned to Jerusalem. Later on, he likely detached himself more and more from Jerusalem and went to other places, even supporting the proclamations of Jesus the Messiah among non-Jews. Such an openness for the inclusion of Gentiles is a very important matter, and it is of course shown by the story of Cornelius in Acts 10, which presents more details in the dense narrative of this event.

From a remark by Paul, we learn that Peter's wife accompanied him on later journeys (1 Cor 9:5). Thus, we hear about him in Antioch (Gal 2:11) and potentially Corinth. In the end, it is said that he reached Rome, where he might have been killed during the Neronian persecution.

From this brief account in Galatians 2, we learn that Peter's authority caused the church in Antioch to conform their behaviour to his ways and turn away from Paul. And even in Corinth, there were followers of Jesus who claimed to be closely linked to him (1 Cor 1:12), so much so that Paul felt the need to repeatedly mention him in that epistle (1 Cor 1:12; 3:22; 9:5; 15:5). He does so quite respectfully, despite the painful disappointment from the Antiochian incident.¹⁷ Paul could not deny and had to simply acknowledge the priority of Peter's discipleship (1 Cor 15:5; cf. 9:5). He could not prevent competing missionaries from holding Peter's example against him or even asking him to follow the instruction of Peter or those from Jerusalem. And while Paul had to fiercely defend his own apostolic status and the independence of his gospel message (cf. Gal 1:1, 11–12, 16–18), he could only say that Peter and the others had given him their right hand (Gal 2:1–10) and confirm that according to the fundamental confession, all apostles were

¹⁷ Cf. on the incident and Paul's relationship with Peter J. Frey, 'Paulus und die Apostel', in id. (ed. with B. Schliesser), *Von Jesus zur neutestamentlichen Theologie. Kleine Schriften 2* (Tübingen, 2016) 361–98 (here: 391–7).

of one mind (1 Cor 15:10–11).¹⁸ Peter's authority could not be questioned under any circumstances.

Through another foundational leadership role in the post-Easter community, Peter forms a very crucial bridge between the events in Jesus' ministry and the later church tradition. In view of his later authority, it is remarkable that unfavourable aspects, such as his denial, were not concealed or removed, but instead remembered within the tradition. Despite his temporary failure, Peter is the undisputed authority of the beginning of the church. Although other foundational figures such as Paul, James, and Thomas gained a prominent function for specific people or groups within the Christian tradition, Peter's authority was always undisputed.

1.2. *What Does the Historical Peter Stand For?*

But what does Peter stand for? What are the traditions and customs for which he provides assurance? Can we answer that question from what we know historically? We can point to a number of attributes that define Peter's purpose:

a) First, Peter is the main testimony and one who can attest to the traditions surrounding Jesus: his acts and deeds in Galilee, his passion in Jerusalem, and his resurrection or Easter appearances. In a very early confession (1 Cor 15:3–5), he is linked with the traditions about the first appearance of the Risen One. Even for Paul, Jesus' appearance to Peter is the pinnacle of the salvific acts mentioned earlier.

Moreover, Peter is the disciple mentioned first and last in Mark, so there is good reason to link the Synoptic tradition with his authority.¹⁹

b) Peter is also fundamentally linked with the early post-Easter events in Jerusalem, including Pentecost. According to Acts, he was the

¹⁸ Ironically, this argument of unanimity could then be taken up again in 2 Peter from a 'Petrine' perspective against the 'opponents' who had read the epistles of Paul (2 Pet 3:15–16).

¹⁹ Martin Hengel has, in my view, convincingly argued for the Petrine authority in the background of Mark, where Peter is the first and last disciple mentioned (Mark 1:16; 16:7). The most important argument is that a self-conscious Jewish-Christian author such as the author of Matthew would not have adopted almost the entire text of Mark if this had not been supported by a strong and uncontested authority. See Hengel, *Petrus*, 58–78; id., *The Four Gospels and the One Gospel of Jesus Christ* (London, 2000) 78–90.

head of the earliest community of Jesus-followers until he left the city. James, the brother of Jesus, followed him in the leading position. It is likely that in addition to being a part of the Aramaic speaking 'Primitive Community', Peter also had connections to those who spoke Greek and to the diaspora (such as, e.g., Barnabas, or also John Mark), the so-called 'Hellenists', who soon formed a separate community or 'sub-group'.

Thus, Peter's authority might also be in the background of early confessional traditions, even though they were already phrased in Greek. It is not conceivable to separate the Aramaic speaking followers from the so-called 'Hellenists'. Both sub-groups not only existed in the early period, but there were also personal connections.²⁰

c) Until the end of his life, Peter was defined by a clearly Jewish identity. He never 'converted' to a new faith or even to a new 'religion', but lived within a Jewish framework that included a certain degree of law observance even in the diaspora. This is assumed in Paul's account of the Antiochene incident (Gal 2:11–21), despite Paul's tendency to present Peter in complete agreement with himself (Gal 2:14).

d) Yet, Peter was probably not a 'hardliner'. To a certain degree, he was able and willing to bridge the gaps between Palestine and the diaspora and between Jewish and Gentile followers of Jesus. If Paul reports correctly, he had practiced table fellowship with the Gentile followers of Jesus in Antioch, meaning that he was willing to compromise, at least to a certain degree, on Jewish dietary and purity halacha (Gal 2:11–12).

e) One aspect that could be attributed to Peter was his concern for the coexistence of Jewish and non-Jewish followers of Jesus, and there is reason to believe that the 'Petrine' group in Corinth was also concerned about these issues, e.g., regarding Pagan food etc. (cf. 1 Corinthians 8–10).

f) Thus, Peter could, in a particular manner and perhaps subconsciously, stand for the 'unity' of different groups of community members from Palestine and the diaspora, and even among Jews and Gentiles.

g) Yet, unlike Paul,²¹ Peter was not a learned scribe or theologian. While Paul accurately reflects the tradition of Scripture and the

²⁰ Cf. M. Hengel and A.M. Schwemer, *Die Urgemeinde und das Judentum* (Tübingen, 2019) 143–44.

²¹ On Paul's education and background see M. Hengel and R. Deines, *The Pre-Christian Paul* (London, 1991) 40–53; J. Frey, 'Die religiöse Prägung. Weisheit, Apokalyptik, Schriftauslegung', in F.-W. Horn (ed.), *Paulus Handbuch* (Tübingen, 2013) 59–66.

consequences of certain behaviour, Peter was different and lead through his personal character and experience and was not a man of writing.

As far as one can tell, he did not leave any written testimonies. Instead, the testimonies written in his name were written by later authors who claim his authority through references – more or less – to his life or qualities linked to him.

2. *The Image and Message of ‘Peter’ in the Writings Attributed to Him*

The diversity of the content and messages of numerous writings linked with Peter is striking. They draw on quite different aspects of Peter’s image or the Petrine tradition.²² This was possible because Peter himself had not ‘defined’ his interests or his ‘theology’. Therefore, his career as an author, in pseudonymity, moved with enormous speed in the second century.

This authorial career of Peter is not based on a coherent school or tradition. Instead, all the various attempts of (re)constructing a ‘Petrine School’ in Rome or elsewhere have failed.²³ The writings linked with this alleged ‘school’, mostly 1 and 2 Peter and, in some cases, the Epistle of Jude, cannot be linked with Rome, but are likely composed at various locations, explore different topics, and use different images and aspects of Peter and the tradition surrounding him. Therefore, I have decided to describe the phenomena by using the paradigm of a ‘Petrine discourse’,²⁴ adapting Hindy Najman’s pioneering description of the multi-faceted debate regarding law in Second Temple Judaism as ‘Mosaic discourse’.²⁵ In such a discourse, the legacy of the central character is negotiated, and the authority of that character is used to discuss aspects linked with it, or to legitimize

²² On those competing image-components in different texts, see Grappe, *Images de Pierre*.

²³ See the argument in Frey, ‘Von der petrinischen Schule zum petrinischen Diskurs’, 94–102.

²⁴ Frey, *ibid.*, 115–21.

²⁵ Cf. H. Najman, *Seconding Sinai. The Development of the Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden, 2003). In analogous manner, we could also speak of a Pauline discourse, e.g., in the Pastorals, the *Acts of Paul*, the *Martyrdom of Paul*, and other writings, and other “discourses” linked to important figures.

particular theological positions. But in different writings, the selection of features linked with the character varies, and the conclusions are often different or even contradictory.

In the following section, I will present a few observations on selected writings from the first, second, and early third centuries which are attributed or related to Peter. I will place particular importance on their author construction and the images of Peter or the aspects of the Petrine tradition adapted or utilized, and the theological message conveyed by the figure of Peter in those writings.²⁶ A summary is compiled in the table at the end of this article.

2.1. *A First Encyclical Letter: 1 Peter*

The earliest testimony ascribed to Peter is the canonical letter 1 Peter. Yet, it is very likely that this letter presumes his death in Rome and is, therefore, written by a later author in Peter's name.²⁷ The relatively elaborate Greek language, the consistent use of the Septuagint for Scriptural references, the lack of references to Peter's personal biography and close proximity to Jesus' ministry, and the self-designation συμπρεσβύτερος (1 Pet 5:1) also support the view that even this first letter of 'Peter' was not written by the apostle himself, but composed pseudonymously in his name from common 'Christian' tradition.²⁸

Formally, 1 Peter is a paraenetic and consolatory letter addressed to predominantly Gentile (1 Pet 1:14) Jesus-followers in Asia Minor,

²⁶ On the images of Peter in (pseudo-)Petrine literature, see also the surveys in K. Berger, 'Unfehlbare Offenbarung. Petrus in der gnostischen und apokalyptischen Offenbarungsliteratur', in P.G. Müller and W. Stenger (eds), *Kontinuität und Einheit* (Freiburg, 1981) 261–326; T.V. Smith, *Petrine Controversies in Early Christianity. Attitudes towards Peter in Christian Writings of the First Two Centuries* (Tübingen, 1985) 39–61, 120–42; K.M. Schmidt, *Mahnung und Erinnerung im Maskenspiel. Epistolographie, Rhetorik und Narrativik der pseudepigraphen Petrusbriefe* (Freiburg, 2003) 410–19; T. Nicklas and W. Grünstäudl, 'Petrus II (in der Literatur)', *RAC* 27 (2015) 399–427.

²⁷ See L. Doering, 'Apostle, Co-Elder, and Witness of Suffering. Author-Construction and Peter-Image in First Peter', in J. Frey et al. (eds), *Pseudepigraphie und Verfasserfiktion in frühchristlichen Briefen* (Tübingen, 2009) 645–81, and also K.M. Schmidt, 'Die Stimme des Apostels erheben. Pragmatische Leistungen der Autorfiktion in den Petrusbriefen', *ibid.*, 625–44.

²⁸ See the argument in U. Schnelle, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Göttingen, 2013⁸) 478–79.

who are characterized as living in the dispersion (1 Pet 1:1). Meaning, through their new religious beliefs, they have become outsiders in their non-Christian environment,²⁹ and thus share the Jewish diaspora experience. Peter is presented as the ‘witness of Jesus’ sufferings and participant in the glory to be revealed’ (1 Pet 5:1). The author claims to write from ‘Babylon’ (1 Pet 5:13), which is a cipher for Rome, developed in Judaism after 70 CE. This seems to presuppose some knowledge about Peter’s ministry and, in particular, his martyrdom in Rome. Based on this knowledge, the letter aims at consoling and consolidating the communities of addressees in various circumstances of hostility and suffering (cf. 1 Pet 1:6; 2:20; 4:12–14). The actual place of composition is unclear, but if the epistle is pseudonymous, the place mentioned is also to be considered as part of the author construction and not as the actual place of composition. As the letter is addressed to communities in various regions of Asia Minor, the real author was likely from that area, still dated in the (late) first century.

Designed as a ‘diaspora letter’,³⁰ 1 Peter draws on epistolary patterns established in Second Temple Judaism. It is written in correct and rather well-formed Greek, which points to the considerable language skills of its author. It adopts a large number of Scriptural quotations and a variety of traditions, some paralleled in Paul, others independent or linked to the gospel tradition. This suggests a background within a common early Christian tradition. It is neither Pauline nor anti-Pauline,³¹ but it would be odd to claim this as a particularly ‘Petrine’ profile, as there was no defined ‘Petrine’ tradition for the author to adopt.³² Yet, the number of aspects relating to Peter is limited. Peter is not introduced with his birth name Σίμων, which is used in the gospels, but with his Greek ‘surname’ Πέτρος,

²⁹ Cf. 1 Petr 1:1; 2:11; 4:4 etc. See R. Feldmeier, *Die Christen als Fremde. Die Metapher der Fremde in der antiken Welt, im Urchristentum und im 1. Petrusbrief* (Tübingen, 1992).

³⁰ Cf. L. Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters and the Beginning of Christian Epistolography* (Tübingen, 2012) 430–52. On “diaspora letters,” see further T. Klein, *Der Jakobusbrief und der Erste Petrusbrief als christliche Diasporabriefe* (Tübingen, 2011).

³¹ Cf. N. Brox, *Der erste Petrusbrief* (Zurich, 1979) 47–51; J. Herzer, *Petrus oder Paulus? Studien über das Verhältnis des Ersten Petrusbriefes zur paulinischen Tradition* (Tübingen, 1998).

³² In contrast to 1 Peter, the Deutero-Paulines are more bound to adapt to elements of the authentic Pauline writings.

which marks his foundational function in the church. 'Peter' is already 'one of the disciple's proper names'.³³ He is introduced as an 'apostle' of Jesus Christ (1 Pet 1:1),³⁴ without any further explanation. No further details on Peter's role among the disciples are needed; a simple name says everything and 'allows for the full range of associations connected to the figure'.³⁵ His apostolate 'does not need any further corroboration'.³⁶

After this description, the fictive author is only mentioned again in 5:1 where the addressor is called συμπρεσβύτερος, 'co-elder', when exhorting the 'elders'. In the Synoptic or Pauline tradition, Peter is never called an 'elder'. Therefore, the use of the title συμπρεσβύτερος is an expression of solidarity with the elders addressed, reflecting the structure of communities of the time. There is 'no explicit reference to apostolic authority'³⁷ here. When, in 5:2, the author exhorts the elders to 'shepherd' the flock, this could be an allusion to Peter as a 'shepherd', as it appears in the post-Easter story in John 21:15–17, but this theme is also found in Paul's speech to the elders of Ephesus (Acts 20:28–29), and it is mentioned in 1 Peter 2:25 where Christ is called 'shepherd and overseer (ἐπίσκοπος) of the souls.' The clearest reference to the historical Peter is him as the 'witness of the sufferings of Christ' in 5:1, but this is also linked to the topic of suffering discussed in the letter, expressing solidarity with the addressees rather than authority. Thus, the message of the letter does not depend on Peter's authority.

The authorship construction draws upon Peter's uncontested apostolic authority, but the references to his person relate to a narrow segment of the events in his life or the earlier Petrine tradition. Peter is presented as witness of Jesus' sufferings, but there are no references to his denial and failure or the Easter account. The image is slightly expanded at the end (5:12–13), when Peter is depicted as writing from Rome (Babylon). Silvanus, possibly Paul's co-labourer (Acts 15:22–23), who acted as a secretary or letter-carrier,³⁸ is also mentioned, along with Mark who is

³³ Doering, 'Apostle, Co-Elder, and Witness of Suffering', 652.

³⁴ This is similar but uses different details than the Pauline tradition. There, the word order "Christ Jesus" is preferred. See Doering, 'Apostle, Co-Elder, and Witness of Suffering', 648.

³⁵ Doering, 'Apostle, Co-Elder, and Witness of Suffering', 652.

³⁶ Doering, 'Apostle, Co-Elder, and Witness of Suffering', 650.

³⁷ Doering, 'Apostle, Co-Elder, and Witness of Suffering', 654.

³⁸ Cf. Doering, 'Apostle, Co-Elder, and Witness of Suffering', 662–63.

called his 'son', meaning his disciple. Both Silvanus and (Johannes) Markus are linked with the early community in Jerusalem. The authorship construction includes not only the author and his two companions, but also their location (which might be fictitious as well), and the wide range of addressees. Peter acts as an apostle for the basic soteriological tradition, he exhorts the community and its 'elders' experiencing distress and persecution, but there is little mention of the unique circumstances in his life. Thus, this author construction is rather 'weak.' Even so, 1 Peter contributes to the growing image of Peter. It adds more detail to the familiar image from the gospel tradition, establishing Peter as a letter writer (similar to Paul), as a 'shepherd', and as the head of a small group near to him in Rome, and from where the 'diaspora' is encouraged.

2.2. *A Polemical and Testamentary Letter: 2 Peter*

Turning to 2 Peter,³⁹ in the canonical, though probably not chronological, sequence, we find a completely different authorial image, with very bold claims asserting Peter as the author. But if the author of 2 Peter tries to present himself as the author of 1 Peter, the following question arises: why did he not feel obliged to adapt his style and letter design to 'his' first letter?⁴⁰

The authorial claims are much bolder in 2 Peter than in 1 Peter. Peter is officially introduced with his Hebrew name written in Greek transcription, Συμεών, and with his added Greek name, Πέτρος (2 Pet 1:1). He is presented as an 'apostle' and a 'slave' of Christ, and his authority is claimed throughout the letter. This Peter insists that he has personally seen Jesus' transfiguration (1:16–17) and heard the divine voice from heaven (1:18), so that he can attest to Jesus' divine glory. He also declares that he received a special revelation from Jesus about his imminent death (1:14) and, therefore, intends to secure a true faith for all Christians after his death. This 'Peter' also claims to know Paul and 'all his letters' (3:15–16) and their true interpretation. Thus, although the unity of both apostles is emphasized,

³⁹ See Frey, *Der Judasbrief. Der zweite Petrusbrief*; id. *The Letter of Jude and the Second Letter of Peter*; further id., 'Autorfiktion und Gegnerbild;' and Schmidt, 'Die Stimme des Apostels erheben'.

⁴⁰ See the discussion in Frey, 'Von der petrinischen Schule zum petrinischen Diskurs', 92–94.

Peter is clearly superior to Paul. He is the eyewitness of Jesus' ministry and intimately connected to Jesus, making his testimony fundamental in rooting the future universal church in true, authentic faith.

Whereas 1 Peter focuses on suffering, 2 Peter discusses the divine glory of Jesus, without mention of his suffering and death. Peter's denial of Jesus is kept completely silent, as is his role in the early community and evangelism. Nothing points to his Jewish identity and background. Issues of the law or table-fellowship are no longer at the fore now that eschatology and Christian morality is at stake. The author does include Peter's knowledge about his imminent death, specifically his martyrdom, and this strengthens his authority for his readers. Now, after his death, this literary testament of Peter can claim to be accepted by all true Christians everywhere.

The author of 2 Peter points to a connection with 1 Peter and acknowledges that it is an authentic letter written by the same person. In 2 Pet 3:1, the author even claims that he wants to address the same topics as his earlier letter, although the focus of 2 Peter is quite different from 1 Peter. In contrast with 1 Peter, his aim is to fight 'false teachers' and defend eschatological beliefs. Despite some references to scriptural events, there are almost no direct quotations from the Scriptures, and many topics from 1 Peter, specifically persecution, are completely missing. Most strikingly, Peter is used to communicate a markedly gentile Christian theology, which is in dialogue with views of Greek philosophical cosmology.

These differences have stunned interpreters since Jerome and call for an explanation. How could this 'Peter' deviate so much from the style of his other letter? This observation not only forces us to assume different authors for the two letters, but also to suppose that there was not a single confirmed image of Peter and no defined Petrine tradition to be adopted. Rather, 2 Peter enters into a 'Petrine discourse' that was already shaped by several different Petrine images, from the gospels, Acts, 1 Peter, and possibly some other writings that, unlike 2 Peter, not became part of the later canon.

Therefore, we have to look at the other Petrine writings⁴¹ from the second century, with some of them possibly predating 2 Peter.

⁴¹ A complete list of apocryphal writings is given in Berger, *Unfehlbare Offenbarung*; see also Grünstäudl and Nicklas, 'Petrus' (literarisch); Schmidt, *Mahnung*, 410–19.

However, as interesting the chronology of those various Petrine writings might be, it is not the primary concern in this discussion.

2.3. *An Instruction of the Disciples about Parousia, Judgment, and Salvation: The Apocalypse of Peter*

The first text to be considered is the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which was quite popular in the second century. It was even included next to the Revelation of John in the list of writings in the Muratorian Fragment. In my view, it is even earlier than 2 Peter, providing a source or background text for the discussions in 2 Peter.⁴²

For the current discussion, I will not focus on all of the complexities of the original text, and I will assume that the Ethiopic version is the complete composition. We do not know how the text was initially edited, whether there was a title, a colophon, or other elements pointing to the author. We just know that some of the ancient quotations were attributed to an Apocalypse of Peter by Clement of Alexandria and Makarios Magnes.⁴³ Compared with 2 Peter, the authorial construction seems to be rather weak.

⁴² Cf. W. Grünstäudl, *Petrus Alexandrinus. Studien zum historischen und theologischen Ort des zweiten Petrusbriefes* (Tübingen, 2013); id., 'Petrus, das Feuer und die Interpretation der Schrift. Beobachtungen zum Weltenbrandmotiv im zweiten Petrusbrief', in L. Neubert and M. Tilly (eds), *Der eine Gott und die Völker in eschatologischer Perspektive* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2013) 183–208; id., 'Ein apokryphes Petrusbild im Neuen Testament. Zur Konstruktion apostolischer Autorität in OffbPetr und 2 Petr', in J. Frey, C. Clivaz, and T. Nicklas (eds), *Between Canonical and Apocryphal Texts* (Tübingen, 2018) 289–308, further in reference to and continuation of Grünstäudl's hypothesis Frey, *Der Judasbrief und der zweite Petrusbrief*, 170–74; id., *The Letter of Jude and the Second Letter of Peter*, 201–6; see also the discussion in J. Frey, M. den Dulk, and J. van der Watt (eds), *2 Peter and the Apocalypse of Peter. Towards a New Perspective* (Leiden, 2019).

⁴³ See the references in the edition by T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas (eds), *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente in deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* (Berlin and New York, 2004) 87–100; further D.D. Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened. A Study on the Greek (Ethiopic) Apocalypse of Peter* (Atlanta, GA, 1988) 22–81, especially 22–36; A. Jakab, 'The Reception of the Apocalypse of Peter in Ancient Christianity', in J.N. Bremmer and I. Czachesz (eds), *The Apocalypse of Peter* (Leuven, 2003) 174–86.

A decision depends, however, on the issue whether the prologue to the text, as preserved in the Ethiopic context, is genuine or not.⁴⁴ Here, Peter is introduced as the recipient of the revelation of Christ and as the author of the following reflections on the fate of the sinners.⁴⁵ Yet, after this prologue, or heading, the text opens with a narration about Jesus and the disciples sitting on the Mount of Olives. It begins in a third person narrative followed by the disciples narrating in the first person plural, and then moves to first person singular in chapter 2, where ‘I, Peter’ is inserted. This shows that there are some narrative inconsistencies at the beginning, with the text jumping between different narrator constructions. Predominantly, the disciples are the recipients of the revelatory dialog,⁴⁶ and only later is Peter introduced as the first-person narrator and depicted as in conversation with Jesus and the implied author of the entire narrative. In chapter 2, Peter asks Jesus about the interpretation of the fig tree parable, and the exchange begins. Then, Peter is shown the souls of all humans (ch. 3), he enters into a lament and discussion (similar to 4 Ezra), and finally, is given the revelation in both word and vision. This is uninterrupted by further questions making the narrator or fictive author hidden in the background. The

⁴⁴ Unfortunately, this prologue is not included in the presentations of the text in the standard editions of New Testament Apocrypha. See the translation in E.J. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter. A New Translation and Analysis of the Purpose of the Text* (Tübingen, 2019) 66: “The Second Coming of Christ and the resurrection of the dead, which he told to Peter, who die for their sin because they did not observe the commandment of God, their creator. And this he [= Peter, JF] reflected upon so that he might understand the mystery of the Son of God, the merciful and lover of mercy.” I am grateful to Daniel Maier for his suggestions regarding the related problems.

⁴⁵ Thus Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter*, 74–76; differently Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will be Opened*, 266–67, and also R. Bauckham, ‘The Apocalypse of Peter. A Jewish-Christian Apocalypse from the Time of Bar Kokhba’, in id., *The Fate of the Dead. Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden, 1998) 160–258, here 168: “certainly does not belong to the original text”.

⁴⁶ This is the framework of Acts 1, between resurrection and ascension, rather than a pre-Easter setting, although Jesus’ instruction, then, adopts topics of the eschatological discourse Matthew 24. A similar setting is also presented in the *Epistula Apostolorum*.

text is actually a mixture between instruction about future events and detailing his visions. Therefore, it is presupposed that the recipient of this text both reads and visualizes what is described. Only in ch. 14, in the description of Peter's martyrdom,⁴⁷ is there another reference to Peter, reinforcing the author fiction. Peter gets a personal commissioning to become a martyr in Rome, and his martyrdom is given eschatological weight. The vision of the transfiguration in ch. 15 is introduced in the first person singular: 'and my Lord Jesus Christ, our king, spoke to me'. There is also, though somewhat inconsistently, mention of 'his disciples' (15:1), so that the perspective of an external narrator is used.⁴⁸ However, the narrative immediately returns to the "we"-style, Peter again asks a question and enters into a dialogue with "God Jesus Christ" (ch. 16). Now, in the transfiguration scene, he asks about building three shelters, is rebuked by Jesus, and the hearing of a heavenly voice is described. So, in this closing scene, the setting from the Synoptic transfiguration account seems to be adopted, but the narrative could have also been changed to a post-Easter setting, in consistency with the beginning of the text.

This short review of the text shows that the narrative design is not entirely consistent. The text begins with an external narrator's perspective, then switches to the first person plural, and then the singular voice of Peter emerges. For long parts, the narrator's perspective fades into the background, and Jesus' speech takes center stage, reinforced by the visual vividness of the events described. It is unclear whether it is an inconsistency by the author, or rather a problem of the transmission of the text that this pattern is interrupted by a distant narrator in ch. 15.

In any case, Peter is clearly singled out from the disciples as the only individual who is personally addressed and worthy of a special

⁴⁷ This part is to be reconstructed from the Greek in the Rainer fragment (P. Vindob. G. 39756), see T.J. Kraus, 'P. Vindob G 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. Th. F. 4 [P]. Fragmente eines Codex der griechischen Petrus-Apokalypse', *BASP* 40 (2003) 45–61; T. Nicklas, 'Drink the Cup Which I Promised You (Apoc. Pet. 14:4). The Death of Peter and the End of Times,' in J. Knight and K. Sullivan (eds), *The Open Mind. Aspects of Apocalypticism in Second Temple Judaism and Early Christianity* (Edinburgh, 2014) 183–200.

⁴⁸ Here, the Greek (Akhmim) text reads as first-person plural: "and we, the twelve disciples".

commission to martyrdom. In light of the fact that Peter, who is presented as the author, is unmentioned in large portions of the text, the case of his authorship is not very strong. The answer depends upon the authenticity of the prologue. If it belongs to the original text, Peter's authority, based on his reception of a special revelation and his 'theological' care for the sinners, are more strongly emphasized.

The Petrine tradition is clearly seen in Peter's role as the leader of the disciples, his particular closeness to Jesus, the transfiguration and the eschatological discourse, and his martyrdom in Rome. The vast majority of the pre-Easter story is missing, including Peter's denial and failure,⁴⁹ but also the entirety of the post-Easter narrative of Peter in Jerusalem, Antioch, and elsewhere. Only his travel to Rome for his martyrdom is mentioned, though not in connection with his extended ministry there.

In particular, the content of this apocalypse is focused on eschatological events, including a conflagration, followed by the Parousia, then the judgment and punishment of sinners, and finally, the transfiguration of those who are Christians. Compared with other Petrine writings, there is a particular parallel with 2 Peter concerning the transfiguration, the description of Peter's martyrdom, and the focus on eschatology. In this work, the end-time events seem to be connected in a certain way to Peter's martyrdom in Rome, leading us to classify this kind of end-time expectation as a temporally fixed expectation, an idea which is discussed and clearly rejected in 2 Peter 3:8–9. The correspondence in the eschatological concepts discussed is one of several reasons for viewing the Apocalypse of Peter in literary relationship with 2 Peter, and additionally, suggesting that these texts were possibly written in Egypt. In contrast with earlier viewpoints in scholarship, it seems to be more probable to view the Apocalypse of Peter as the backdrop of 2 Peter, meaning that the letter responds critically and sceptically regarding the eschatology of the Apocalypse. Now, in Peter's 'genuine' testimony, his former views (in the Apocalypse of Peter) are modified in the sense that the eschatological expectation is the same, but any kind of timeframe or predictable plan is definitely denied.

⁴⁹ The question is whether Peter's care for the sinners mirrors his own story of sin and failure, but this is not made explicit in the text.

2.4. *A Free Reenactment of the Gospel Story: The Gospel of Peter*

Regarding the Gospel of Peter, which is only transmitted in a very fragmentary form, we face quite different problems.⁵⁰ This text, composed somewhere in the late second century, only exists in one larger fragmentary manuscript from the sixth century, preserved together with Greek fragments of the Apocalypse of Peter and 1 Enoch in the Akhmim Codex P. Cair. 10759.⁵¹

It seems to be a relatively uninhibited retelling or narrative reenactment of the gospel tradition that draws upon elements from all four canonical gospels,⁵² but it is unclear whether the author knew them as literary texts or merely from oral or ‘secondary oral’ transmission. Due to the fragmentary state of its preservation, it is also unclear what was originally included in the Gospel of Peter. While the existing fragment only covers the passion story and the beginning of the Easter story, it is possible that the entire narrative spanned more events from Jesus’ ministry. But because the beginning and end of the text are missing, the true extent of the narrative and the descriptions and clues about its author are unclear.⁵³

⁵⁰ On the text, see Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*; on the exegetical problems see P. Foster, *The Gospel of Peter. Introduction, Critical Edition and Commentary* (Leiden, 2010) and, most recently, T. Nicklas, *Studien zum Petrusevangelium* (Tübingen, 2020). Cf. also J. Frey, ‘Apokryphisierung im Petrusevangelium. Überlegungen zum Ort des Petrusevangeliums in der Entwicklung der Evangelienüberlieferung’, in J. Schröter (ed.), *The Apocryphal Gospels within the Context of Early Christian Theology* (Leuven, 2013) 157–95.

⁵¹ This text may, of course, differ from the text at the end of the second century referred to in the famous letter of Bishop Serapion (Eus., *Hist. eccl.* 6.12.2–6), but as there is no tradition about more than one Gospel of Peter, it is reasonable to assume that the text referred to by Serapion was something like the fragment we have from this sixth century manuscript.

⁵² See the summary of the scholarly debate in Foster, *The Gospel of Peter*, 115–147; see also T. Nicklas, ‘Das Petrusevangelium im Rahmen antiker Jesustraditionen’, in id. (ed.), *Studien zum Petrusevangelium* (Tübingen, 2020) 63–89.

⁵³ For aspects of the author construction, we can draw on the analysis presented by T. Nicklas, ‘Erzähler und Charakter zugleich. Zur literarischen Funktion des Petrus in dem nach ihm benannten Evangelienfragment’, in id., *Studien zum Petrusevangelium*, 216–23.

In the surviving fragment, Peter appears twice in the first person singular and as part of a group of disciples, in Gos. Pet. 26 and 59. After the fragment narrates the crucifixion in the style of an omniscient narrator, v. 26 suddenly switches into the first person singular: 'I, Peter, with my companions'. The second instance is after the extensive narration of the resurrection of Jesus where only the tomb guards were 'eye-witnesses', whereas the disciples, including Peter, were not present. Here, after the mention of Mary at the tomb, the narrative turns again into the first person singular: 'but I, Simon Peter, and Andrew my brother...'. This creates inconsistencies: Peter is the narrator or implied author of the work and, at the same time, a character within the narrative world described. Between these two perspectives of the omniscient narrator and the first person narrator, there is a conflict.⁵⁴ He is considered the storyteller, but he narrates events in which he, as a character, is not present and therefore cannot testify about. He and his fellow disciples hide from the Jews (Gos. Pet. 26), but then there is a description about what actions the Jews take and an account of the resurrection.

These observations show that the construction of this work is not only weak, but also inconsistent. The narrative construction is carried out at a relatively low literary level. In addition, the theological perspective of the work is quite different from the existing Petrine traditions, and more specifically, the historical Peter. For example, the passion of Jesus is narrated with noticeable differences from the earlier gospels, with a strong tendency toward blaming the Jews, but with strikingly little knowledge about Judaism and about the legal situation in Jewish Palestine. In Gos. Pet. 60–61, the actions of Peter and Andrew seem to be unaware of the experience of Mary and the women at the tomb, and even more, they seem unaffected by the resurrection. Important aspects of the Peter tradition, such as his post-Easter mission and his martyrdom, are absent, but the silence about those aspects may be due to the gospel genre. It is more striking that in the extant fragment, there is also no reference to the fact that Peter was particularly close to Jesus, or that he had denied him in the course of the passion. All of these observations show that the author construction in this work is inconsistent and weak. The choice of Peter as a narrator or an authority is not utilized to create an elaborate theological view or claim.

⁵⁴ Nicklas, 'Erzähler und Charakter zugleich', 219.

2.5. A Summary of Hellenistic Gentile-Christian Preaching: The *Kerygma of Peter*

Another often neglected Petrine writing is the *Kerygma of Peter*,⁵⁵ which only exists in a number of quotations from Clement of Alexandria and in some passages from the Berlin Coptic Book.⁵⁶ Around 170 CE, the text is also quoted by the Valentinian Heracleon as authoritative.⁵⁷ It is possible that some references to a *doctrina Petri* in Origen and to a *didascalia Petri* by later authors also refer to this same work, but this is disputed.⁵⁸ Clement and Heracleon indicate that there are no doubts about its Petrine authorship and authority, and Origen seems to be the first person to dispute it.⁵⁹ This shows that in the Alexandrian milieu, the claim to Peter as an authority was normalized and apparently caused no offense, at least not for learned authors such as Heracleon and Clement.

The text is a summary of the Christian doctrine ascribed to Peter, which was probably composed in Egypt in the first half of the second century. After the great Jewish revolts (115–117 CE) and the elimination of Egyptian Jewry, including Jewish Christianity, Peter appears as supporter of Gentile Christian preaching, although from the surviving fragments, the exact form of the authorisation and authorship construction is unclear.

Christian theology is presented in strongly Hellenistic terms (such as εὐσέβεια and θεοσέβεια), Christ is named ‘nomos’ and ‘logos’; God is described in a Platonizing style with negative divine

⁵⁵ On that work, see the edition by M. Cambe, *Kerygma Petri. Textus et commentarius* (Turnhout, 2003) and E. von Dobschütz, *Das Kerygma Petri kritisch untersucht* (Berlin, 1893). See further H. Paulsen, ‘Das Kerygma Petri und die urchristliche Apologetik’, *ZKG* 88 (1977) 1–37; Grünstäudl, *Petrus Alexandrinus*, 90–97, and Frey, *The Letter of Jude and the Second Letter of Peter*, 206–08.

⁵⁶ Cf. Grünstäudl, *Petrus Alexandrinus*, 92; for the ‘Coptic Book’, see G. Schenke-Robinson, H.-M. Schenke, and U.-K. Plisch (eds), *Das Berliner Koptische Buch (P 20915). Eine wiederhergestellte frühchristlich-theologische Abhandlung* (Leuven, 2004).

⁵⁷ Orig., *comm. Jo.* XIII 17.194; cf. Cambe, *Kerygma*, 15–28.

⁵⁸ Cf. von Dobschütz, *Das Kerygma Petri kritisch untersucht*, 27–63.

⁵⁹ See W. Schneemelcher, ‘Das Kerygma Petri’, in id. (ed.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen. Vol. 2. Apostolisches, Apokalypsen und Verwandtes* (Tübingen, 1997⁶) 35.

predications. He is presented as the creator of the beginning of all things (cf. Gen 1:1; John 1:1) and has ‘the power ... to bring an end’ (cf. 2 Pet 2:8 and 3:5–13). The text presents a polemical defense against pagan worship of the gods and also against Jewish festival practice and the worship of angels. Two passages adopt phrases from Hebrews (Heb 1:3 and 8:8–9). ‘Knowledge’ and scriptural hermeneutics seem to have been important themes of this text, too.

Peter is adopted as a Christian preacher and theologian. But he is preaching in a completely Gentile-Christian style, and in a rather philosophical way. Nothing in the fragments points to Judaism or Jewish Christianity. This is a significant departure from the ‘historical’ Peter, yet it fits quite well with the Alexandrian milieu after the Jewish revolt. If the *Kerygma of Peter* was composed in the first half of the second century, it could even have been written before 2 Peter, and if both texts are from the Alexandrian region, it is conceivable that this pseudonymous Petrine text was also known by the author or addressees of 2 Peter. In any case, the *Kerygma of Peter* contributes to the plurality of ‘Petrine’ images in the second century.

2.6. *An Anti-Pauline Collection of Jewish Christian Traditions: The Pseudo-Clementine “Kerygmata Petrou”*

A completely different setting is represented in the so-called *Kerygmata Petrou*, a text that was a source of later ‘Pseudo-Clementine’ compositions. The extent of the text and the precise reconstruction is wildly disputed.⁶⁰ Some scholars read the Pseudo-Clementines as a coherent fourth century CE text, but it seems plausible to assume an earlier Jewish-Christian source, especially in the *Homilies*, which was then embedded in the later composition. According to the reconstruction by Georg Strecker and others, this text from the second century CE draws on Peter as an authority for Jewish-Christian views.

⁶⁰ The complicated manuscript situation and literary history cannot be discussed here. Cf. J. Irmscher and G. Strecker, ‘Die Pseudoklementinen’, in W. Schneemelcher (ed.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen. Vol. 2. Apostolisches, Apokalypsen und Verwandtes* (Tübingen, 1997⁶) 429–88; J.N. Bremmer (ed.), *The Pseudo-Clementines* (Leuven, 2010) and B.M.J. De Vos and D. Praet (eds), *In Search of Truth in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies* (Tübingen, 2022).

In these traditions, there is debate about Adam, Cain, and others, about Moses' authorship of the Torah (Ps.-Clem. Hom. II 38), and about true and false prophecy. Peter is presented as the guarantor of some sayings of Jesus, including Matt 5:17, the saying that no Iota should be taken away from the Law (Hom. III 51). Most striking is the argument against Paul, who is called 'Simon', and is therefore presented in the image of Simon Magus, as opposed to Simon Peter. 'Simon' (Paul) came to the Gentiles first, and was followed by 'Simon' (Peter), who was known as one who brought light to the darkness, knowledge to ignorance, and healing to illness (Hom. II 17:3). While Peter listened directly to the master (Hom. XVII 13:1), Paul's encounter with Jesus was only in a vision (Hom. XVII 19:1). Peter is the rock of the church, whom Paul resisted with hostility (Hom. XVII 19:4). Paul is the enemy who defamed Peter (cf. Gal 2:11) and called him 'condemned' (Gal 2.11). He should learn from Peter and the other apostles and become a 'disciple of truth' (Hom. XVII 19:7).

Dating later than the polemically Jewish-Christian traditions, there is another part of the Pseudo-Clementines, the *Epistula Petri*. Here, Peter addresses James as 'bishop' of the holy community (1:1) and asks him to hide the books containing his words and preaching from the Pagans. They should only be given to those who are worthy, and Peter's teaching is considered as similar to Moses' teaching (1:2; cf. Num 11:25). The seventy 'brothers' are to be entrusted with this teaching tradition (2:1). Here, Peter's teaching is explicitly considered lawful, whereas the 'man of enmity' (cf. Matt 13:28), most likely referring to Paul, taught an unlawful and useless message (2:3) which was received by some Gentiles. Here, Peter denies the idea that he may dissolve the law publicly or privately.

The letter clearly claims Peter's authority to teach, which is superior to that of James. It adopts elements from the gospels, in particular Matthew and alludes to the conflict from Galatians 2, without mentioning Paul by name. Peter is again presented as a witness to Jesus' teaching, and he is the advocate of law observance and upholds the legacy of Jewish Christianity.

A later piece of the Pseudo-Clementines, the *Epistula Clementis*, definitively presents Peter as the rock of the church and cornerstone of teaching, and the first of the apostles, who is commissioned to bring light to the West (EpClem 1:2–3). Here, Peter installs Clement as his successor and gives instructions for his service and for all later

office bearers. Finally, Clement presents himself as a testimony for the validity of Peter's preaching.

These texts belong to more extensive compositions, making a pseudonymous author construction unnecessary. Peter is presented in a clearly anti-Pauline leaning, and as the guarantee of the true teaching of Jesus and also of the 'lawfulness' of that teaching, which was said to be falsified by Paul, or in Gentile Christianity. This image of Peter is strictly opposed to the Gentile-Christian type of preaching in the *Kerygma Petri* and in 2 Peter.

2.7. *An Explanation of the Need for Suffering: The Epistula Petri ad Philippum (NHC VIII,2)*

I would like to conclude this survey with a brief look at Gnostic receptions as found in the Nag Hammadi Corpus. In these texts, Peter is not often presented as having a prominent role. He is missing in the Sethian texts and only has a minor role in Valentinian texts.⁶¹

There is one prominent text in which Peter plays the leading role, the *Letter of Peter to Philip* (NHC VIII,2 and CT 1), from the late second century or first half of the third century.⁶² This letter to Philip is only an introduction to a more extensive account of an appearance of the Risen One, and a dialogue between the apostles and Christ. In that letter, Peter, introduced as 'the Apostle of Jesus Christ', calls Philip to the assembly of the apostles. When Philip receives the letter and follows the invitation, it is said that Peter also calls the others and that they gather on the Mount of Olives, where Jesus appears as a light and a voice, and a revelatory dialogue begins. When Jesus disappears, the disciples talk about the passion of Jesus and the suffering of the disciples. In that context Peter says, 'He suffered for our sake, so we also have to suffer, because of our smallness.' (NHC VIII, 138,18–20). A heavenly voice confirms his words and the necessity of suffering. Then, Peter speaks to his brothers and testifies about Jesus' passion and resurrection. He explains his

⁶¹ Cf. Nicklas and Grünstäudl, 'Petrus II (in der Literatur)', 421–22.

⁶² Thus H.G. Bethge, 'Der Brief des Petrus an Philippus (NHC VIII,2)', in H.-M. Schenke *et al.* (eds), *Nag Hammadi Deutsch. Studienausgabe* (Berlin and New York, 2007), 466–73, here 466; see more extensively id., *Der Brief des Petrus an Philippus. Ein neutestamentliches Apokryphon aus dem Fund von Nag Hammadi (NHC VIII,2)* (Berlin, 1997).

passion beginning at the sin of Eve, and prays for the Spirit to dwell among them so that the disciples can perform healings and preach the gospel.

In this text, Peter is the witness of Jesus' passion and resurrection and also the leader and speaker of the post-Easter group of the disciples. He calls them together and organizes their mission to different regions of the world. He also phrases a basic soteriological confession and exhorts the disciples and the readers to a life of suffering and martyrdom. In this narrated revelatory dialogue (for which the epistle is merely an introduction), a very large part of the early Peter tradition is adopted, more so than in the canonical epistles 1 and 2 Peter. It is also more prevalent here than in the Greek or Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter, which is comparable only in its similar setting on the Mount of Olives. But in the *Epistula*, Peter is much more central as a leader of the disciples and as a teacher.

2.8. *A Gnostic Instruction about the True Meaning of the Crucifixion: The Coptic Apocalypse of Peter (NHC VII,3)*

Another work from the Nag Hammadi Corpus that must be mentioned is the (Coptic) Apocalypse of Peter (NHC VII/3), which has nothing to do with the Ethiopic or Greek Apocalypse of Peter.⁶³ The text was originally composed in Greek, it criticizes the Shepherd of Hermas, (NHC VII 78,18) but belongs to the third rather than the second century.⁶⁴ The text has a title and an inscription where it is called the 'Apocalypse of Peter', but it is unclear whether they belong to the original text. With regard to genre, it is not a revelatory dialogue, but rather a Gnostic apocalypse, with the Saviour himself being the 'angelus interpres', who reveals the true meaning of the crucifixion to Peter through visions and dialogue.⁶⁵ The text is narrated from the perspective of Peter, who is addressed by Jesus and taught in the form of a

⁶³ See the introduction by H. Havelaar, 'Die Apokalypse des Petrus (NHC VII,3)', in H.-M. Schenke *et al.* (eds), *Nag Hammadi Deutsch. Studienausgabe* (Berlin and New York, 2007) 410–16; cf. ead., *The Coptic Apocalypse of Peter (Nag-Hammadi-Codex VII,3)* (Berlin, 1999), and J. Brashler, 'Apocalypse of Peter. Text, Translation and Notes', in B.A. Pearson (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codex VII* (Leiden, 1996), 218–47.

⁶⁴ Thus Havelaar, 'Die Apokalypse des Petrus (NHC VII,3)', 410.

⁶⁵ Cf. Havelaar, 'Die Apokalypse des Petrus (NHC VII,3)', 410.

conversation and a vision. The setting is inside of the temple in pre-Easter times, where Peter receives a vision of Jesus' passion and crucifixion which is then explained.

The teaching is characterized as a mystery (μυστήριον) that should be hidden from the children of this aeon (NHC VII 73.16–18). It is a docetic, and possibly a gnostic teaching, although there is no elaborate myth. The living Jesus is depicted next to the cross, in joy and laughter, while the crucified Jesus is merely his fleshly body. While others (i.e., proto-orthodox Christians) are characterized as blind, Peter and his companions are called to look at the living one, not at the crucified one. Here, Peter is the only teaching authority, and he is the guarantee of a docetic or gnostic teaching and a central witness of the death of Jesus and the cross.

3. *Summary and Concluding Perspectives*

It is at this point that we will conclude our survey. Of course, there are many more interesting texts and images of Peter, for example the Acts of Peter, which also originate in the late second century and negotiate the legacy of Peter. However, the early textual form is unclear, and there is no claim of Peter's authorship. For further images of Peter, there is also the reception of Peter in early Church Fathers and many other texts⁶⁶, but for the present discussion, the current representation is sufficient.

3.1. *The wide variety of viewpoints*

In his authorial career in the second and early third centuries, Peter is presented as the author of very different texts. There are two different letters that were later included in the NT canon but show remarkable disparities in style, themes, and theological views. There is a relatively free reenactment of gospel material, an apocalypse told through dialogue and focused on Jesus' Parousia and judgment, and also some additional revelatory dialogues and various kerygmatic summaries. There are no general or specific restrictions as to what kind of texts Peter could authorize or what kind of texts could be included in the

⁶⁶ See a more comprehensive survey in Nicklas and Grünstäudl, 'Petrus II (in der Literatur)', 421–22.

‘Petrine discourse’, where his person, teaching, and legacy are easily shaped and molded to a specific end.

In this discourse, a large variety of images of Peter are present, and there are different and also mutually exclusive selections from the earlier Petrine tradition that are adopted and utilized.

a) *Peter as an apostle*: In the majority of texts, Peter is called an apostle. It was almost impossible to ignore this title, as Peter is in some ways the ‘arch-apostle’, the first and leading member of the circle of the apostles. Yet, the title is not used in the fragments of the Gospel of Peter and the Kerygma Petrou. This could be due to the fragmentary nature of preservation. It is also missing in the Jewish Christian fragments in the Pseudo-Clementines, possibly due to the reluctance within Jewish-Christian circles to use the title ‘apostle’.⁶⁷ This lack of title in the Coptic *Apocalypse of Peter* may also reflect some kind of distancing from the disciples of the earthly Jesus in Gnostic circles.

b) *Teaching*: Peter’s teaching and authority is widely affirmed and applied, as seen in the two canonical epistles, the *Kerygma Petri*, the Pseudo-Clementine traditions, and also in the two texts from Nag Hammadi. It is not adopted in the extant fragment of the *Gospel of Peter*, and it is also not utilized in the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

c) *Leadership*: Peter’s leading authority in the church is clearly stated in 2 Peter, but is also implicitly present in 1 Peter. It is further stressed in the Pseudo-Clementines (especially in their later sections) and in the *Epistle to Philip*.

d) *Guarantee of Jesus tradition*: In the Pseudo-Clementines, Peter is the true testimony of Jesus’ words and teachings. Without focusing on specific sayings, this is also true for 2 Peter, but less so in 1 Peter, the *Gospel of Peter*, and the *Apocalypse of Peter*. The Nag-Hammadi texts present Peter as the recipient of a special

⁶⁷ It should be noted that James, the brother of the Lord, is never called apostle in the earlier traditions. Only later, he is described among the apostles (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 2.1.4; 7.32.29 and 7:19; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 29.3.8–9), as their colleague or even their leader. Jewish Christianity apparently did not claim that title for its predominant leader figure, possibly due to the fact that this title was soon very strongly connected with Paul. See J. Frey, ‘James, the Hero of Jewish-Christianity’, in H. Buchinger *et al.* (eds), *Extracanonical Traditions and the Holy Land* (Tübingen, 2024) [in press].

revelation of Jesus, which was in contrast with the teachings of the earthly Jesus or the teachings followed by 'others'.

e) *Closeness to Jesus*: Peter's personal knowledge of Jesus and his closeness to him is stressed in the passage in 2 Peter and also adopted in the *Apocalypse of Peter*. His knowledge of Jesus is particularly emphasized in the Pseudo-Clementine tradition where it is contrasted to Paul's lack of knowledge.

f) *Jesus' Passion*: Peter is presented as a witness to the passion in 1 Peter, whereas the passion is completely unmentioned in 2 Peter. The passion and resurrection are narrated in the extant fragment of the *Gospel of Peter*, where Peter recounts the passion. Jesus' suffering is also important in the *Epistula Petri ad Philippum*. In a very different interpretation, the cross is also the focus of the Coptic *Apocalypse of Peter*.

g) *Jesus' Resurrection and Glory*: The glory of Jesus, or precisely, the transfiguration, is only focused on in 2 Peter and in the *Apocalypse of Peter*. None of the other writings stresses this aspect. Whereas the *Apocalypse of Peter* broadens the transfiguration into an eschatological expectation for all disciples, 2 Peter utilizes the testimony about the transfiguration for authorizing his own eschatological teaching.

h) *Peter and Paul*: Peter's encounter with Paul is the main focus of the *Kerygmata Petrou* of the Pseudo-Clementines, and it is also mentioned in the close of 2 Peter. In both cases, Peter is superior to Paul and has completely different teachings.

i) *Jewish Identity*: Peter's Jewishness is only upheld in the strongly Jewish-Christian *Kerygmata Petrou*, based on his strict rejection of Paul's criticism of the law and other Gentiles. Jewish-Christian traditions are also in the background of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, and possibly (as Scriptural interpretation) in 1 Peter. In other texts, such as the *Kerygma of Peter* and 2 Peter, the Jewish apostle is transformed from a Palestinian Jew to a Gentile church leader.

j) *Martyrdom*: Peter's martyrdom or death is only mentioned in the *Apocalypse* and in 2 Peter. The reference to suffering in 1 Peter and the *Epistula Petri ad Philippum* may also reflect Peter's own fate as a martyr, but only implicitly.

k) *Eschatological Teachings*: Eschatology or end-time events are also only focused on in the *Apocalypse* and in 2 Peter.

The wide breadth of theological views authorized by the figure of Peter in these different writings is striking. The spectrum ranges from

strongly Jewish-Christian and anti-Paul in the Pseudo-Clementines to completely Gentile Christian and Hellenistic teachings in the *Kerygma Petri* and also, in my view, in 2 Peter. There is a focus on Jesus' suffering in 1 Peter (and the canonical gospels) and then on the other hand, explicitly docetist views such as in the Coptic *Apocalypse of Peter*.

In all of these writings, Peter's authority is unquestionable, but he can stand (or be used) for a very wide variety of views and theological positions. There is no strong connection between the different writings attributed to Peter. The attribution to Peter does not presuppose or create a certain theological framework.

3.2. *And the Apocalypse of Peter?*

What does this mean for the *Apocalypse of Peter*? In any case, the number of connections with 2 Peter is significant, whereas the thematic and formal relationships with other 'Petrine' writings are quite loose. There is no need to discuss the exact relationship between these two writings here.⁶⁸ The *Apocalypse of Peter* can be considered part of the 'Petrine discourse', describing the many facets of the figure, his teaching, and his legacy. It is a unique voice within this discourse. It draws upon parts of the Synoptic image of Peter, Jewish apocalyptic traditions, specifically Egyptian elements, and, in particular, his martyrdom in Rome, and even attributes a certain eschatological significance to this event.⁶⁹ In my view, it is well conceived that the author of 2 Peter felt the need to 'rescue' not only Peter, but also the eschatological expectation from the impasses of such a presentation, whereas others, at least, during the second century, held this impressive imagery and the eschatological outlook in high esteem.

⁶⁸ Cf. Grünstäudl, *Petrus Alexandrinus*, 113–37; id., 'Ein apokryphes Petrusbild im Neuen Testament'; Frey, *Der Judasbrief. Der zweite Petrusbrief*, 170–74; *The Letter of Jude and the Second Letter of Peter*, 201–6, and also the contributions in Frey, den Dulk, and van der Watt, *Second Peter in New Perspective*.

⁶⁹ Cf. Nicklas, 'Drink the Cup'.

Writing	Literary Genre	Origin	Authorial Construction
1 Peter	Encyclical Diaspora Letter	Asia Minor (?) rather than Rome	Rather weak Peter unimportant for the message
2 Peter	Testamentary Letter (polemical)	Alexandria rather than Rome	Strong, high claim of authority, Peter as eyewitness, and foundational apostle
Apocalypse of Peter	“Apocalypse”: revelation in a narrative framework, partly dialogical, partly narrated vision	Egypt/Alexandria rather than Palestine	Rather strong (depends on prologue): Peter as the first one (and only speaker) of the disciples, recipient of special instruction and call for martyrdom
Gospel of Peter	Narrative	Syria(?)	Rather weak
Kerygma of Peter	(Only fragments) summary of preaching doctrinal tract(?)	Alexandria	Authorship construction unclear from the extant fragments Clement and Heracleon seem to accept it as authentic
Kerygmata Petrou (Ps.-Clem)	(Reconstructed fragments) of teaching, possibly various literary layers	?	Textual form unclear; embedded in a collection of Peter’s sermons, presented by Clement hidden wisdom: to be presented only to the proven ones
Ep. Petri ad Phil.	Revelatory dialogue; letter is only an introduction	?	Strong: Letter with strong claim of authority (of Peter over Philip), narrative with Peter as figure, no 1 st person narration,
Apocalypse of Peter (NHC)	Narrated revelatory dialogue and vision	?	Rather strong

Consistency	Aspects of the Image of Peter	Theology
High	Apostle, Passion of Jesus, Shepherd Rome, martyrdom (?), Silvanus and Markus (from Jerusalem)	Various early Christian traditions, Scriptural citations Jewish epistolary pattern but no Jewish profile
Very high	Apostle, Witness of Transfiguration, Closeness to Jesus, death/martyrdom, normative for future faith, knowledge of Paul and 'superior' to him	Gentile Christian, no Jewish profile! high Christology, eschatology with Parousia, conflagration, judgment, and new creation, anti-'heretic' aims, philosophical discourse
At some points inconsistent	Disciples in post-Easter time Peter as speaker of the group of disciples, in dialogue with Jesus (transfiguration), guarantee of revelation and of the vision of glory martyrdom in Rome	Closeness to Jewish traditions (Pseudo-Messiahs), eschatological expectation Parousia, conflagration, judgment, salvation for sinners, transfiguration
Inconsistent Peter as narrative figure <i>and</i> narrator	Disciples in pre-Easter time, witness of passion and resurrection events (but unclear, due to the fragmentary preservation)	No consistent theology Rather Gentile Christian (no knowledge about Judaism), anti-Jewish tendency
?	Peter as authoritative preacher (post-Easter situation)	Gentile Christian, Hellenistic terms, knowledge, Scriptural hermeneutics, polemics against Pagan worship, Jewish festivals and angel veneration
?	Peter = the true apostle he knows Jesus really, not only through a vision (unlike Paul) Witness Jesus's words (Matt 5:17; Matt 24), Gal 2 is critically discussed	Strongly Jewish-Christian defense of law observance anti-Pauline Polemic
Consistent	Peter as guarantor of the teaching of Jesus' passion and resurrection Peter as leader and speaker of the disciples. He calls them together, is the only dialogue partner, prays for the Holy Spirit and organizes the mission.	Rather 'orthodox', majority church necessity of sufferings mission of the disciples
Consistent	Peter as recipient of Jesus' teaching and a vision (before the passion), represents a group opposed to other Christians who are blind	Docetic, perhaps 'Gnostic' polemic against proto-orthodox Christians

II. Manuscripts of the *Apocalypse of Peter*: Some Crucial Questions

THOMAS J. KRAUS

1. *About the Basic Orientation of This Study*

“[...] it is not the sources which define the questions asked by a discipline, but the questions which determine the sources.”¹

What François Furet once asserted in an article in 1985 is certainly a significant regulative, especially for historical approaches and sound methodology. This is a way for scientific progress. Roger Bagnall, who utilized this quotation for unfolding his own historical approach in his *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* from 1995, refines Furet's notion as follows:

“I have in fact put chapters mainly devoted to the analysis of evidence first, those devoted to the formation of questions and hypotheses second, in order to avoid making matters too neat.”²

Of course, “evidence first, [...] questions and hypothesis second” is nothing more than a redundant reminder of how to work with a sound and proven methodology.

Consequently, basic information on the manuscripts relevant for the *Apocalypse of Peter* will precede conclusions and, above all, questions in the following. The latter, however, will neither be answered in depth and completely, nor be answered at all in some cases in this

¹ F. Furet, ‘Quantitative Method in History’, in J. Le Goff and P. Nora (eds), *Constructing the Past. Essays in Historical Methodology* (Cambridge, 1974) 12–27, here 18. The article is translated from and based on F. Furet, ‘L’histoire et la construction du fait historique’, *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 1 (1971) 63–75.

² R. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (London and New York, 1995) 7.

study, because the questions are more appropriately and expertly addressed by others in this volume and elsewhere.

Texts form the first step to and basis of interpretation. They offer a keyhole into history or open windows into a long distant past. Yet, they do not come to us just like that; they are written upon or inscribed into different materials. Rather, nor can they be separated from these materials. The handling and editing of archaeological artefacts are usually done by specialists in the fields of archaeology, papyrology and palaeography, in order to mention the foremost disciplines in that respect. Their work forms the foundation for further interpretations, commentaries and hermeneutical studies, which themselves mostly rely on such principle and preliminary publications.

Although writing and material together are what makes an archaeological object, the written text is mostly focussed on, i.e., understanding, interpreting and explaining what is written is in the centre of attention, while materiality is left to others in order to be studied and published on previously. A general example case should demonstrate what that means: in the case of the New Testament with more than five thousand manuscripts at all it is often hard and not always beneficial to address the full manuscript coverage of a certain phrase, sentence or passage, above all, when efforts are mainly dedicated to hermeneutics, interpretation or historical reasoning based on textual evidence. Scholars must rely on the preliminary work of others.

However, for the present study the main interest is in the archaeological artefacts, i.e., the material sources,³ which in the case of the *Apocalypse of Peter* include (fragments of) manuscripts, their materiality and, thus, their papyrological features. Thus, literary sources, which are of equal importance,⁴ are not dealt with. The preserved

³ Cf. Furet, 'Quantitative Method in History', 19–21, who concentrates on "serial sources" and their importance for historical studies.

⁴ Cf. T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* (Berlin and New York, 2004) 87–99. Further see A. Jakab, 'The Reception of the Apocalypse of Peter in Ancient Christianity', in J.N. Bremmer and I. Czachesz (eds), *The Apocalypse of Peter* (Leuven, 2003) 174–86, who distinguishes between "direct witnesses" (name of or direct quote from the *Apocalypse of Peter*) and "indirect witnesses" (use of, reference or allusion to the *Apocalypse of Peter*) according to D.D. Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened. A Study of the Greek (Ethiopic) Apocalypse of Peter* (Atlanta, 1988) 20.

manuscripts are the starting points for all the follow-up questions, which in turn may concern fundamental issues and the understanding of the text of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Ignoring the manuscript situation can lead to the neglect of details which often somehow may appear as tiny and non-decisive but can help to gain further insights or prevent from premature or wrong conclusions.

Let's take *P.Cair.* 10759, for instance, the manuscript often referred to as the Akhmîm Codex. The way of writing, the arrangement of the text on the parchment, the cross to mark the beginning of the *Apocalypse*, the supralinear stroke above θεόν to indicate a so-called *nomen sacrum*, these and some more details usually are aspects and pieces of information regarded as being of inferior significance to the text itself. But there is even more to it. The codex also includes a *bifolium* with one blank folio on its recto and verso. This is near the end of the *Gospel of Peter*, in other words on the second to the last page of the codex with text. Such a material aspect is not automatically taken as a serious and essential fact but it is there and may mean something.⁵ And even the nomenclature can be of significance. *P.Cair.* 10759 is neither identical with the *Apocalypse of Peter*, nor is it the same as the *Gospel of Peter*, though it is sometimes used as if being identical with one of these two apocryphal texts. *P.Cair.* 10759 is the inventory number for a miscellaneous codex that comprises the *Gospel of Peter*, the *Apocalypse of Peter*, extracts from *1 Enoch* and a single sheet with parts from the *Martyrdom of Julian of Anazarbus*. Consequently, codicology – and that includes, for example, the way of binding and the consecutive order of texts in quires in case there are more than one – also plays its role when it comes to assess a manuscript *and* its text or texts. Of course, provenance and other archaeological objects found together with this codex must not be overlooked, too, if there are any.

⁵ That material aspects are not always taken as important can be demonstrated by the way a *bifolium* was published on two pages to facilitate printing and, thus, appears as if it was cut in two halves which it is not. See Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrus-apokalypse*, f.5r and f.6v. For the correct foliation of the codex see P. van Minnen, 'The Akhmîm *Gospel of Peter*', in T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas (eds), *Das Evangelium nach Petrus. Text, Kontexte, Intertexte* (Berlin, 2007) 53–60, here 53 n. 4. According to Trismegistos (TM) 59976, Pasquale Orsini suggests this range "for the Enoch apocalypse".

But are such – mostly papyrological and palaeographical – aspects beneficial for the work on the text of the *Apocalypse of Peter*? Do they prompt people to think twice or in another way about a text if they are considered seriously? Some specific details derived from a closer look at the materiality and objecthood of the manuscript may not change a researcher's understanding and/or way of interpreting the text of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. But they must necessarily and seriously be considered nevertheless, so that the final results are actually secured and based on the comprehensive consideration of a manuscript, i.e., its text *and* papyrological essence. Therefore, three fundamental prerequisites govern what follows:

(1) *The objecthood and materiality of archaeological objects*

Manuscripts are archaeological objects and are first treated as such. Unfortunately, in the late nineteenth century archaeologists had their individual notions of how to dig, document (or better not to document), preserve and restore objects; and then there are the vagaries of the antiques market. In a second step, manuscripts are handled by restaurateurs, papyrologists and palaeographers who specialise on materiality *and* texts.

(2) *Various clusters of manuscripts*

Manuscripts are grouped in clusters according to the nature of their texts and set into certain contexts with other manuscripts according to topography, history, philosophy, law, religion and so on. In the case of the *Apocalypse of Peter* the text is put together with other texts *and*, of course, should be seen as part of a codex in which it was bound into together with other writings.

(3) *A manuscript as a starting point and reassurance*

At the beginning there will be a closer look at the material and textual evidence given (i.e., the sources). Thus, the manuscripts with the *Apocalypse of Peter* mark the starting point and the backbone for everything to follow. Consequently, they function as a control mechanism of reassurance or approval of conclusions drawn and hypotheses formed. In other words, papyrological and palaeographical details serve the purpose of regulators of interpretations which themselves should correspond with the material evidence.

This is the foundation of all the questions formulated after every chapter of this study.

2. *The Apocalypse of Peter on the Manuscript Map*

A very simplified survey of the manuscript situation of the *Apocalypse of Peter* looks as follows: there are two manuscripts in Ethiopic and two in Greek. Other texts that are operated under the name *Apocalypse of Peter*, are excluded here (e.g., the Coptic one from Nag Hammadi, Arabic ones or texts in Old Church Slavonic).⁶ According to my own previous studies and my language competence I have to focus more on the Greek manuscripts than on the Ethiopic ones, but wish to start with a more general survey of the two miscellaneous Ethiopic manuscripts.

2.1. *The Ethiopic Manuscripts P & T*

The following is based on relevant previous studies of the Ethiopic manuscripts.⁷ An evaluation by Alessandro Bausi⁸ and information pro-

⁶ For further information cf. E. Bratke, 'Handschriftliche Überlieferung und Bruchstücke der arabisch-äthiopischen Petrusapokalypse', *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 36 (1893) 454–93; A. Mingana, 'The Apocalypse of Peter', *Woodbrooke Studies* 3.2 (1931) 93–152, 209–82, 349–407; P. la Spisa, 'À propos de l'Apocalypse de Pierre arabe ou Livre des Révélations (Kitāb al Mağāl)', in A. Bausi, A. Gori, and G. Lusini (eds), *Linguistic, Oriental and Ethiopian Studies in Memory of Paolo Marrassini* (Wiesbaden, 2014) 512–26. Further see C.D.G. Müller, 'Die Offenbarung des Petrus', in Hennecke and Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung. II. Band*, 563; J.K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1993, repr. 2009) 595–97.

⁷ Cf. M.R. James, 'A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter', *JThS* 12 (1911) 35–56, 362–83, 573–83; C.C. Rossini, 'Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d'Abbadie', *Journal asiatique* 10/20 (1912) 5–72; M. Chaîne, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection Antoine d'Abbadie* (Paris, 1912) 34–37; E. Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Tānāsee. Vol. I: Reiseberichte und Beschreibung der Handschriften in dem Kloster des Heiligen Gabriel und der Insel Kebrān* (Wiesbaden, 1973) 163–67; R.W. Cowley, 'The Ethiopic Work which is believed to contain the material of the material of the ancient Greek Apocalypse of Peter', *JThS* 36 (1985) 151–53; Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 119–39.

⁸ Cf. A. Bausi, 'Towards a Re-Edition of the Ethiopic Dossier of the Apocalypse of Peter. A Few Remarks on the Ethiopic Manuscript Witnesses',

vided by Daniel Maier⁹ serve as main guiding lines. Everything starts with Lake Tānā, which is the largest lake in Ethiopia (Amhara region in the north-western Ethiopian highlands). Both manuscripts were discovered there only about twenty kilometres apart from each other.

2.1.1. Manuscript T = Tānā or Kebrān 35

The first codex was detected in the Monastery of Saint Gabriel on the Kebrān peninsular at Lake Tānā. The parchment folios measure 22 cm and 23 cm, i.e., the pages are rather square. There seem to be some repairs of the parchment which were made prior to writing the texts. According to Buchholz, the manuscript is “apparently in good condition and the letters are clear”.¹⁰ The texts are “carefully written”,¹¹ the scribe used rubricated letters and did not make any corrections.¹² The codex is dated to the eighteenth century.¹³

There are nine different texts written in one hand only, though there is also a column written in Amharic. All in all, the codex consists of 106 folios with three columns per page, twenty-five lines per column, and eight to ten letters per line. The thirteen quires are arranged rather regularly and comprise between eight and ten folios.

The nine texts are – in sequence of appearance in the codex:

- (1) Testament of Our Lord (*Testamentum Domini*; cf. ms P no. 2)
- (2) Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ in Galilee (including *Epistula Apostolorum*; cf. ms P no. 3)
- (3) The Second Coming of Christ and the Resurrection of the Dead (including the *Apocalypse of Peter*; cf. ms P no. 4)
- (4) A Speech on the Glorious and Arcane Mystery of the Judgment of Sinners and a Dispute Concerning This Speech (cf. ms P no. 5)
- (5) Beginning of the Faith (a hexaemeral treatise)

Apocrypha 27 (2016) 179–96.

⁹ I am indebted to Daniel Maier, Zurich, who generously let me use his research on the locations and the manuscripts.

¹⁰ Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 129.

¹¹ Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopische Handschriften*, 167.

¹² Cf. Buchhold, *Your Eyes*, 131–32.

¹³ For general information also see the Internet site of the North American Society of Christian Apocryphal Literature (NASSCAL www.nasscal.com/manuscripta-apocryphorum/tanasee-kebran-gabriel-monastery-35; last accessed 21/02/2023).

- (6) Narrative on the Announcement by Archangel Gabriel
- (7) Narrative on the Conception of the Savior by Mary
- (8) Hymn to Christ
- (9) Treatise attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem on the Resurrection of Christ (incomplete)

2.1.2. Manuscript P = Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF), Paris, éthiopien, d'Abbadie 51

The second codex was found at a monastery on the Dāgā island in Lake Tānā. The rectangular parchment folios measure 34 cm and 27 cm. The material has some holes and shows some efforts of repair, but there is no loss of text. According to Buchholz the “letters for the most part [are] easily distinguished”.¹⁴ There are some notes in the margin and a possession remark at the beginning. The manuscript is dated to the fifteenth or early sixteenth century. It comprises five different texts which are written in five hands, but there is no ‘one scribe, one text’ correspondence.¹⁵ The *Apocalypse of Peter* (folios 131r to 137v) is performed by the third and fourth scribe. All the texts are clearly separated from each other by signs (above all ::≡::) and the codex contains some interesting features that are not decisively important for the present context (e.g., a drawing of three male figures on folio 132v at the end of the *Epistula Apostolorum* and before the beginning of the *Apocalypse of Peter*). The whole codex has 157 folios with two columns per page, twenty-one to twenty-seven lines per column and ten to twelve letters per line. Here, the twenty-one quires are quite regular with mostly eight folios, quires VI and VIII with six and quire XI with three.¹⁶ Some fundamental information on the codex is provided by NASSCAL.¹⁷ The official Internet pages of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) offer quality images of the complete codex.¹⁸

¹⁴ Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 124.

¹⁵ Cf. Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 124–25.

¹⁶ Cf. Bausi, ‘Towards a Re-Edition’, 187.

¹⁷ See NASSCAL at the website www.nasscal.com/manuscripta-apocryphorum/paris-bibliotheque-nationale-de-france-ethiopien-dabbadie-51; last accessed 21/02/2023.

¹⁸ See Bibliothèque Nationale de France online at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100878602/f1.item.zoom>; last accessed 20/02/2023.

The five textual units are as follows:

- (1) Sargis of Aberga (apology in question-answer form; codex unicus)
- (2) Testament of Our Lord (cf. ms T no. 1)
- (3) Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ in Galilee (including *Epistula Apostolorum*; cf. cf. ms T no. 2)
- (4) The Second Coming of Christ and the Resurrection of the Dead (including the *Apocalypse of Peter*; cf. ms T no. 3)
- (5) A Speech on the Glorious and Arcane Mystery of the Judgment of Sinners and a Dispute Concerning This Speech (cf. ms T no. 4)

2.1.3. Some General Observations

The two manuscripts are miscellaneous codices with five or nine texts. Nevertheless, there is an obvious correspondence between manuscripts P and T, because they share four texts, of which even the *Epistula Apostolorum* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* are placed in the same sequence. Four out of five texts of manuscript P are present in manuscript T and four out of nine then of T in P, too, *and* these four are presented in the same order.

The design and writing of the manuscripts are quite careful. In ms T and P the *Apocalypse of Peter* is placed within ‘The Second Coming of Christ and the Resurrection of the Dead’ (CAe 1127)¹⁹ and ‘A Speech on the Glorious and Arcane Mystery of the Judgment of Sinners and a Dispute Concerning This Speech’ (CAe 2132). The texts make up a Pseudo-Clementine ensemble that is only attested by the two manuscripts T and P.²⁰ A close connection to the ‘The Second Coming of Christ and the Resurrection of the Dead’ is obvious, because the two texts share the same beginning which may be regarded as a ‘prologue’ for the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Peter*.²¹

¹⁹ CAe = Clavis aethiopica. Searchable online platform at <https://betamasaheft.eu/works/list>; last accessed 19/02/2023.

²⁰ So Bausi, ‘Towards a Re-Edition’, 179–96, and his contribution to this volume.

²¹ Cf. the ‘Prologue’ translated as the beginning of the *Apocalypse of Peter* by Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 163 (notes 266–67); E.J. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter. A New Translation and Analysis of the Purpose of the Text* (Tübingen, 2019) 66, 74–76, while, e.g., Müller, ‘Die Offenbarung des Petrus’, 566, does not include it and R. Bauckham, ‘The Apocalypse of Peter: A Jewish Christian Apocalypse from the Time of Bar

Both manuscripts are from different centuries (fifteenth/sixteenth and eighteenth) and do not have the same layout (e.g., lines per page and line lengths, page dimensions, three and two columns), but stem from places at Lake Tānā in Ethiopia which are just about twenty kilometres apart from each other.

2.1.4. Questions

The following questions arise from the observations collected above and purely from a consideration of the Ethiopian manuscripts.

- What are the function and purpose of each of the two books (T and P), which have something in common but also differ from each other (see above), and what about their compilations of texts?
- Do both manuscripts originate from a (rather young) local, regional and/or monastic tradition (at Lake Tānā)?
- Does the placement of the *Apocalypse of Peter* suggest that there was/is an interrelation between this apocalypse and the Pseudo-Clementine writings in the two manuscripts?
- Is the transmission and preservation of the *Apocalypse of Peter* due to the function and placement of the text within the manuscripts? Would it have been lost otherwise?
- Is the function and purpose of the *Apocalypse of Peter* to be found within a specific argumentative strategy in the complete codex and not be seen in it as a text on its own?

2.2. *The Greek Manuscripts (P.Cair. 10759 and P.Vindob.G 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [4])*

2.2.1. The So-Called Akhmîm Codex P.Cair. 10759²²

The codex *P.Cair. 10759* (= Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 10759; Bibliotheca Alexandrina, Alexandria) was found in a tomb near

Kokhba', *Apocrypha* 5 (1994), 7–111 here 16 (= R. Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead. Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* [Leiden, 1998] 160–258 at 168), simply disqualifies it as not original ("It does not occur in the Ethiopic version, which has a lengthy title or prologue which certainly does not belong to the original text.").

²² TM 59976, Leuven Database of Ancient Books (LDAB) 1088. See Trismegistos at www.trismegistos.org/text/59976; last accessed 21/02/2023.

Akhmîm [Panopolis] in 1886/1887.²³ Unfortunately, not much is known about the circumstances of the find. Urbain Bouriant speculated about certain issues in his publication and these were too often taken as granted so that they turned into facts thereafter. For instance, Bouriant concluded or, to be more precise, speculated that a codex with such texts indicates that the tomb it was found in was that of a monk. However, the Coptic monasteries – and these are the earliest sincere traces of Christianity in the surroundings – are too young for forming any background to that hypothesis.²⁴ Also rumours about the codex being lost – obviously due to a sentence in our edition that was misunderstood – could be debunked by a traveller’s report, who saw some of the *Enoch folios* in the *Bibliotheca Alexandrina* on display.

The rather small folios of the codex measure 12 cm in width and 15 cm in height. There are some holes in it, probable due to worms, rotting and decay. The parchment is rather thin and fine so that the letters from the other side can be seen through when the page is hold up to the light. Occasionally, letters left a mirror-inverted imprint on the opposite page, a process often visible in codices that were lying with their pages down and not standing upright on their binding and/or pages (and, therefore, due to pressure), and/or also due to possible changes between dryness and moisture.

The scribe’s hand is rather careful but is getting sloppier near the end of the texts. The scribe was competent to adjust his writing to the usual conventions (end-v, *nomina sacra* of κύριος, θεός and ἄνθρωπος [though κύριος and θεός are occasionally written out], enlarged letters at the end of lines etc.) and calculated the extent of writing in advance (see the decorative border with three crosses at the end of the *Gospel of Peter*). The rather individual hand of the texts of the *Gospel of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* writes “traditional capital

²³ The following mainly depends on Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 81–138. Also see the bibliography on pages 131–38. For concise studies of the text also see the relevant studies by Jan N. Bremmer, for instance, those in J.N. Bremmer, *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity. Collected Essays I* (Tübingen, 2017) 269–80, 281–93, 295–312, 313–28, 329–45.

²⁴ Cf. P. van Minnen, ‘The Greek Apocalypse of Peter’, in J.N. Bremmer and I. Czachesz (eds), *The Apocalypse of Peter* (Leuven, 2003) 15–39, here 17–19; Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 25–27.

letterforms alongside more recent cursive letterforms”²⁵ which slant to the left. In contrast to the early editors and editions the codex is to be dated to the late sixth or early seventh century.²⁶ All in all, we find four different texts in four hands, though there is no ‘one text, one scribe’ correspondence there. The *Gospel of Peter* and *Apocalypse of Peter* are written in the same hand, *I Enoch* is written by two other scribes. The most competent hand is that of the *Martyrdom of Julian of Anazarbus*, a single leaf that – according to Bouriant – was left in the binding. In between the *Gospel of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* a folio is left blank. The whole codex consists of thirty-three folios and a single leaf with one column per page, twenty-one to twenty-seven lines per column and ten to twelve letters per line. The five quires have twelve pages (*Gospel of Peter*), eight (*Apocalypse of Peter*), sixteen (*I Enoch*), sixteen (*I Enoch*), and sixteen (*I Enoch*). Consequently, the codex compiles four different texts as follows:

- (1) *Gospel of Peter* (beginning with a cross and αω; ending with a decorative bordure)
- (2) *Apocalypse of Peter* (first page blank; beginning with a small cross [also on page 7]; bound upside down; ending on page eight, bottom lines left blank)
- (3) *I Enoch* (chapters 1 to 32)²⁷
- (4) *Martyrdom of Julian of Anazarbus* (Tarsus/Antioch; fourth century, Cilicia, senatorial rank; arrested, tortured and killed under Diocletian)

2.2.1.1. Some General Observations

The codex consists of four different texts and was used as a funerary object. At least three texts offer thematic interrelations and motifs common to the others, too. If an apocalyptic and eschatological orientation was formative as it seems, the *Martyrdom of Julian of*

²⁵ Van Minnen, ‘The Greek Apocalypse of Peter’, 20.

²⁶ Cf. G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300 – 800* (London, 1987) no. 41; van Minnen, ‘The Greek Apocalypse of Peter’, here 21 no. 8; Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 29. For a precise palaeographic description see van Minnen, ‘The Greek Apocalypse of Peter’, 20–21.

²⁷ Cf. the images published by Photographic Archive of Papyri in the Cairo Museum of the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents (CSAD) at <http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/Apocrypha-Pseudepigrapha.html>; last accessed 25/02/2023.

Anazarbus would also fit well into the picture. Nevertheless, the sheet with the text was used for the binding so that its presence might not mean much or anything at all. At least this is what the first editor claimed. Peter van Minnen takes into consideration that

“the leaf merely stuck to the inside. Originally this may have been another quaternio consisting of four bifolia or eight leaves or sixteen pages. The missing leaves could in that case have fallen out before the codex was deposited in the tomb, but it is also possible that a stray leaf was used to strengthen the back cover.”²⁸

The texts written by various scribes were put together but not in an expected appropriate way. The *Apocalypse of Peter* was put in upside down and opens with a blank page, which may be left for an illustration equal to that on the first page of the *Gospel of Peter*.

The illustrations or decorative elements (cf. a large ornamental cross with α and ω on the first page without any text, two small crosses each indicating the beginning of both apocryphal Pseudo-Petrine texts, an ornamental border including three small crosses at the end of the text of the *Gospel of Peter*) should not be forgotten, because they determine the overall appearance of the codex as it stands. Interestingly, the text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* ends with a complete sentence that stops in the middle of the line “and the letters in the last line are larger than in the rest of the text, indicating that it is the end.”²⁹

The third quire misses a leaf at its beginning and a full quire might have preceded the text as it is extant today. Thus, chapters 20 and 21 of *1 Enoch* were added at the front and the scribe put a note in the margin of the chapters in their correct place in order to indicate that these sections are to be found at the beginning of the text, too. In sum, the codex consists of quires written in various hands. Even the passages of *1 Enoch* stem from different scribes (third and fourth quire in the same, fifth quire by another hand).

2.2.1.2. Questions

- How come that these texts were bound together?
- Why was this codex used as a funerary object?

²⁸ Van Minnen, ‘The Greek Apocalypse of Peter’, 22–23.

²⁹ Van Minnen, ‘The Greek Apocalypse of Peter’, 22.

- Was the codex made up for the occasion of that specific tomb or were the texts or some quires in use before the compilation was put into the tomb?³⁰ Or were some quires of the codex compiled earlier and put together with the other texts for the burial?
- What about the *Vorlagen* of the individual texts preserved by *P.Cair.* 10759? Did the scribe of the *Gospel of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* have a longer *Vorlage* in front of him? Or was the *Vorlage* identical with what is preserved today?
- Do thematic and motivic issues link the texts close together or not (e.g., a context of martyrdom and persecution as a reason for the compilation; cf. *1 Enoch*)? Why is the *Apocalypse of Peter* directly starting with a warning against false prophets, a vision of paradise and then abruptly ends with a description of the cruel punishments in hell? At least this is what the portion of the *Apocalypse* has in Greek (but see the Ethiopic) and the quire seems to be complete, at least obviously in the eyes of its scribe.
- In how far do the blank pages, the ornamental crosses and border help in that respect (length and nature of the *Vorlage* or *Vorlagen*)? What about the ending of the text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* in the middle of a line written in larger letters?
- Written by the same scribe, does this say anything about the inter-relation between the two apocryphal Pseudo-Petrine texts? Do both belong to the same text?³¹

³⁰ On this issue see the valid and careful thoughts of van Minnen, ‘The Greek Apocalypse of Peter’, 19–27.

³¹ Cf. van Minnen, ‘The Greek Apocalypse of Peter’, 27 (in contrast to L. Vaganay, *L’Évangile de Pierre* [Paris, 1929; 1930²] 190), sees a relation between them, “not in the sense that they are detached fragments of the same book, as many have thought, but in that the selection of both texts together was a coordinated effort which resulted in a set of two distinct texts transmitted together.” Further see M.R. James, ‘A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter’, *JThS* 12 (1911) 36–54, 362–83, 573–83, here 579–80; M.R. James, ‘The Rainer Fragment of the Apocalypse of Peter’, *JThS* 32 [1931] 270–79, here 275–78 (who rejects Vaganay, *L’Évangile de Pierre*, 187–192); T. Nicklas, ‘Zwei petrinische Apokryphen im Akhmîm-Codex oder eines? Kritische Anmerkungen und Gedanken’, *Apocrypha* 16 (2005) 75–96, here 83–96 (= T. Nicklas, *Studien zum Petrusevangelium* [Tübingen, 2020] 32–50, here 40–50).

- Why was the quire with the *Apocalypse of Peter* bound into the codex upside down? Is there an intention behind it (e.g., to treat both texts as being separate) or was it a coincidence?
- Does the order of text, as they were compiled in the codex, have a say about the overall concept behind the miscellaneous codex of *P.Cair.* 10759?
- In view of the quite remarkable performance of the scribes and with a focus on the one who copied the two Pseudo-Petrine texts, what does this say about the handling, reputation, function and purpose of the two texts *and* the two quires of the codex? In how far do papyrological details help here to assess texts and object, i.e., the *Gospel of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* on the one hand and their two quires and the codex *P.Cair.* 10759 (with *1 Enoch* and the Martyrdom of Julian of Anazarbus) on the other?

2.2.2. A Miniature Codex³²

The second manuscript with a Greek text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* consists of two fragments: the Bodleian (*Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]*) and the Rainer fragment (*P.Vindob.G 39756*),³³ the first a folio (with the other half of the bifolium missing) and the second a bifolium. Both fragments evidently belong to the same codex,³⁴ whose provenance is unknown, though the style of writing may point in the direction of Alexandria.³⁵ A page is 5.3 cm wide and 7.8 cm high. The parchment is rather fine but of usual quality. The scribe wrote in a careful hand with some peculiarities that are not uncommon (e.g., ε)

³² Trismegistos (TM) 64361/LDAB 5583. See Trismegistos at www.trismegistos.org/text/64361; last accessed 24/02/2023.

³³ The following is based on T.J. Kraus, 'P.Vindob.G 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]. Fragmente eines Codex der griechischen Petrus-Apokalyypse', *BASP* 40 (2003) 45–61 and plates 3–4.

³⁴ Cf. T.J. Kraus, 'Die griechische Petrus-Apokalyypse und ihre Relation zu ausgewählten Überlieferungsträgern apokalyptischer Stoffe', *Apocrypha* 14 (2003) 73–98, here 76–77, and, above all, Kraus, 'P.Vindob.G 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]', 45–61.

³⁵ Cf. Kraus, 'P.Vindob.G 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]', 50, and Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrus-apokalypse*, 122, based on G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* (Florence, 1967) 85–87, and Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, 56.

and he knew about the common conventions (end-v; *nomina sacra*; line filling; paragraph; apostrophe; trema; punctuation; double stops; preparing the writing field). The style is that of a late Biblical majuscule. The pieces are best dated to the second half of the fifth century.³⁶ All in all there are thirteen lines per page with eight to thirteen letters per line.

A particularity of the manuscript is that it belongs to the modern category of miniature codices introduced by Eric G. Turner, who set a limit for the width of a page as “less than 10 cm” for both papyrus and parchment codices.³⁷ An update of the two groups of miniature codices shows a considerable number of books or fragments with Christian apocryphal texts.³⁸ However, in comparison with all the entries in the preliminary database and some overall categories their number is not extraordinary or striking. There is still much to research into when it comes to miniature codices in (late) antiquity.³⁹ Nevertheless, the small codex *Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P] + P.Vindob.G 39756* is a beautiful illustrative example of a small or even tiny book from the fifth century that raises a couple of questions (see below).

³⁶ Cf. Kraus, ‘P.Vindob.G 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]’, 46 and 50, and Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 122.

³⁷ Cf. E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia, 1977) 22 (quotation for papyrus codices) and 29–30 (similar quotation for parchment codices). Of course, also the height plays a role so that disproportions do not qualify for the category (see 21–22, 29).

³⁸ Cf. the miniature formats/codices and categories in T.J. Kraus, ‘Die Welt der Miniaturbücher in der Antike und Spätantike – Prolegomena und eine erste methodische Annäherung für eine Datensammlung’, *SNTU* 35 (2010) 79–110; T.J. Kraus, ‘Miniature Codices in Late Antiquity – Preliminary Remarks and Tendencies About a Specific Book Format’, *Early Christianity* 7 (2016) 134–52.

³⁹ Cf. Kraus, ‘Die Welt der Miniaturbücher’, 79–110; Kraus, ‘Miniature codices’, 134–52; T.J. Kraus, ‘Demosthenes and (late) Ancient Miniature Books from Egypt. Reflections on a Category, Physical Features, Purpose and Use’, in L. Arcari (ed.), *Beyond Conflicts. Religious and Cultural Cohabitations in Alexandria and Egypt between the 1st and the 6th Century CE* (Tübingen, 2017) 115–30; T.J. Kraus, ‘Small in Size, but Fabulous Artefacts. P.Ryl. III 463, P.Ryl. I 28, and Late Antique Miniature Books’, *Annali di Storia dell’Esegesi* 38 (2021) 349–68.

Although the page count of the original small booklet cannot be determined at all, the two fragments demonstrate that they were not a single sheet. Moreover, the layout of the text and the design of the manuscript make it clear that a considerable length of text was to be expected, but unfortunately very little has survived.

The manuscript is also important for another reason. It has a reading that supports the assumption of salvation of transgressors who are already in punishment. This is proof of the textual and theological significance of the miniature codex, a matter already discussed elsewhere.⁴⁰

2.2.2.1. Some General Observations

This manuscript of the Greek *Apocalypse of Peter* consists of two fragments of a miniature codex that was nicely produced. The scribe's hand is careful and competent. In addition, the codex is the oldest witness to the *Apocalypse of Peter*, though it is mostly not valued accordingly due to its rather short text compared to the Akhmîm Codex and the Ethiopic manuscripts. The extract it contains is about the Elysian Field and the Acherusian Lake, about idolators and the deliverance of the sinners who were already in their punishment.

Unfortunately, as already delineated above, the codex is not treated adequately. It is often taken as an aside or additional witness to the *Apocalypse of Peter*.⁴¹ The Ethiopic is usually given priority over the Greek,⁴² while the miniature codex is rarely taken into account and if so just to certify the superiority of the Ethiopic version.⁴³ Eric J. Beck is right in stating: "These claims have until now

⁴⁰ Cf. T.J. Kraus, 'Fürbitte für die Toten im frühen Christentum. Ich werde ... den gewähren, den sie aus der Strafe erbitten', in H. Klein, V. Mihoc, and K.-W. Niebuhr (eds), *Das Gebet im Neuen Testament*. (Tübingen, 2009) 355–96.

⁴¹ An exception to the rule is Beck, *Justice and Mercy*, who takes the text of the miniature codex seriously and follows it against the other manuscripts (71–72).

⁴² This prioritization was first voiced by James, *A New Text*, 10–23, then repeatedly reiterated or pushed, e.g., by Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 419; Müller, 'The Revelation of Peter', 564–66; R. Bauckham, 'The Apocalypse of Peter' 9–12 (162–165); Kraus, 'P.Vindob.G 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]', 61.

⁴³ See, for instance, Bauckham, 'The Apocalypse of Peter', 11 (164): "The general reliability of the Ethiopic version is confirmed by the two small

gone largely unchallenged in scholarship despite the lack of any detailed comparative analysis of the texts.”⁴⁴ This is not the place to discuss the line of arguments appropriately and comprehensively, but at least one aspect should be mentioned here: generally, the use of the future tense in the Ethiopic manuscripts is judged as fitting an eschatological and prophetic text more than the past tense used in the Greek Akhmîm text, which makes the narrative appear as a recounted vision. Consequently, what is extant on the miniature codex is regarded as a support of the Ethiopic text as it is set in the future tense, too.⁴⁵ But this does not automatically make the text of P.Vindob.G 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P] subordinate to the other text version and degrade it to a mere affirmation object. At least in parts, the text of the Greek fragments can also have priority over other readings.⁴⁶

2.2.2.2. Questions

- What does the miniature format of the codex tell about its owner, the value and use of its text? Why did a person want to have a small booklet with the *Apocalypse of Peter* in those days?
- What can be said about the small booklet and its text when it is contextualized among other extant miniature codices from the same time or shortly before or after the fifth century? In how far and which conclusions about socio-cultural aspects can be drawn with care?
- What does the codex tell about the circulation and preservation of the *Apocalypse of Peter* in the fifth century

Greek fragments and the patristic quotations.” For that Bauckham refers to James, ‘A New Text’, 367–75, 573–83; K. Prümm, ‘De genuino Apocalypsis Petri textu. Examen testium iam notorum et novi fragmenti Raineriani’, *Biblica* 10 (1929) 62–80; Buchholz, *Your Eyes*, 145–52, 418–22.

⁴⁴ Beck, *Justice and Mercy*, 8 (for a sound discussion of the argumentation see 7–8 and 56–59). Meanwhile cf. E.J. Beck, ‘The Apocalypse of Peter. The Relationship of the Versions’, in M.T. Gebreananaye, L. Williams, and F. Watson (eds), *Beyond Canon. Early Christianity and the Ethiopic Textual Tradition* (Edinburgh, 2021) 117–30, who at least partly tackles this problem.

⁴⁵ Cf. Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 129; Kraus, ‘P.Vindob.G 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]’, 58; Beck, *Justice and Mercy*, 57.

⁴⁶ Following Beck, *Justice and Mercy*, 56, 71–72.

- Why has the materiality of this interesting and important textual witness, especially its format, never been seriously taken into account for its significance and evaluation?
- How have the traditional reasons brought forward to support the absolute priority of the Ethiopic text not comprehensibly been challenged in detail? Why is a “detailed comparative analysis of the texts”⁴⁷ still missing?
- Even without such an analysis, what is the significance of the small booklet for the study of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, as it is the oldest manuscript, written in a fine hand, well-formatted and a miniature codex?
- What if the text of the miniature codex was taken as a starting point and regarded as the oldest *and* most original text version of the *Apocalypse of Peter*? Would that change anything at all?
- What do its interrelations with overlapping sections in the Ethiopic version, but also in other texts, mean, e.g., in the *Sibylline Oracles*, *4 Ezra*, the *Apocalypse of Paul* and others?⁴⁸

3. Conclusion and Outlook

Some of the questions posed at the end of each chapter may seem superficial, superfluous, not really significant at first glance and even redundant. Others may provoke a second thought and a further reflection of aspects otherwise not considered. And again others should prompt reassessments or even efforts in new directions for the study of the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

Be that as it may, one aspect should never be forgotten: its textual versions in Ethiopic and Greek are extant in the form of archaeological objects, i.e., manuscripts; and they have something to offer that must be considered seriously and adequately.

⁴⁷ Beck, *Justice and Mercy*, 8, who refers to the works by R.C. Helmer, ‘That We May Know and Understand’. *Gospel Tradition in the Apocalypse of Peter* (PhD Diss., Marquette University, 1998); J.V. Hills, ‘Parables, Pretenders, and Prophecies. Translation and Interpretation in the Apocalypse of Peter’, *Revue Biblique* 98 (1991) 560–73, who tried (58) “to uncover the Greek Vorlage of the Eth Apoc Pet.” See now Beck, ‘The Apocalypse of Peter’, 117–30.

⁴⁸ Cf. Kraus, ‘Die griechische Petrus-Apokalypse’, 85–99.

But how to deal with the manuscript and textual situation of the *Apocalypse of Peter* as it stands today? How should a critical edition or a modern translation look like? Are parallel columns a solution? But which version should be taken as the guiding text then? In regard to the different sequence of events in the Ethiopic manuscripts and the Akhmîm text (heaven or hell first), one attested sequence would have to be changed against its manuscript attestation.

The Ethiopic and Greek texts could be treated separately (see editions of the *Apocalypse of Paul* in medieval languages).⁴⁹ Another alternative would be the creation of a text-critical edition with a continuous text, for which the ‘best’ reading is selected as the result of an argumentatively responsible process, and which is supplemented with a critical apparatus. That would be close to other text editions (e.g., the so-called Nestle-Aland of the Greek New Testament). But maybe all that is too complex and cannot be solved anyway so that probably the only practical solution is “to follow the Eth Apoc Pet solely due to it being the most comprehensive recension currently extant.”⁵⁰ But that does not mean – as exemplified by Eric J. Beck with his English translation of the *Apocalypse of Peter* – that the other textual witnesses and their materiality do not get the scholarly appropriate place and due attention they deserve. Nevertheless, there is obviously no ideal or model solution to this problem and we will see what the next editions and translations will look like.

⁴⁹ Cf., e.g., L. Jiroušková, *Die Visio Pauli. Wege und Wandlungen einer orientalischen Apokryphe im lateinischen Mittelalter unter Einschluss der alttschechischen und deutschsprachigen Textzeugen* (Leiden, 2006); M. McNamara and C. Breatnach, ‘Visio Sancti Pauli’, in M. McNamara *et al.* (eds), *Apocrypha Hiberniae II. Apocalyptic 2* (Turnhout, 2019) 377–413.

⁵⁰ Cf. Beck, *Justice and Mercy*, 58.

III. Die griechische *Petrusapokalypse* und paulinische Literatur: Beobachtungen am Text des Akhmîm-Codex

TOBIAS NICKLAS

Es ist im gegebenen Rahmen nicht nötig zu wiederholen, welche Schwierigkeiten die Beantwortung selbst der grundlegenden Einleitungsfragen bei einem Text wie der *Petrusapokalypse* macht, dessen Überlieferung uns nicht erlaubt, eine einigermaßen sichere Edition seines Ausgangs- oder gar eines Originaltexts zu erstellen. So gehe ich davon aus, dass die nach Jahren weitgehenden Schweigens intensiver werdenden Debatten um den Ursprung der Schrift auch noch weiter anhalten werden. Mir geht es im folgenden Beitrag nicht darum, meine Idee, dass eine Entstehung des Texts gut in Alexandrien denkbar wäre, neu zu verteidigen;¹ stattdessen möchte ich einen Schritt zurücktreten und grundlegender ansetzen, nämlich an dem Problem des Verhältnisses zwischen der *Petrusapokalypse* und anderen christlichen Schriften. Doch selbst ein solcher Ansatz ist noch nicht spezifisch genug: Der folgende Beitrag wird sich auf das im

¹ Vgl. hierzu v.a. T. Nicklas, 'Jewish, Christian, Greek? The *Apocalypse of Peter* as a Witness of Second Century Christianity in Alexandria', in L. Arcari (Hg.), *Beyond Conflicts. Cultural and Religious Cohabitations in Alexandria and in Egypt between the 1st and the 6th century CE* (Tübingen, 2017) 27–46 und (etwas spekulativer) ders., 'Petrus-Diskurse in Alexandria. Eine Fortführung der Gedanken von Jörg Frey', in J. Frey, M. den Dulk und J.G. van der Watt (Hg.), *2 Peter and the Apocalypse of Peter. Towards a New Perspective* (Leiden, 2019) 99–127. Kritisch zuletzt E. Norelli, 'L'Apocalisse di Pietro come apocalisse cristiana', *Rivista di storia del cristianesimo* 17 (2020) 111–84 sowie ders., 'Les débats récents sur le rapport entre 2 Pierre et l'Apocalypse de Pierre. Le cas de la conflagration universelle' [unpublizierter Vortrag AELAC-Jahrestreffen im Juni 2021].

griechischen Akhmîm-Codex zu findende umfangreiche Fragment der *Petrusapokalypse* in griechischer Sprache konzentrieren² und die Frage stellen, inwiefern der uns hier vorliegende Text Spuren einer Kenntnis paulinischer Schriften erkennen lässt; dabei verstehe ich den Begriff „paulinische Schriften“ sehr offen und differenziere nicht zwischen echten und pseudepigraphischen Paulusbriefen. Beiseitelassen muss ich – schon aus Gründen des Umfangs dieser Arbeit – die Frage nach dem Verhältnis dieses Fragments zu den Evangelien des Neuen Testaments. Das Zueinander zum im gleichen Codex überlieferten, von gleicher Hand geschriebenen Fragment des *Petrusevangeliums* wiederum habe ich bereits mehrfach angesprochen.³ Auch das in den vergangenen Jahren oft und durchaus kontrovers diskutierte Problem des Verhältnisses zwischen *Petrusapokalypse* und Zweitem Petrusbrief (sowie indirekt dem Judasbrief) werde ich in diesem Beitrag nicht weiter aufgreifen.⁴

In einer früheren Publikation habe ich – sicherlich ein wenig mutig und in einer wohl auch nicht ganz glücklichen Formulierung – die Beobachtung, dass die *Petrusapokalypse* weder positiv von Paulus beeinflusst zu sein scheint, noch sich in irgendeiner Weise kritisch gegenüber ihm (oder Aspekten seines Gedankenguts) äußert,

² Edition: T.J. Kraus und T. Nicklas (Hg.), *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* (Berlin und New York, 2004). Die Übersetzungen stammen aus dieser Edition oder sind aus ihr adaptiert.

³ Vgl. T. Nicklas, ‘Das apokryphe *Petrusevangelium*. Stand und Perspektiven der Forschung’, sowie ders., ‘Zwei petrinische Apokryphen im Akhmîm-Codex oder eines? Kritische Anmerkungen und Gedanken’, beide in T. Nicklas, *Studien zum Petrus-evangelium* (Tübingen, 2020) 6–31 und 32–50.

⁴ Besonders differenziert hierzu W. Grünstäudl, *Petrus Alexandrinus. Studien zum historischen und theologischen Ort des zweiten Petrusbriefes* (Tübingen, 2013) 97–143; ders., ‘Ein apokryphes Petrusbild im Neuen Testament. Zur Konstruktion apostolischer Autorität in OffbPetr und 2 Petr’, in J. Frey, C. Clivaz und T. Nicklas (Hg.), *Between Canonical and Apocryphal Texts. Processes of Reception, Rewriting, and Interpretation in Early Judaism and Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 2019) 289–308, J. Frey, *Der Brief des Judas und der zweite Brief des Petrus* (Leipzig, 2015) 170–74 und die kontroversen Beiträge in Frey, den Dulk und van der Watt, *2 Peter and the Apocalypse of Peter*. Hinzu kommt nun auch Norelli, ‘Les débats récents’.

als Argument dafür verwendet, dass der Text kaum in einem Kontext entstanden sein dürfte, in dem Paulus oder paulinisches Gedankengut eine Rolle spielt.⁵ Einen solchen Kontext sehe ich wiederum eher im Alexandrien des nicht zu späten 2. Jahrhunderts denkbar als an Orten, in denen der paulinische Einfluss schon früh erkennbar ist. Natürlich ist mir klar, dass ein solches Argument nicht mit der Kraft mathematischer Logik zu tragen vermag; seine Schwächen liegen offenkundig darin, dass wir weder ganz sicher von „der“ *Petrusapokalypse* sprechen können, weil uns ja verschiedene Textformen vorliegen, noch mögliche paulinische Einflüsse auf eine bekannte Textform sicher darauf schließen lassen, dass diese bereits in einer möglichen Urform der Schrift existierten. Hinzu kommt natürlich, dass wir, selbst wo wir zeigen können, dass ein Text keine für uns erkennbaren oder gar sicher feststellbaren Spuren paulinischen Einflusses zeigt, nicht mit letzter Sicherheit folgern können, dass der Autor Paulus nicht kannte oder in einem Kontext lebte, wo er ihn nicht kennen konnte. Als Teil einer Argumentation mit Indizien – und etwas Anderes bleibt uns, wie ich denke, in der Diskussion von Einleitungsfragen zu frühchristlicher Literatur kaum übrig – halte ich den Gedanken aber weiterhin für wert, verfolgt zu werden. Während mir im äthiopischen Text vor allem die Idee, dass die Auferstehung der Toten *gegen 1 Kor 15*, aber ohne Bezug auf diesen Text dort in keiner Weise mit dem Christusereignis verbunden scheint, ein Indiz dafür ist, dass grundlegende paulinische Gedanken in diesem Text keine Rolle spielen,⁶ möchte ich mich hier und heute schon alleine deswegen, weil der Vergleich griechischer Texte helfen kann, bestimmte methodische Probleme zu umgehen, auf das Fragment aus dem Akhmîm-Codex allein konzentrieren.

⁵ Nicklas, 'Jewish, Christian, Greek', 29. Siehe nun auch die Kritik bei Norelli, 'Les débats récents'.

⁶ Weiterführend T. Nicklas, 'Resurrection – Judgment – Punishment. Apocalypse of Peter 4', in G. Van Oyen und T. Shepherd (Hg.), *Resurrection of the Dead. Biblical Traditions in Dialogue* (Leuven, 2012) 461–74 sowie (knapp) ders., 'Auferstehung zu Tod und Strafe. Unpaulinische Auferstehungsvorstellungen im frühen Christentum', in J. Verheyden, A. Merkt und T. Nicklas (Hg.), *If Christ has not been raised ... Studies on the Reception of the Resurrection Stories and the Belief in the Resurrection in the Early Church* (Göttingen, 2016) 105–22, hier 113–15.

1. Die Rede vom Sohn bzw. Söhnen des Verderbens:

V. 1–3 der *Petrusapokalypse* in der Fassung des Akhmîm-Codex lauten folgendermaßen:⁷

Viele von ihnen werden Lügenpropheten sein und Wege und mannigfache Lehrsätze, die zum Verderben führen, vortragen.² Jene aber werden Söhne des Verderbens sein.³ Und dann wird Gott zu den an mich Glaubenden kommen, die hungern, dürsten und bedrängt sind und die in diesem Leben ihre Seelen bewähren, und er wird die Söhne der Gesetzlosigkeit richten.

Die eben zitierte Passage hat keine klare Parallele im äthiopischen Text.⁸ Aufgrund der häufig in apokalyptischer Literatur inklusive der auch für den äthiopischen Text wichtigen synoptischen Endzeitreden begegnenden Motive des Auftretens von Pseudopropheten (vgl. Mt 7,15; 24,11,24; Mk 13,22; Lk 6,26; Apg 13,6; 2 Petr 2,1; 1 Joh 4,1; Offb 16,13; 19,20; 20,10) mit ihren Irrlehren, ihrer Bezeichnung als Söhne des Verderbens (V. 2) und Söhne der Gesetzlosigkeit (V. 3) oder der Rede von der Bedrängnis der Glaubenden (V. 2) ist es naheliegend, dass die genannte Passage den Schluss einer ansonsten verlorenen Endzeitrede Jesu – oder besser: des „Herrn“⁹ – darstellt, die dann womöglich durch die synoptischen Parallelen beeinflusst ist. Die in diesen Versen verwendete Sprache erinnert jedoch auch an Teile des 2. Thessalonicherbriefes, den ich zwar als pseudepigraphisch, aber doch tief durch paulinisches Denken beeinflusst verstehe.¹⁰ Zwar spricht 2 Thess nicht vom Auftreten von Pseudopropheten, gehört aber in eine Strömung von Schriften, die sich gegen Formen der Prophetie, die nicht apostolisch abgesichert sind, äußern. Als Adressaten des

⁷ Übersetzungen des Texts der griechischen Petrusapokalypse nach Kraus und Nicklas, *Petrusevangelium und Petrusapokalypse* (übernommen oder leicht adaptiert).

⁸ Sie ist damit ein Indiz dafür, dass der erhaltene griechische und äthiopische Text doch deutlicher voneinander zu differenzieren sein dürften, als dies häufig geschieht.

⁹ Der für den griechischen Text wichtige Hoheitstitel „der Herr“ stellt eine der möglichen Verbindungslinien zum Fragment des Petrusevangeliums (ebenfalls im Akhmîm-Codex) dar.

¹⁰ Zu meiner Deutung des 2 Thess vgl. T. Nicklas, *Der Zweite Thessalonicherbrief* (Göttingen, 2019).

Texts sind auch in 2 Thess Glaubende angesprochen (2 Thess 1,3), die sich als in Bedrängnis befindlich verstehen (2 Thess 1,4.6–7). Neben diesen sehr unspezifischen Parallelen ergeben sich allerdings auch recht konkrete: 2 Thess 2,3 spricht von der Offenbarung eines „Menschen der Gesetzlosigkeit“ (ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας), der zugleich als „Sohn des Verderbens“ (υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας) beschrieben und später noch einmal als „der Gesetzlose“ (2 Thess 2,8: ὁ ἄνομος) bezeichnet wird. In 2 Thess 2,7 ist zudem vom bereits in der Gegenwart wirksamen „Mysterium der Gesetzlosigkeit“ (μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας) die Rede. Der Gesetzlose des 2 Thess allerdings wird nicht durch Gott selbst gerichtet, sondern durch einen Hauch aus dem Munde des Parusiechristus vernichtet werden (2 Thess 2,8). Zumindest die Kombination υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας (2 Thess 2,3 und Akhm. 2, V. 2) ist nicht insignifikant. Hinzukommt, dass das Thema „Gesetzlosigkeit“ (ἀνομία) für beide Texte so wichtig ist (2 Thess 2,3.8; Akhm. 2, V. 3), dass es als Attribut eines Gegenspielers bzw. einer Gruppe von Gegenspielern verwendet wird. Allerdings reichen die Parallelen kaum, um auf literarische Abhängigkeit schließen zu müssen: So stellt bereits Spr 13,2 und 24,22a (beide LXX) einen Bezug zwischen einem „Sohn“ und seinem möglichen „Verderben“ (bzw. seinem Entrinnen aus dem Verderben) her und spricht vor allem auch Joh 17,12 – offenbar ganz unabhängig von 2 Thess – vom υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, in diesem Zusammenhang wohl Judas.¹¹ Zudem wird klar, dass trotz ihrer verbalen Parallelen 2 Thess und die *Petrusapokalypse* mit sehr unterschiedlichen Denkmodellen arbeiten: 2 Thess reagiert auf eine Situation, in der sich auf Paulus berufende Gegner behaupten, „der Tag des Herrn sei schon da“ (vgl. 2 Thess 2,2). Vor diesem Hintergrund entwickelt der Text ein apokalyptisches Schema, das durch die Kombination verschiedener Motive Raum für die Geschichte der angesprochenen *Ekklesia* schafft. Erst am Ende dieser Zeit steht das Auftreten einer an die Figur des Antichristen erinnernden Gestalt, die als „Mensch der Gesetzlosigkeit“ und „Sohn des Verderbens“ bezeichnet wird und in dem jede Form menschlicher Hybris gebündelt zum Ausdruck kommt (vgl. 2 Thess 2,4). Erst das Auftreten Christi wird ihn vernichten. V. 1–3 der *Petrusapokalypse* im griechischen Akhmîm-Codex wiederum spricht stattdessen vom Auftreten von Lügenpropheten, die

¹¹ Die Identifikation ist nicht ganz eindeutig.

offenbar gleichzeitig als Irrlehrer wirken. Die von ihnen gelehrtten Wege und Lehrmeinungen (δόγματα) führen ins Verderben (V. 1). Deswegen können sie auch als „Söhne des Verderbens“ bezeichnet werden (V. 2). Ähnlich 2 Thess scheint auch V. 3 der griechischen *Petrusapokalypse* von einer wie auch immer verstehbaren Parusie zu sprechen, welche zum Gericht über die „Söhne der Gesetzlosigkeit“ führen wird. Diese Parusie ist jedoch ein Erscheinen Gottes zum Gericht, ohne dass dabei die Rede von Christus ist. Ob die genannten „Söhne der Gesetzlosigkeit“ einfach mit den genannten Lügenpropheten bzw. dem Söhnen des Verderbens identisch sind oder eine größere Gruppe umfassen, bleibt jedoch fraglich. Damit legt sich eine konkrete Bezugnahme der *Petrusapokalypse* auf die genannten Passagen des 2 Thess trotz der wörtlichen Parallelen eher nicht nahe.¹² Obwohl eine literarische Beziehung natürlich nicht auszuschließen ist, gehe ich hier eher davon aus, dass beide Schriften auf sehr unterschiedliche Weise Anleihen aus dem allgemeinen und für viele frühjüdische und christliche Texte grundlegenden Motivbestand zur Beschreibung apokalyptischer Szenarien nehmen und diese im Blick auf ihre je eigenen Zwecke je neu und unabhängig voneinander zusammensetzen.

2. „Was kein Auge gesehen hat ...“

Der Ansatzpunkt des nächsten Argumentationsgangs findet sich in V. 7 der griechischen *Petrusapokalypse* aus Akhmîm. Der Text lautet folgendermaßen:

Es ging nämlich von ihrem Angesicht ein Strahl wie von der Sonne aus und lichtglänzend war ihr Gewand von einer Art, wie es noch nicht das Auge eines M[enschen gesehen hat. Denn weder] vermag ein Mund zu schildern noch ein H[erz zu empfinden] die Herrlichkeit, in die sie gehüllt waren, und die Schönhei[t] ihres Angesichts.

Wir befinden uns in der Beschreibung der beiden „gerechten Brüder ...“, die aus der Welt hinausgegangen waren“ (V. 5) und deren überirdische Herrlichkeit nun zum Ausdruck gebracht werden soll. Natürlich verwenden v.a. die ersten beiden Sätze Motive, die wir auch

¹² Eher könnte man an einen (dann wie auch immer gearteten) Bezug zu 2 Petr denken, wo das Motiv der ἀπώλεια eine besonders wichtige Rolle spielt (vgl. 2 Petr 2,1 [2x].3; 3,7.16).

aus anderen Texten kennen, in denen Epiphanien himmlischer Gestalten beschrieben werden. Zum Ausdruck gebracht wird die Nähe der Gerechten zur Herrlichkeit Gottes oder dem Glanz von Engelwesen. Die Fortsetzung der Beschreibung jedoch könnte als Echo auf 1 Kor 2,9 gedeutet werden:

ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὗς οὐκ ἤκουσεν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.

Die Situation ist hier anders als in den V. 1–3. Die wörtlichen Übereinstimmungen zwischen beiden Texten sind vage: Am nächsten kommen einander sicherlich die Rede davon, dass „kein Auge gesehen hat“ (1 Kor 2,9: ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν; Akhm. 2, V. 7: οὐδέποτε ὀφθαλμὸς ἀν[θρώπου ?]) und das Motiv, dass etwas nicht auf das menschliche Herz gekommen sei (1 Kor 2,9: ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη; Akhm. 2, V. 7: καρ...). Das bei Paulus auf das Herz bezogene Genitivattribut ἀνθρώπου findet sich in Akhm. 2 wiederum in Bezug auf das Auge. Leider relativiert sich all dies in dem Moment, in dem klar wird, dass der Text des Akhmîm-Codex hier – vor allem im zweiten Teil in Bezug auf das Herz – (wenn auch in plausibler Weise) weitgehend rekonstruiert ist. Trotzdem könnte man, anders als im ersten Falle, vielleicht sogar noch einen Schritt weitergehen: Sollte 1 Kor 2,9 oder ein vergleichbarer Text im Hintergrund der Aussage im Akhm. 2 stehen, ließe sich V. 7 gar als Interpretation des in 1 Kor Gesagten deuten: Der Text beschreibe dann konkret, was bzw. welche Form von Existenz „Gott denen, die ihn lieben, bereitet hat“. Eine für die Einordnung der *Petrusapokalypse* in antike christliche Literatur auswertbare Aussage ergibt sich daraus jedoch nicht. Dies wiederum liegt nicht nur daran, dass sich kein literarischer Bezug zwischen V. 7 unseres Fragments und 1 Kor 2,9 sicherstellen lässt, sondern auch daran, dass Paulus selbst die genannte Passage als Schriftzitat einführt. Selbst wenn dessen konkrete Herkunft unklar bleibt, ist doch ein freier Bezug auf Jes 64,3 wahrscheinlich – und bereits im frühen Christentum existieren weitere Parallelen in 1 Clem 34,8; *EvThom* 17 oder den ersten Worten des apokryphen *Pseudo-Titusbriefs*, so dass von einem „freischwebende[n] Logion“¹³ auszugehen ist. Und natürlich ist auch nicht auszuschließen, dass ein Autor, welcher versucht,

¹³ D. Zeller, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (Göttingen, 2010) 138, der auch weitere Parallelen bietet.

unsagbare, jenseitige Schönheit zu beschreiben, auf Vergleiche wie die hier gezogenen zurückgreift, ohne unbedingt literarische Vorbilder im Kopf zu haben.

3. *Die Leiblichkeit der Auferweckten*

Die im Akhmîm-Codex erhaltene Form der *Petrusapokalypse* setzt ganz offensichtlich die Vorstellung einer Weiterexistenz der Gerechten nach dem Tode voraus. Unklar ist, ob und inwiefern diese an die Auferweckung Christi gebunden ist¹⁴ und ob mit „Gerechten“ einfach an Christus Glaubende gemeint sind (oder diese ihre Gerechtigkeit auf andere Weise, z.B. durch ihre guten Taten, die Befolgung von Gottes Geboten etc. erworben haben).¹⁵ Ob das Gericht Gottes, das aus der Perspektive von V. 3 noch in der Zukunft liegt und bei dem die „Söhne der Gesetzlosigkeit“ verurteilt werden, nicht (oder noch nicht) an den (immerhin verstorbenen) Gerechten vollzogen wurde oder ob diese überhaupt nicht gerichtet werden, bleibt unklar. Wahrscheinlich setzt der Text einfach ein Vernichtungsgericht an den „Söhnen der Gesetzlosigkeit“ voraus, ohne damit etwas über die Rolle der Gerechten bei diesem Gericht auszudrücken. Selbst wenn auch Paulus das Gericht Gottes als Zorngericht (z.B. Röm 1,18; 2,1–11; 1 Thess 1,10; 2,16; 5,9; vgl. auch Phil 3,18–20) oder durch Feuer verzehrendes Vernichtungsgericht (z.B. 1 Kor 3,13–17) beschreiben kann, gehen die Parallelen zur griechischen *Petrusapokalypse* nicht weiter, als dass beide sich als Teil einer breiten biblisch-frühjüdischen Tradition auffassen lassen.¹⁶ Parallelen zu paulinischem Denken müssen hier deswegen nicht gezogen werden.¹⁷ Vielleicht am nächsten

¹⁴ Im äthiopischen Text ist ein solcher Bezug nicht hergestellt.

¹⁵ Zur Diskussion dieser Frage siehe unten.

¹⁶ Hierzu vgl. das Material bei M. Konradt, *Gericht und Gemeinde. Eine Studie zur Bedeutung und Funktion von Gerichtsaussagen im Rahmen der paulinischen Ekklesiologie und Ethik in 1 Thess und 1 Kor* (Berlin, 2003) 57–65. Einen knappen, zugleich sehr hilfreichen Überblick über paulinische Vorstellungen des göttlichen Gerichts bietet auch J. Frey, ‘Gericht und Gnade’, in F.-W. Horn (Hg.), *Paulus Handbuch* (Tübingen, 2013) 471–79.

¹⁷ Gleichzeitig spielt der in Röm 16,20 angedeutete Gedanke, dass mit dem Endgericht auch der Satan vernichtet wird, für die *Petrusapokalypse* keine Rolle: Satan kommt in diesem Text – auch in dessen Hölle – gar nicht vor.

kommen noch Gedanken aus dem 1. Thessalonicherbrief, da auch 1 Thess 1,10 offenbar davon ausgeht, dass die Mitglieder der *Ekklesia* nicht in das Zorngericht Gottes müssen, weil der auferweckte Jesus sie diesem Gericht entreißen wird.¹⁸ Auch die Sorge der Thessalonicher um das Schicksal der vor der Parusie „Entschlafenen“ (1 Thess 4,13) scheint zumindest verwandt mit der Bitte der Zwölf, ihnen einen „unserer gerechten Brüder zu zeigen, die aus der Welt hinausgegangen waren“ (Akhm. 2, V. 5). Obwohl beide Passagen keinerlei wörtliche Übereinstimmungen aufweisen, geht es in beiden Fällen darum, Mut zu fassen bzw. Mut anzusprechen zu können. Der Vergleich zeigt jedoch auch den fundamentalen Unterschied zwischen beiden Texten: 1 Thess 4,13 scheint auf die Sorge zu reagieren, dass die Entschlafenen für die erhoffte Zukunft mit Christus gänzlich verloren sein könnten; die *Petrusapokalypse* scheint eine Fortexistenz nach dem Tode vorauszusetzen und fragt deswegen nach der konkreten μορφή derer, die „aus der Welt hinausgegangen waren“.

Allerdings reiht sich die *Petrusapokalypse* in eine Gruppe von Schriften ein, die wenigstens für die (wann auch immer und in welcher Weise auch immer) auferweckten Gerechten eine Verwandlung ihrer Leiblichkeit erwarten. In den paulinischen Schriften ist dabei zunächst einmal an 1 Kor 15 zu denken. Hier wird, basierend auf der Botschaft von Tod und Auferweckung Christi (1 Kor 15,1–11), zunächst die Frage nach der Auferweckung der Toten allgemein gestellt (1 Kor 15,12–34) und dann das Problem aufgeworfen, „wie die Toten auferstehen und in was für einem Leib sie kommen“ (1 Kor 15,35). Während die *Petrusapokalypse* aber nach der μορφή der Gerechten fragt, die aus der Welt gegangen sind (V. 5; vgl. auch V. 13), konzentriert sich Paulus auf die Begriffe σῶμα (1 Kor 15,35.37.38.40.44) und σάρξ (1 Kor 15,39.50). Trotzdem sind die Bilder, die er verwendet, wenigstens verwandt mit denen, die wir in der *Petrusapokalypse* finden: Der in V. 7 der griechischen *Petrusapokalypse* verwendete Vergleich mit der Sonne findet sich wie auch die Rede von der Herrlichkeit der Gerechten in 1 Kor 15 wieder,

¹⁸ Dies allerdings scheint zumindest dahingehend relativiert, dass sie (siehe 1 Thess 4,3–6) „darauf achtzugeben [haben], daß sie sich nicht durch ‚heidnischen‘ Wandel als Gottes unwürdig präsentieren.“ (Konradt, *Gericht und Gemeinde*, 196 [siehe auch allgemeiner Konradts Deutung der paulinischen Gerichtsaussagen in 1 Thess]).

wenn auch in sehr unterschiedlichen Kontexten: Von der Sonne spricht Paulus nur im Vergleich mit dem Mond und anderen Gestirnen (1 Kor 15,41). 1 Kor 15,40–41 thematisiert zwar mehrfach die Herrlichkeit der Somata, die nicht irdisch sind, verwendet dabei aber das Attribut ἐπουράνια, während die Auferweckten für Akhm. 2 eben nicht in einem „Himmel“, sondern einem „sehr großen Land außerhalb dieser Welt“ leben (V. 15), welches mit allen Attributen eines Paradieses beschrieben wird.¹⁹ Damit aber ist noch nicht einmal berücksichtigt, dass Paulus gar nicht von den Leibern der Auferweckten, sondern von Himmelskörpern spricht. Zwar nimmt Paulus das Motiv der Herrlichkeit dessen, was aufersteht, auch weiter auf (1 Kor 15,43), dazu aber auch die Paare „verweslich – unverweslich“ oder „in Schwäche – in Kraft“ (1 Kor 15,42–43), die keine Rolle in der griechischen *Petrusapokalypse* spielen, wo stattdessen mehrfach die unbeschreibliche Schönheit (κάλλος) der Gerechten beschrieben wird (V. 7.9.11; vgl. auch V. 10: „Wohlgestalt“ – εὐπρέπεια). Vor allem aber zeigt die *Petrusapokalypse* keine konkreten Anklänge an den Zielpunkt der paulinischen Unterscheidung – die Rede von einem σῶμα πνευματικόν, das den Auferweckten anstelle eines σῶμα ψυχικόν zukomme (1 Kor 15,44).²⁰ Auch die Bezüge zwischen der *Petrusapokalypse* des Akhmîm-Codex und Phil 3,23, wo Paulus von der Umformung des Leibes der Niedrigkeit und Schwäche gleichgestaltig (σύμορφον) zum „Leib seiner Herrlichkeit“ (σῶμα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ) spricht, sind nicht klar genug, um an eine literarische Abhängigkeit denken zu lassen. Immerhin jedoch erleichtert der Vergleich den Blick auf das spezifische Profil der *Petrusapokalypse*: Der entscheidende Punkt der Bitte der Jünger an Jesus, ihnen die gerechten Brüder zu zeigen, ist damit begründet, Mut fassen und anderen Mut zusprechen zu können. Anders formuliert: Die *Petrusapokalypse* fragt also letztendlich danach, ob den Gerechten nach ihrem Tode ein angemessener Lohn gewährt werde; die Jünger bitten somit darum, dass ihnen das Ergebnis der Gerechtigkeit Gottes präsentiert werde.²¹

¹⁹ Gleichzeitig wird dieser Begriff nicht explizit verwendet.

²⁰ Natürlich ist der Leib der in der *Petrusapokalypse* begegnenden Gerechten ein verwandelter Leib, es fehlt aber jeder Anklang an die Idee, dass er – in welchem Sinne auch immer – als „pneumatisch“ zu verstehen sei.

²¹ Im Grunde ist dies eher verwandt mit der Funktion der Johannesapokalypse, wenn man diese (auch) als Antwort auf die Frage der unter dem

Die drei folgenden Teile des griechischen Textfragments bieten im Grunde alle Antworten auf diese Frage: Gestalt der Gerechten (V. 5–13), Wohnort der Gerechten (V. 14–20) und schließlich Strafort für die Ungerechten (V. 21–34).

4. *Gerechtigkeit*

Das Thema „Gerechtigkeit“ ist für die *Petrusapokalypse* offenbar von entscheidender Bedeutung, verwendet sie doch das (in V. 14 substantivierte) Adjektiv δίκαιος sechsmal (V. 5.13.14.20.25.27) und spricht dreimal von δικαιοσύνη (V. 22.23.28). Könnte sich hier ein Bezug zu paulinischem Denken erkennen lassen, in dem „Gerechtigkeit“ und „Rechtfertigung“ bekanntlich eine Schlüsselrolle spielen? Dass die Frage nach der Rolle der „Gerechtigkeit“ bei Paulus selbst, dann aber auch in ihren Weiterentwicklungen in pseudepigraphischen Schriften des Corpus Paulinum kaum in wenigen Sätzen angemessen zu beantworten ist, ist klar.²² So beginne ich zunächst einmal damit, was die griechische *Petrusapokalypse* zur Gerechtigkeit sagt (und bin mir dessen bewusst, dass ich es mit einem Fragment zu tun habe, dessen Vorstellungswelt und Denkgerüst selbst ein einzelner neu entdeckter Satz verändern könnte).

In den Vv. 5, 13, 14 und 20 ist jeweils in leichter Variation von den „gerechten Brüdern“ (V. 5 und 13) sowie den „Gerechten“ (V. 14) bzw. den „gerechten Menschen“ (V. 20), die Rede; konkret gemeint sind jeweils Menschen, die als Gerechte verstorben sind. Die Tatsache, dass sie als „Brüder“ bezeichnet sind, erinnert natürlich an die gegenseitige Anrede der Christusanhänger*innen als Brüder und Schwestern, die schon bei Paulus zu finden, gleichzeitig aber im frühen Christentum so weit verbreitet ist, dass sich daraus keine literarischen Bezüge ableiten lassen. Die konkrete Frage, was es denn bedeutet, gerecht zu sein, oder an welchen Kriterien sich dies entscheidet, wird nicht gestellt. Auch von einem Zusammenhang zwischen

himmlischen Opferalter befindlichen Seelen der Geschlachteten versteht: „Wie lange noch zögerst du, Herr, du Heiliger und Wahrhaftiger, Gericht zu halten und unser Blut an den Bewohnern der Erde zu rächen?“ (Offb 6,10).

²² Eine überblicksartige Zusammenfassung bietet z.B. H. Klein, *Entwicklungslinien im Corpus Paulinum und weitere Studien zu Paulustexten* (Göttingen, 2016) 158–73.

Christusglauben und Gerechtigkeit ist wenigstens hier nicht die Rede. Auffallend ist in diesem Zusammenhang im Grunde selbst schon V. 3, wo von den „an mich Glaubenden“ die Rede ist, welche „hungern und dürsten“, aber – anders als in Mt 5,6 – nicht von einem „Hungern und Dürsten nach Gerechtigkeit“ die Rede ist.

Die anderen Stellen zeigen, wie wichtig der (auch weiterhin sehr offen verwendete) Begriff der Gerechtigkeit für in der *Petrusapokalypse* erfolgende Konstruktion der Identität von Christusanhänger*innen zu sein scheint:²³ Gleich zweimal finden wir in dem ab V. 21 beschriebenen „anderen Ort“ die Bestrafungen derer, „die den Weg der Gerechtigkeit gelästert hatten“ (V. 22 und V. 28). V. 23 wiederum spricht von Menschen, die sich „von der Gerechtigkeit abgewandt hatten“, V. 27 beschreibt den Strafort derer, die „die Gerechten verfolgt und sie ausgeliefert hatten“. Damit aber ist klar: die hinter dem Text stehende Wir-Gruppe – man würde sie aus heutiger Sicht als die „Christen“ bezeichnen – versteht sich selbst als „die Gerechten“ bzw. als den „Weg der Gerechtigkeit“.²⁴ Sie leben in einer Welt, in der sie durch Irrlehren gefährdet sind, welche Wege aufzeigen, die zum Verderben führen (V. 1). V. 27 wiederum ist kaum sinnvoll, wenn sie sich, als Gerechte, nicht auch verfolgt fühlen (oder tatsächlich verfolgt werden); V. 23 scheint vorauszusetzen, dass der Druck von außen zum Abfall von der Wir-Gruppe geführt haben mag. Nur an einer Stelle – in V. 25, der Beschreibung des Schicksals der „Mörder und ihrer Mitwisser“ – ist von der Gerechtigkeit Gottes bzw. besser: seines Urteils – die Rede, und zwar im Munde der einst Ermordeten, die zu Zeugen der Züchtigung ihrer einstigen Peiniger werden.

Von spezifisch paulinischen Vorstellungen von „Gerechtigkeit“ ist all dies sehr weit entfernt. Immerhin mag es interessant sein, dass die „an mich“, d.h. „Christus, den Herrn“, „Glaubenden“ sich

²³ Wir müssen nicht unbedingt davon ausgehen, dass sich eine frühchristliche Gruppierung konkret von dem Denken der *Petrusapokalypse* her definierte, trotzdem aber lässt sich bestimmen, welche Schwerpunkte „christlicher Identitätskonstruktion“ – ich bin mir der Probleme des Begriffs bewusst – die *Petrusapokalypse* (oder besser: der hier konkret untersuchte Textzeuge) literarisch setzt.

²⁴ Vgl. auch die Gedanken in T. Nicklas, 'I saw Another Place ... (*ApcPet* 21). The Greek *Apocalypse of Peter* and its Otherworldly Landscape of Memories', in T. Hatina und J. Lukeš (Hg.), *Social Memory Theory and Conceptions of Afterlife in Early Judaism and Christianity* (Leiden, 2022) 251–66.

gleichzeitig als „Gerechte“ bezeichnen – und so wenigstens implizit ein Bezug zwischen Christusglauben und Gerechtigkeit hergestellt ist. Dieser Bezug aber verbleibt – anders als bei Paulus – vollkommen unkonkret; Parallelen zu einer (wie auch immer verstandenen) paulinischen Rechtfertigungslehre müssen auch nicht vorausgesetzt werden, um den Text zu deuten.

Als weitere Möglichkeit, den Begriff der Gerechtigkeit in der griechischen *Petrusapokalypse* zu erhellen, bleibt schließlich der Blick in die Hölle, in die ja die Ungerechten einziehen, obwohl diese nirgends explizit als solche bezeichnet werden. Der Blick auf die Vergehen derer, die wir in dieser Hölle finden, könnte jedoch – wenigstens indirekt – helfen, die Gerechtigkeitsvorstellung der *Petrusapokalypse* zu erhellen. Dabei lassen sich, soweit ich sehe, zwei Gruppen von „Sündern“ differenzieren: diejenigen, die sich, wie oben beschrieben, aufgrund ihres Verhältnisses zu den Gerechten (als Lasterer, Verfolger, Abgefallene etc.) qualifizieren lassen, und diejenigen, deren Verfehlungen konkret genannt werden. Es handelt sich um Ehebrecher und Ehebrecherinnen (V. 24), Mörder und ihre Mitwisser (V. 25), Frauen, die ihre Kinder abgetrieben haben (V. 26), Reiche, die sich nicht der Waisen und Witwen erbarmt haben (V. 30),²⁵ Geldverleiher*innen (V. 31), Menschen, die gleichgeschlechtlichen Sexualverkehr betrieben (V. 32), und solche, die hölzerne Götzenbilder produzierten (V. 33). Unklar ist, zu welcher Gruppe die in V. 29 genannten Lügenzeugen gehören – es könnte sich um Menschen handeln, die in Prozessen gegen „Christen“ auftreten; der Text zwingt aber nicht zu dieser Schlussfolgerung. In einem jüngeren Artikel hat Michael Sommer (allerdings an den in etwa parallelen Aussagen der äthiopischen *Petrusapokalypse*) gezeigt, dass es möglich ist, „die Ethik der Hölle als eine Form der Tora-Auslegung zu sehen.“²⁶ Dabei

²⁵ Dass dieses Motiv paradigmatisch für ein christliches Ethos stehen soll, das auf Motiven prophetischer Kultkritik aufbaut, zeigt M. Sommer, *Witwen, Recht und Gerechtigkeit. Diskurse über Witwen im frühen Christentum als Rezeptionsorte prophetischer und weisheitlicher Kultkritik gelesen* (Tübingen, 2024) [im Druck].

²⁶ M. Sommer, 'Von Monstern und Männern. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit E. Reinmuths „Parodien der Macht“', in S. Alkier und C. Böttrich (Hg.), *Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft in gesellschaftlicher Verantwortung. Studien im Anschluss an Eckart Reinmuth* (Leipzig, 2017) 353–73, hier 366.

erkennt er Parallelen zur Vorstellung der Gerechtigkeit, wie sie in einem Cluster von die Tora auslegenden prophetischen Schriften wie Jes 1 (Diebstahl, Bestechlichkeit, Recht von Witwen und Waisen beugen), Jer 7 (Götzendienst, Mord, Diebstahl, Ehebruch, Blutvergießen, Recht von Witwen und Waisen beugen) und Ez 22 (Götzendienst, Vater und Mutter ehren, Sabbatobservanz, Mord, Frau des Nächsten, Blutvergießen, Recht von Witwen und Waisen beugen, Sexualvorschriften in Zusammenhang mit Lev 18) zu finden sind.²⁷ Besonders spezifisch erscheint mir dabei das in V. 30 genannte Motiv der Erbarmungslosigkeit gegen Waisen und Witwen, das hier sogar explizit mit dem Gebot Gottes in Verbindung gebracht wird. Die „Hölle“ der *Petrusapokalypse* scheint also eine Form von Gerechtigkeit vorauszusetzen, die sich in die Tradition prophetischer Tora-Auslegung einschreiben lässt. Gleichzeitig aber hält diese Darstellung der Hölle auf spannende Weise eine Balance: vieles, was wir in ihr finden, lässt sich als Tora-Auslegung deuten. Gleichzeitig legt der Text keinen Wert auf eine allzu spezifische Ethik, die in besonderer Weise *Boundary Markers* zwischen jüdischer und paganer Welt betont. Wolfgang Grünstäudl hat deswegen mit Recht darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass viele „der in der petrinischen Hölle geahndeten Vergehen ... auffälligerweise die Verletzung von sozialetischen, das Alltagsleben betreffenden Normen“ beschreiben. Er schreibt:

„Salopp gesprochen könnte man hier die Umrisse einer etwas biedereren Hölle erkennen, deren pädagogischer Nutzen für das Diesseits wohl am ehesten in der Bewahrung eines mit der Mehrheitsgesellschaft konformen Sozialgefüges besteht.“²⁸

Wo man die Beobachtungen Sommers nicht im Widerspruch zu denen von Grünstäudl liest, entsteht ein spannendes Zueinander: der Text kommuniziert offenbar in (mindestens) zwei Richtungen. Er bietet Leser*innen mit jüdischem Hintergrund Anknüpfungspunkte für ihr eigenes Traditionsverständnis und er signalisiert Rezipient*innen mit

²⁷ Mit mehr Details Sommer, 'Von Monstern', 366–69.

²⁸ Beide Zitate bei W. Grünstäudl, 'Enthüllung im Fragment – Notizen zu Überlieferungsgestalt und Figureninventar der Offenbarung des Petrus', in J. Verheyden, T. Nicklas und E. Hernitscheck (Hg.), *Shadowy Characters and Fragmentary Evidence. The Search for Early Groups and Movements* (Tübingen, 2017) 109–32, hier 120.

paganem Hintergrund, dass die Ethik der „Wir-Gruppe“ hinter dem Text gesamtgesellschaftlich durchaus kompatibel ist, dass gleichzeitig aber der gerechte Gott jede Verfolgung und Verspottung dieser Gerechten bestrafen wird. Mit spezifisch paulinischen Ideen von Gerechtigkeit, die zunächst einmal an der Gerechtigkeit Gottes ansetzt, welche sich als machtvolle Heilstat im Christuseignis erweist und gleichzeitig in heilvoller Weise gerecht machend wirkt, hat dies im Grunde nichts zu tun – selbst wenn natürlich auch Paulus seine Ethik mit Aspekten der Tora begründen kann.²⁹ Stattdessen sehe ich in der Idee, diejenigen, die offenbar in Opposition zur Wir-Gruppe stehen, wenigstens literarisch in die Hölle zu schicken, eine gewisse Nähe zur Johannesapokalypse, ohne deswegen schon an literarische Abhängigkeiten denken zu wollen. Auch dort kann die Gerechtigkeit Gottes als eine vergeltende Gerechtigkeit verstanden werden, die denen Recht verschafft, welche dies nicht selbst tun können (und sollen).³⁰

5. Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit

Während die konkrete Vorstellung von Gerechtigkeit in der griechischen *Petrusapokalypse* sich kaum in Bezug zu spezifisch paulinischen Ideen setzen lässt, ist die im Text erkennbare Rede vom „Weg der Gerechtigkeit“ (vgl. V. 22 und 28), der auch als „Weg Gottes“ bezeichnet werden kann (V. 34) und dem offensichtlich „Wege und mannigfache Lehrsätze, die zum Verderben führen“ (V. 1), entgegenstehen, hoch spannend. Dies erinnert natürlich einerseits an Schriften wie die *Didache* oder den *Barnabasbrief* mit ihren Zwei-Wege-Lehren. Dass V. 1 eine solche Verbindung zwischen „Lehre“ und „Weg“ herstellt, macht den Bezug noch deutlicher. Entscheidend aber für die *Petrusapokalypse* scheint die Tatsache zu sein, dass die Rede vom „Weg der Gerechtigkeit“ bzw. dem „Weg Gottes“ als eine Art von Selbstbezeichnung der hinter der Schrift stehenden Gruppe zu verstehen ist. Dies erinnert natürlich nicht an einen Text aus dem

²⁹ Weiterführend M. Meiser, 'Das Verhältnis zur Tora', in Horn, *Paulus Handbuch*, 444–49 sowie die Beiträge in dem Band M. Meiser (Hg.), *The Torah in the Ethics of Paul* (London und New York, 2012).

³⁰ Hierzu weiterführend T. Nicklas, 'Retribution in the Book of Revelation', in S. Ramond und R. Burnet (Hg.), *Retribution* (Leuven, 2023) [im Druck].

Corpus Paulinum selbst, aber doch an die Apostelgeschichte – immerhin eine Schrift, die für die Paulusrezeption in höchstem Maße bedeutsam ist. Im Anschluss an das Lukasevangelium mit seiner Theologie vom „Weg des Heils“³¹ (vgl. aber auch Apg 16,17) spielt die Rede vom Weg bereits an sich auch in der Apostelgeschichte eine entscheidende Rolle. Das Wort ὁδός findet sich im Text der kritischen Ausgaben insgesamt 20-mal: vom Geist Gottes getriebenes Gehen und Bewegung entlang von Wegen, an denen Christus begegnet und handelt (z.B. Apg 8,26.36.39; 9,17.27; 26,13; vgl. auch 13,10), aber auch Verharren an einem Ort (Apg 1,12) erzeugen eine Dynamik, die für den Plot der Apostelgeschichte – auch in der Rückschau auf die Geschichte Israels und der Welt (z.B. Apg 2,28; 14,16) – entscheidend ist. Einige Stellen gehen noch weiter: Zwar ist die Apostelgeschichte auch ein Zeugnis für die frühe Verwendung der Gruppenbezeichnung „Christen“ (oder besser: „Christianer“; vgl. Apg 11,26; 26,28); wichtiger erscheint jedoch die Rede von „denen, die zum Weg gehören“ (Apg 9,2: τῆς ὁδοῦ ὄντας; vgl. auch 24,22), als wenigstens eine Bezeichnung der Gruppe von Christusanhänger*innen,³² in die man durch Katechese in den „Weg des Herrn“ (Apg 18,25) bzw. den „Weg Gottes“ (Apg 18,26; vgl. Akhm. 2, V. 34) eingeführt werden muss und die eine Möglichkeit eröffnet, dem Gott der Väter zu dienen (Apg 24,14 im Munde des Paulus). Apg 19,9 spricht sogar von Gruppen in der Synagoge von Ephesus, die „in aller Öffentlichkeit übel über den Weg redeten“ (κακολογοῦντες τὴν ὁδὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πλήθους; vgl. Akhm. 2, V. 22 und 28) und 19,23 von einem „nicht geringen Aufruhr um den Weg“ (ταραχος οὐκ ὀλίγος περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ), während Paulus in 22,4 von seiner „Verfolgung dieses Wegs bis zum Tode spricht“ (ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν ἐδίωξα ἄχρι θάνατου) spricht. Die Entsprechungen zu dem, was wir in der

³¹ Weiterführend H. Klein, 'Der Weg des Heils. Das theologische Konzept des Lukas', in ders., *Lukasstudien* (Göttingen, 2005) 105–18. Klassisch auch E. Repo, *Der 'Weg' als Selbstbezeichnung des Urchristentums* (Helsinki, 1964).

³² Dass die Konstruktion von Gruppenidentitäten in der Apostelgeschichte hoch komplex ist, zeigt S. Alkier, 'Terminologien kollektiver Identitäten in der Apostelgeschichte des Lukas', in ders. und H. Leppin (Hg.), *Juden – Heiden – Christen? Religiöse Inklusion und Exklusion in Kleinasien bis Decius* (Tübingen, 2018) 301–32.

Petrusapokalypse finden, lassen sich kaum von der Hand weisen, sie erfordern aber natürlich keinerlei literarische Beziehung zur Apostelgeschichte. Es reicht, wenn auch dem Autor der griechischen *Petrusapokalypse* die Selbstbezeichnung als „Weg“ bekannt war, dass auch diese sich als „Weg“ bezeichnende Gruppe von Christusanhänger*innen sich unter Druck von außen sieht, Spott und Verfolgung erfährt – und dass er sie – etwas anders als die Apg – als „Weg der Gerechtigkeit“ bezeichnet. Vor allem aber ist es naheliegend, die Parallele zu 2 Petr zu ziehen, dessen Nähe zur *Petrusapokalypse* ja schon mehrfach beschrieben wurde:³³ Hier ist besonders an 2 Petr 2,2 zu denken, wo die Rede vom „Weg der Wahrheit“ sehr nahe einer Selbstbezeichnung der angesprochenen Gruppe von Christusanhängern kommt, und wohl auch an 2 Petr 2,21, wo behauptet wird, für die Gegner sei es besser, wenn sie „den Weg der Gerechtigkeit“ nicht erkannt hätten.³⁴

6. Fazit

Obwohl ich nicht ausschließen kann, dass es weitere Möglichkeiten geben mag, Parallelen zu paulinischen Texten zu entdecken, ergibt sich bereits jetzt, dass sich die Annahme, wenigstens der Text des griechischen Fragments der *Petrusapokalypse* aus Akhmîm sei kaum spezifisch paulinisch beeinflusst, wohl auch weiterhin halten lässt. Will man V. 27 nicht als Anspielung auf den Christenverfolger Paulus sehen,³⁵ scheint sich auch keine Pauluspolemik erkennen zu lassen. Ich halte wenigstens die im Akhmîm-Codex vorliegende Form des Texts auch weiterhin für eine christliche Schrift, die in der Lage ist, Paulus und paulinisches Denken zu ignorieren; ich kann mir auch nicht vorstellen, dass wir es mit einer Spätfassung zu tun haben, die

³³ Sekundärliteratur hierzu in Anmerkung 4.

³⁴ Dazu kommt 2 Petr, 2,15, wo den Gegnern unterstellt wird, sie hätten den „geraden Weg“ verlassen und folgten nun dem „Weg Bileams“. Hier sind wir jedoch wohl am weitesten von der Idee entfernt, dass die angesprochene Gruppe sich in irgendeiner Weise mit dem Bild des Wegs identifiziert.

³⁵ Hier wird das endzeitliche Los derer beschrieben, die „die Gerechten verfolgt und sie ausgeliefert hatten“ (V. 29). Natürlich gilt dies letztlich auch für die frühen Jahre des Paulus; der Text ist jedoch zu unspezifisch, um ihn hier im Blick zu sehen.

von paulinischen Einflüssen gereinigt worden wäre. Die grundlegende These gewinnt noch einmal an Plausibilität, wenn wir bedenken, wie naheliegend es gewesen wäre, in der Beschreibung eines höllischen Orts wenigstens einmal von „Sünde“ (ἁμαρτία) zu sprechen. Wörter mit der Wurzel ἁμαρτ- werden jedoch in der griechischen *Petrusapokalypse* kein einziges Mal verwendet; für die (implizite) Soteriologie der *Petrusapokalypse* fällt damit aber ein Schlüsselbegriff paulinischen Denkens vollkommen aus (vgl. stattdessen das einmalig verwendete ἀνομία in V. 3). Während die Tatsache, dass der erhaltene, nicht allzu lange griechische Text das Christusereignis aus Kreuz und Auferweckung nicht zu spiegeln scheint, einfach am Genre wie dem fragmentarischen Charakter der Szenenfolge liegen mag (und eventuell durch eine Verbindung mit dem *Petrusevangelium* im gleichen Codex aufgefangen ist), ist zudem auffallend, dass der ebenfalls für Paulus entscheidende Begriff des Glaubens weitestgehend zurücktritt.³⁶ So findet die Rede von den „mir Treuen“ bzw. den „an mich Glaubenden“ (V. 3: τοὺς πιστοὺς μου) keine exakte Parallele in den paulinischen Schriften, wo zunächst einmal die Treue Gottes bzw. Christi betont wird. Die einzige Stelle, an der die griechische *Petrusapokalypse* das Verb πιστεύω verwendet (V. 24), hat nichts mit dem Glauben an Gott oder dem Christusglauben zu tun, sondern mit dem Irrglauben der bestraften Ehebrecher, „nicht an diesen Ort zu kommen“; von der πίστις wiederum lesen wir an keiner Stelle. Auch dies mag dem Genre und der Kürze des Texts geschuldet sein. Insgesamt aber scheint mir auch dies den allgemeinen Eindruck zu bestätigen, der sich aus der Untersuchung ergibt. Ein kleiner Punkt kann den bisherigen Beobachtungen hinzugefügt werden: So schwierig es ist, das präzise Zueinander zwischen den verschiedenen Textformen der *Petrusapokalypse* und dem zweiten Petrusbrief zu erarbeiten, so sehr halte ich die Tatsache, dass die *Petrusapokalypse* Paulus zu ignorieren scheint, während der 2 Petr ein vorsichtig distanziertes Verhältnis zu

³⁶ Hierzu weiterführend B. Schliesser, *Was ist Glaube? Paulinische Perspektiven* (Zürich, 2011); M. Wolter, ‘Glaube/Christusglaube’, in Horn, *Paulus Handbuch*, 342–47 sowie, ders., ‘Die Wirklichkeit des Glaubens. Ein Versuch zur Bedeutung des Glaubens bei Paulus’, in J. Frey, B. Schliesser und N. Ueberschaer (Hg.), *Glaube. Das Verständnis des Glaubens im frühen Christentum und in seiner jüdischen und hellenistisch-römischen Umwelt* (Tübingen, 2017) 347–68.

paulinischen Texten zeigt, für ein – wenn auch kleines – Indiz dafür, dass Wolfgang Grünstäudl (und ihm folgend Jörg Frey) mit ihrer Annahme recht haben könnten, dass der 2 Petr eine Form der *Petrus-apokalypse* literarisch verarbeitet und nicht umgekehrt.

IV. Socio-Economic Status among the Damned? Reading the Carceral Bodies of the *Apocalypse of Peter* in their Ancient Context

MEGHAN R. HENNING*

In the fifth century, in the Theodosian Code, nurses who are convicted of misconduct toward their young charge have molten lead poured down their throats.¹ And in a number of rabbinic texts young women receive real-life retaliatory punishments in which they are stripped of whatever they wore when they committed sexual sins.² In these Christian and Jewish depictions of late ancient or early medieval punitive justice we have examples in which women were singled out and punished in ways that were directly tied to ancient ideas about the body, for crimes that located the responsibility for child rearing and sexual continence in female bodies. But what do these late antique and early medieval standards of justice have to do with the *Apocalypse of Peter*, a much earlier text?

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¹ Theodosian Code 9.24.1.1, cited in J.D. Penniman, *Raised on Christian Milk: Food and the Formation of the Soul in Early Christianity* (New Haven, 2017) 30n2.

² Mishnah Sotah 1:6; Tosefta Sotah 3:2–5; N.S. Cohn, ‘What to Wear: Women’s Adornment and Judean Identity in the Third Century Mishnah’, in K. Upson-Saia, C. Daniel-Hughes, and A. Batten (eds), *Dressing Judeans and Christians in Antiquity* (Burlington, VT, 2014) 21–36 at 29–30; I. Rosen-Zvi, *The Mishnaic Sotah Ritual: Temple, Gender, and Midrash*, trans. Orr Scharf (Leiden, 2012; originally published in Hebrew as *The Rite That Was Not*, 2008).

Though the *Apocalypse of Peter* is written in the second century, these real-life punishments share its punitive imagination – one in which would be mothers are attacked by breast milk beasts and women who adorned themselves to attract the attention of adulterers are seen hanging by their hair.³ These are not punishments that simply follow the law of talion, which of course they do (though the extent to which any given punishment conforms to this principle has been debated). The *Apocalypse of Peter*'s punishments use carceral technologies, ideas about the body, and gendered notions of the household to delineate sins. The way in which the early Christian tours of hell delineate sins varies considerably, even as they build upon one another, and this begins with the *Apocalypse of Peter*. The *Apocalypse of Peter* defines sins according to the ancient Roman notion of household, following and reinscribing its gendered hierarchy. It is perhaps no surprise that women and bodies that were deemed “effeminate” are more susceptible to sin in this hierarchy. Damnation not only helps define sin according to ancient hierarchies of the body, it also works to humiliate the bodies of the damned by making them female and disabled in hell. In turn, the female body and the disabled body are marked as sinful bodies in hell and on earth.

³ The imaginative elements of apocalyptic texts are not disconnected from reality, but instead offer us windows into each text's engagement with the world. A. Yarbro Collins, *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse* (Philadelphia, 1984); T. Pippin, *Death and Desire: The Rhetoric of Gender in the Apocalypse of John* (Louisville, 1992) 105; id., *Apocalyptic Bodies: The Biblical End of the World in Text and Image* (New York, 1999); G. Carey, *Elusive Apocalypse: Reading Authority in the Revelation to John* (Macon, GA, 1999); I. Czachesz, ‘Torture in Hell and Reality: The Visio Pauli’, in J.N. Bremmer and I. Czachesz (eds), *Visio Pauli and the Gnostic Apocalypse of Paul* (Leuven, 2007) 130–43; id., ‘Why Body Matters in the Afterlife: Mind Reading and Body Imagery in Synoptic Tradition and the Apocalypse of Peter’, in T. Nicklas, F.V. Reiterer, and J. Verheyden (eds), *The Human Body in Death and Resurrection*, (Berlin, 2009) 391–411; J.M. Hidalgo, *Revelation in Aztlán: Scriptures, Utopias, and the Chicano Movement* (New York, 2016) 5–6, 14, 238–48 as well as Fiori's article on the *Apocalypse of Paul* in the present volume. For further discussion of the way that the damned bodies force us to move beyond dualistic notions of “real” and “imaginary” see M. R. Henning, *Hell Hath No Fury: Gender, Disability and the Invention of Damned Bodies* (New Haven, 2021) 11–14.

1. *Over Coifed Adulteresses and Unchaste Girls: Gendered Sins in the Apocalypse of Peter*

The Ethiopic text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* designates which punishments are for men and which punishments are for women. I agree with Eric Beck, that a gender neutral translation of the text would obscure the text's meaning in many places.⁴ In this earliest tradition of the tour of hell, the sins are not only separated by gender, but they follow the order of the gendered and hierarchical household codes, mirroring Roman ideas of family and society (this is a system of organization that later tours of hell forgo, with the exception of the *Latin Vision of Ezra*).⁵ In the *Apocalypse of Peter* 7–10, Peter sees the would be heads of household, each of them punished for not living up to their social role.⁶ These punishments are followed by the punishments for children

⁴ E.J. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter: A New Translation and Analysis of the Purpose of the Text* (Tübingen, 2019) 64–65.

⁵ C. Osiek and D.L. Balch, *Families in the New Testament World: Households and Churches* (Louisville, 1997) 60–64, 103–55. D. Hunter, *Marriage, Celibacy, and Heresy in Ancient Christianity: The Jovinianist Controversy* (Oxford, 2007) 90–97. In the late antique and early medieval apocalypses (*Apocalypse of Paul*, *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra*, *Greek Apocalypse of Mary*) there is a move away from the household structure that we see in the *Apocalypse of Peter*. In these texts, culpability for sin, and notions of household and family are restructured so that the male body is accountable for sexual self-control and ecclesiastical participation and the female body is responsible for chastity and parenting. See Henning, *Hell Hath No Fury*, 50–80.

⁶ The first of the two Ethiopic manuscripts is published in S. Grébaut, “Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine,” *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 15 (1910) 198–214, 307–23 (text) 425–39 (translation); the second Ethiopic manuscript was first photographed by E. Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Tānāsee 1: Reisebericht und Beschreibung der Handschriften in dem Kloster des Heiligen Gabriel auf der Insel Kebrān* (Wiesbaden, 1973) 163–67. A critical edition of the Ethiopic text is available in D.D. Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened: A Study in the Greek (Ethiopic) Text of the Apocalypse of Peter* (Atlanta, 1988); and P. Marrassini, ‘L'Apocalisse di Pietro’, in Y. Beyene et al. (eds), *Etiopia e oltre. Studi in onore di Lanfranco Ricci* (Naples, 1994) 171–232. The Greek texts and a translation are available in T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* (Berlin, 2004). A “composite translation” of the Ethiopic and

and slaves in *Apoc. Pet.* 11, following the ordering of the *Haustafeln*.⁷ After the punishment of the enslaved remains only the unrighteous almsgivers and those who practiced sorcery – both groups appear to be even lower than the enslaved in the social hierarchy. What is clear from the structure of *Apocalypse of Peter*'s tour is that even hell has a hierarchy, and its punishments reinforce the social order by outlining family and individual accountability for sin.

Though the sins of the heads of household range from betrayal of the martyrs to murder, several of them focus specifically on the roles of free men and women in the Christian household. The *Apoc. Pet.* 7 isolates male and female adulterers, *Apoc. Pet.* 8 punishes would-be parents for infanticide and abortion, and *Apoc. Pet.* 10 focuses on homoeroticism. In each of these cases the torments that Peter sees are framed in a way that links the “sin” to the disruption of the ideally ordered household. In this way, the moral universe that is constructed by the *Apocalypse of Peter*'s tour of hell largely reinscribes the gendered morality of the broader culture.

In the *Apocalypse of Peter* 7, men and women are both punished for sins that are related to adultery, but women are mentioned first, and punished for adornment, not adultery.⁸ The women of *Apocalypse of Peter* 7 have “braided their hair, and not for a beautiful disposition, but going around for fornication.” The idea that braided hair could disrupt the household order was already present in 1 Peter 3:1–6, and is a worry for Tertullian as well.⁹ Women who plaited their hair or wore cosmetics were, according to Seneca, engaging in deception and

the Greek is available in Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter*, 66–73. Unless otherwise noted, English translations and chapter numbers refer to the Ethiopic text. English translations are adapted from Beck.

⁷ The Greek text only includes the punishments of the heads of households/free persons, whereas the Ethiopic text includes the sins of children and enslaved persons.

⁸ Loose or uncovered hair is seen as immodest or an invitation to adultery in *Acts of Thomas* 56.6 and in the Isaiah Fragment (*Chron. Jer.* 16.4). In later apocalypses both men and women are punished for adultery itself (*Apoc. Paul* 38, 39; *Gk. Apoc. Mary* 19–20; *Lat. Vis. Ezra* 12–17; *Eth. Apoc. Mary* 103b), though *Latin Vision of Ezra* 16–17 also places emphasis on women's adornment as a particular problem.

⁹ Tertullian, *Pall.* 4.9; *Shows* 25; *App. Wom.* 2.12.3.

playing the sexual aggressor.¹⁰ The problem with adornment for Roman and Christian men was two-fold: these women not only subverted the social order in which men were the aggressors and women were passive partners, they also created confusion for married men who could sleep with any woman as long as she was not legally married, or a *matrona*.¹¹ By dressing in ways that were uncharacteristic of a *matrona*, adornment could trick a married man into thinking he was having sex with a sex-worker (perfectly acceptable according to Roman definitions of adultery), when really he was sleeping with another free man's wife. That the men who are punished for committing adultery with these tricky hair braiders cry out "we did not know that we would come to be in eternal punishment," confirms that the *Apocalypse of Peter* seems to share Roman and late second century fears like those of Tertullian, placing the burden for adulterous encounters on women and their dress. That men still get punished for these sins, even though they thought they were having sex with prostitutes suggests a Christian shift of Roman sexual norms.

¹⁰ Seneca the Elder, *Cont.* 2.7.3–4; *Propertius* 3.21.3; Ovid, *Loves* 2.2.3–4; 3.2.34; 2.19.19. B. Scholz, *Untersuchungen zur Tracht der römischen matrona* (Cologne, 1992); K. Olsen, 'Matrona and Whore: Clothing and Definition in Roman Antiquity', in C.A. Faraone and L.K. McClure (eds), *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World* (Madison, 2006) 186–204 at 198–99. In addition to the stola, women's dress and the imperative to avoid fancy hairstyles, jewelry, make-up, and other adornment is a popular topic among Greek and Roman authors. Phintys, *Temp. Wom.* 153.15–18; Perictione, *Harm. Wom.* 143.10–14; Seneca the Younger, *Helv.* 16.4; *Ben.* 1.10.2; 7.9.4–5; Dio Chrysostom, *Hunt. (Or. 7)* 117; Juvenal, *Sat.* 3.180–81; 6.457–63; 495–511; Plutarch, *Mor. Con. Pr.* 141 E; *Mor.* 133A; Epictetus, *Ench.* 40; Pliny the Younger, *Pan.* 83.7; Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.54; Lucian, *Port.* 11. Cf. P.J. Achtemeier, *I Peter* (Minneapolis, 1996) 212.

¹¹ The Roman legal definition of adultery is dependent upon the status and social class of the woman. A *matrona* or a *mater familias* is liable under the law, but enslaved women, sex workers, procuresses, peregrines (foreign women not married to a Roman citizen), or convicted adulteresses were exempt from the law. This meant that there were a number of extramarital sexual encounters that did not constitute adultery for a married man. T. McGinn, *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome* (New York, 1998) 147–56; A. Richlin, 'Approaches to the Sources on Adultery at Rome', *Women's Studies* 8 (1981) 225–50 at 228.

The parental sins included in the *Apocalypse of Peter* also represent a shift from Roman social norms, while still upholding the norm that women are primarily responsible for adulterous encounters. Infanticide was not tolerated in antiquity while abortion was, making Christian objections to abortion, like we find in the *Didache*, stand out as distinctive. Abortion was practiced but discouraged in Roman culture, due to fears about underpopulation and the desire to produce heirs.¹² Producing heirs was the prescribed role of free women, but enslaved women or mistresses were expected to avoid pregnancy, and faced pressure to have abortions.¹³ Take for example Ovid, who had multiple adulterous affairs that resulted in pregnancy, but who also harshly criticized his mistresses for terminating pregnancies (*Loves* 2.13). Roman law did not address abortion until the late fourth century CE.¹⁴

¹² T. Parkin, 'The Demography of Infancy and Early Childhood in the Ancient World', in J. Evans Grubbs and T. Parkin (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World* (Oxford, 2013) 40–61; L.A. Dean-Jones, *Women's Bodies in Classical Greek Science* (Oxford, 1994) 215; H. King, 'Sacrificial Blood: The Role of the Amnion in Ancient Gynecology', *Helios* 13 (1987) 117–26.

¹³ Enslaved women were expected to avoid pregnancy, and would have experienced pressure to have abortions or not have sex. Abortion is only a problem when it interferes with a man acquiring legitimate heirs. R. Flemming, *Medicine and the Making of Roman Women: Gender, Nature, and Authority from Celsus to Galen* (Oxford, 2000) 169; H. King, *The One-Sex Body on Trial: The Classical and Early Modern Evidence* (New York, 2013) 162–63; A.R. Solevåg, *Birthing Salvation: Gender and Class in Early Christian Childbearing Discourse* (Leiden, 2013) 53–54. Chastity and not becoming pregnant were explicit demands in wet-nursing contracts. See K.R. Bradley, 'Wet-Nursing at Rome: A Study in Social Relations', in B. Rawson (ed.), *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives* (Ithaca, 1987) 201–29.

¹⁴ Non-Christian authors reflect the broader cultural acceptance of these practices. Plautus, *Churl* 179; Polybius 36.17; Ovid, *Loves* 2.14; Seneca the Younger, *Helv.* 16.3–4; Juvenal, *Sat.* 2.6, and Suetonius, *Calig.* 5. Unsurprisingly, there are diverging perspectives in the historiography of early Christian approaches to abortion. J.T. Noonan, Jr., *Contraception: A History of Its Treatment by the Catholic Theologians and Canonists* (Cambridge, MA, 1986 [1965]); M.J. Gorman, *Abortion and the Early Church: Christian, Jewish, and Pagan Attitudes in the Greco-Roman World* (Eugene, OR, 1982); and, on the other hand, B. Wildung Harrison, *Our Right to Choose: Toward a New Ethic of Abortion* (Boston, 1983); D.A. Dombrowski and

In this context then, the *Apocalypse of Peter* 8, which punishes fathers and mothers for infanticide, but singles out mothers for having abortions to conceal adultery seems to be right at home. The specific focus on women, and particularly the link between adultery and abortion is not found in the earliest Christian exhortations against abortion, and is instead a later development that takes hold not only in *Apocalypse of Peter*, but in many of the later tours of hell, adopting the Roman notion that free women and free women alone were culpable for abortion and cementing it as a Christian idea.¹⁵

The *Apocalypse of Peter* also singles out aspects of homoerotic sex, in chapter 10, where Peter sees “men who defiled themselves with one another, behaving as women.” In the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Peter* the punishment for male homoerotic unions is repeatedly toppling off of a high cliff – not a hanging punishment (as for adultery), indicating that this sexual sin is seen as fundamentally different from the others that are punished in this text.¹⁶ Unlike adultery, which was seen as simply an interruption of the household order, the punishments for homoeroticism frame this sin as an interruption of both the social order *and* the natural order. In the Ethiopic text only the passive partners of male homoerotic unions are punished, but in the later Greek Akhmîm text both partners of female homoerotic couplings are punished as well, we are told because both “behaved with one another as men with a woman” (Akhmîm *Apoc. Pet.* 32).

Despite its possible corruption in this section, the Ethiopic text is consistent with ancient culture in focusing on male homoeroticism

R. Deltete, *A Brief, Liberal, Catholic Defense of Abortion* (Urbana, 2000). For a discussion of the way that contemporary rhetoric plays into the reception history of the sources, see T. Baldrick-Morrone, ‘Let’s Not Retell This Myth about the History of the Thing’: Disrupting John T. Noonan, Jr.’s Grand Narrative of Christian Opposition to Abortion’ (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2020).

¹⁵ Women and women alone are responsible for abortion, infanticide, and exposure in *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 5.1–6; *Lat. Vis. Ezra* 52–53; *Gk. Apoc. Mary* 7; *Gk. Apoc. Mary* 23.

¹⁶ The use of a distinctive punishment for homoeroticism continues in the later apocalypses that contain punishments for homoerotic unions. In the *Acts of Thomas* 55 male and female same sex partners are punished on fiery wheels, and in the *Apocalypse of Paul* 39 these partners of homoerotic unions are covered in dust and run in a river of fire with bloodied faces.

as problematic, and it seems likely that women who engaged in same sex couplings were added to the catalogue of sinners later.¹⁷ Perhaps of interest to some at this point is that Clement of Alexandria describes male homoeroticism as “suffering the things of women,” reflecting this asymmetrical emphasis on male homoeroticism that we find elsewhere in this period of antiquity.¹⁸

These definitions of homoeroticism as a sin in the manuscript traditions of the *Apocalypse of Peter* follow ancient Roman and early Christian gendered logic in which the social roles of men as active and women as passive were naturalized. As Bernadette Brooten has argued this logic can be seen in Romans 1:26–32, in which Paul uses natural law theory to argue that sex between two men or two women is “unnatural” (*para physin*). If “natural” sex is defined as any sexual relationship between a dominant male partner and a passive female partner, then male homoeroticism violates this because a man must play a passive, effeminate role, and a female coupling necessitates that women play a role that was seen as “naturally” belonging to men.¹⁹ In both cases homoerotic love is defined as a “sin” because it

¹⁷ Contra Eric Beck, who has argued that the Greek Akhmîm text that includes women represents the earlier tradition. For Eric Beck’s translation and discussion of text of *Apoc. Pet.* 10.2 see Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter*, 70, 82–3; Henning, *Hell Hath No Fury*, 65. See also H. Duensing, ‘Ein Stück der urchristlichen Petrusapokalypse enthaltender Traktat der äthiopischen Pseudoklementinischen Literatur’, ZNW 14 (1913) 65–78 at 71, who noted that the text is corrupt at this point. See Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 114–17. On female homoeroticism in antiquity see B. Brooten, *Love between Women: Early Christian Responses to Female Homoeroticism* (Chicago, 1996) 51–54, 121–22, 131–32, 135–36, 138–39; A. Glazebrook, ‘The Bad Girls of Athens: The Image and Function of Hetairai in Judicial Oratory’, in Faraone and McClure, *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World*, 125–38; K. Gilhuly, ‘The Phallic Lesbian: Philosophy, Comedy, and Social Inversion in Lucian’s Dialogues of the Courtesans’, *ibid.*, 274–91.

¹⁸ Clement *Educ.* 3.3.21.3. Greek text in M. Marcovich (ed.), *Clementis Alexandrini Paedagogus* (Leiden, 2002) 161.

¹⁹ Brooten, *Love between Women*, 267–302. The punishments for homoeroticism in hell are also part of the reception history of Romans 1:18–32. See Brooten, *Love between Women*, 189–350; D. Swancutt, “‘The Disease of Effemination’: The Charge of Effeminacy and the Verdict of God (Romans 1:18–2:16)”, in S.D. Moore and J.C. Anderson (eds), *New*

disrupts a patriarchal gender hierarchy in which male dominance is seen as “natural.” But for Christian men it carries the additional offense of interrupting the patriarchal family structure.²⁰

The toppling punishment that is assigned to those who engage in same sex unions underscores this point. This punishment, which is similar to the punishment for idolatry and failure to honor father and mother (*Apoc. Pet.* 11), mirrors that of Sisyphus. But by associating toppling punishments with specific sins that abrogate the divine and familial order, according to Bernadette Brooten, the *Apocalypse of Peter* casts those who topple as people who quote: “who have reversed their proper roles in their lifetimes... going up and coming down, going up and coming down again, reversing their direction just as they reversed the gendered order of society.”²¹ I argue that the image of toppling is here deliberately invoking ancient imagery of toppling or bending over as an insult that connotes femininity, passivity, and weakness.²² The most notable example of this is the Eurymedon vase painting, which depicts a Persian archer who is bent over,

Testament Masculinities (Atlanta, 2003) 193–233; J.A. Marchal, ‘The Exceptional Proves Who Rules: Imperial Sexual Exceptionalism in and around Paul’s Letters’, *JECH* 5 (2015) 87–115. On the relationship between Paul and the *Apocalypse of Peter* see the contribution of Tobias Nicklas in the present volume.

²⁰ Female sexual dominance was also critiqued by Christians, but it did not interfere with the heteronormative patriarchal family structure, and was instead seen as a crime against nature. See, for instance, Brooten, *Love between Women*, 324, who discusses this “fundamental asymmetry” in Clement and other ancient authors with respect to male and female homoe-roticism.

²¹ Brooten, *Love between Women*, 306.

²² See, for instance, Pomponius Bononiensis, *Pros. fr.* 148–49R: ‘I have buggered no citizen through deceit, only the kind who bent over, himself begging me’. Despite the discourse around bending over during sex, homoeroticism is not solely about ‘winners and losers’ in Greek and Roman antiquity. As J. Davidson, ‘Dover, Foucault, and Greek Homosexuality: Penetration and the Truth of Sex’, in R. Osborne (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Greek and Roman Society* (Cambridge, 2004) 78–118 at 98, is careful to note, ‘buggery became a problem through the meaning it acquired in the context of other symbolic structures, in particular those of prostitution and commodification, excess and self-control’.

and is approached from behind by a Greek holding his erect penis.²³ This painting both mocks the Persian gesture of *proskynesis*, and marks the bent male figure as servile and effeminate. The *Apocalypse of Peter* is associating those who interrupt the natural and household order with an image that was already associated with male passivity and shame. Both the definition of the sin and the punishment make clear that the fundamental issue with homoerotic unions in the *Apocalypse of Peter* is that they depart from a vision of the Roman and Christian household in which gender roles had been naturalized, namely that the male head of household is dominant and active.

The final groups to be punished in the household codes are the subordinate members of the household: children and enslaved persons. In the *Apoc. Pet.* 11, children are punished for disobedience to their parents and for loss of chastity. Although young women who have sex before they marry are not children from the perspective of the broader culture, their culpability for sin is framed by their subordinate status with respect to their parents. Peter is told that these are “those who do not preserve their virginity until they are given in marriage,” primarily framing their culpability for sin in terms of the economic cost to their parents who “give them in marriage.” These young women, not their paramours, and not their parents, are punished alone, mirroring the narrow confines of the masculine system of exchange that has rendered them “sinful.”²⁴ Their isolation and torture in hell, however, intensifies

²³ In Roman art this type of image was very common, occurring in expensive pieces like vases but also on inexpensive Arretine pottery. A.C. Smith, ‘Eurymedon and the Evolution of Political Personifications in the Early Classical Period’, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 119 (1999) 128–41, argues, this scene is unique in Greek vase paintings. Cf. C.A. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality* (Oxford, 2009) 101, 261–62; L. Llewellyn-Jones, ‘Reviewing Space, Context and Meaning: The Eurymedon Vase Again’, in D. Rodríguez Pérez (ed.), *Greek Art in Context: Archeological and Art Historical Perspectives* (New York, 2017), 97–115.

²⁴ In later apocalypses, like the medieval *Ep. Tit.* 11.407–8 and *Latin Vision of Ezra* 43–44, loss of virginity becomes a sin in its own right, and the references to parents are absent. K. Cooper, *The Virgin and the Bride: Idealized Womanhood in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1996) 116–43; and R. Evans, ‘The Jew, the Host, and the Virgin Martyr: Fantasies of the Sentient Body’, in A. Bernau, R. Evans, and S. Salih (eds), *Medieval Virginites* (Cardiff, 2003) 167–86 at 179; E.A. Castelli, ‘Virginity and Its Meaning for Women’s

the theological stakes of their sin, beyond the economic systems that commodified their bodies, so that their perceived physical and spiritual “brokenness” becomes their bodily reality for eternity.

The enslaved and their punishment are another case in which the punishment is as telling as the sin, and demonstrate the way in which the *Apocalypse of Peter*’s hell draws upon the gendered bodily norms of the broader culture to depict punitive torment. The enslaved persons who do not obey their enslavers are seen gnawing their tongues “without rest while they are punished in eternal fire” (*Apoc. Pet.* 11). Chewing your tongue signals that the enslaved “sinned” verbally, associating disobedience with gossip and other speech sins that were typically associated with women and the enslaved.²⁵ The punishment for this sin in the *Apocalypse of Peter* replicates the kyriarchal and patriarchal structure of slavery, while intensifying the disciplinary regime necessary to keep these structures in place.

2. *Effeminate, Impaired, and Enslaved: The Carceral Bodies of the Damned in the Apocalypse of Peter*

The sins and their punishments in the *Apocalypse of Peter* not only replicate ancient ideas about gender and the body, they intensify ancient spectacles of punitive justice in which non-normative ancient bodies were used to frighten and shame audiences into compliance. As Brent D. Shaw has argued, every day people in antiquity lived with the fear of being involved in a public display of physical torture.²⁶

Sexuality in Early Christianity’, in A.J. Levine with M. Mayo Robbins (eds), *A Feminist Companion to Patristic Literature*, ed. (London, 2008) 94–95; T.M. Shaw, ‘The Virgin Charioteer and the Bride of Christ: Gender and the Passion in Late Ancient Ethics and Early Christian Writings on Virginity’, *ibid.*, 193–210.

²⁵ On the ways in which speech was gendered in antiquity see M.W. Gleason, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton, NJ, 1995). On the ways in which gossip and rumour are configured with respect to enslaved bodies and women’s bodies see M. Bjelland Kartzow, *Gossip and Gender: Othering of Speech in the Pastoral Epistles* (Berlin, 2009); and G. Guastella, *Word of Mouth* (Oxford, 2017).

²⁶ B.D. Shaw, ‘Judicial Nightmares and Christian Memory’, *JECS* 11 (2003) 533–63.

In short, damned bodies look like the bodies of women, the disabled and the enslaved on earth. And in turn, hell's torments criminalize disabled and female bodies.

The *Apocalypse of Peter* conceives of hell as a prison with “adamantine bars,” drawing from the prevalent imagery of hell as a prison in the ancient world. Virgil depicts Tartarus as barricaded by a screeching gate and columns of adamantine (*Aen.* 6.550–60) and in Matthew 16:18 Hades has “gates.” That said, the carceral imagery in hell is not simply a literary trope passed on from text to text. The bodily punishments one finds in hell mirror the judicial punishments of the Roman world in many ways. The hellscape in the early Christian apocalypses and Roman punitive spaces share imagery, substance, and structure. Ancient judicial nightmares included fears of imprisonment, hanging, beheading, being thrown to wild beasts, crucifixion, or burning alive.²⁷ Of these punishments, all but crucifixion occur in the early Christian visions of hell, while hanging, wild beasts, and burning figure prominently as mechanisms of torture. In the early empire under the jurisdiction of single judge courts, these violent and public forms of punishment were expanded, but the system for handing down these punishments was developed most extensively in the second century. By this time the most brutal torments (like those that we see in the judicial nightmares) were reserved for those who did not occupy the elite social status (*honestiores*).²⁸

The forms of torture that we find in the *Apocalypse of Peter* and other tours of hell are the more degrading forms of punishment that were reserved for Roman nonelites (*humiliores*) and the enslaved. These bodily torments are used in the early Christian depictions of hell as a spectacle of shame designed to spare the audience this kind of humiliation the future. The Christian spaces of eternal punishment mirror the fear-inspiring carceral contexts of forced labor in the mines. Eusebius of Caesarea claims that during the Great Persecution Christians were dispatched to the mines at Phaeno (modern-day Khibet Faynan) in southwest Jordan as their punishment.²⁹ The *damnatio ad*

²⁷ Shaw, ‘Judicial Nightmares’, 537; cf. Artemidorus, *Dreams* 1.40; 2.49–54.

²⁸ J. Hillner, *Prison, Punishment and Penance in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2015) 51.

²⁹ Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 8.8, 10; *Martyrs* 7.4; 8.1; Athanasius, *Hist. Ar.* 60.

metallum (condemnation to the mines) sentence was among the harshest penalties in Roman law and was typically reserved for enslaved persons and members of the lower classes. Whether or not the punishments live up to the ancient Christian fears, mines were perceived as places where prisoners rarely saw sunlight, frequently suffocated from noxious gases, were vulnerable to being crushed by piles of falling rocks, and were exposed to extreme heat and physical exhaustion.³⁰ Christian tours of hell use the space and conditions of condemnation to the mines to imagine hell, which in turn lowers the status of those elites who find themselves in hell.

The traditional approach to the punishments has been to point to their parallels in Greek and Jewish mythology.³¹ That there were literary antecedents for the tortures of hell in the *Apocalypse of Peter* is not in dispute here.³² Whether or not the authors of the apocalypses gleaned their images from literature, the audiences of those texts would likely have connected the physical violence of hell with the culturally available imagery of physical violence in their real world. While the imagery of hell may have been borrowed from mythological texts, those images were frequently edited in ways that standardized these images for a broad audience.³³

³⁰ F. Millar, *Government, Society and Culture in the Roman Empire* (Chapel Hill and London, 2004) 137–45; M.A. Perry, D.S. Coleman, D.L. Dettman, J.P. Grattan, and A. Halim al-Shiyab, ‘Condemned to Metallum? The Origin and Role of 4th–6th Century A.D. Phaeno Mining Camp Residents Using Multiple Chemical Techniques’, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 38 (2011) 558–69. On Christian reflections on condemnation to the mines and the archeology of a North African Prison, see M.D.C. Larsen, ‘Carceral Practices and Geographies in Roman North Africa: A Case Study’, *SLA* 3.4 (2019) 547–80; and M. Letteny and M.D.C. Larsen, ‘A Roman Prison at Lambaesis’, *SLA* 5.1 (2021) 65–102.

³¹ A. Dieterich, *Nekyia: Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrus-apokalypse* (1893; 1913²; repr., Stuttgart, 1969) 196–201; M. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia, 1983) 107–10.

³² Czachesz, ‘Torture in Hell and Reality’, 142, notes that it is difficult to say that the overlap between real-life torture and the apocalyptic tours of hell is simply “coincidence”; he questions “whether such punishments came to the Apocalypses from mythological texts or from historical experience”.

³³ E.E. Mayer, *The Ancient Middle Classes: Urban Life and Aesthetics in the Roman Empire, 100 BCE–250 CE* (Cambridge, MA, 2012) 166–213.

What I want to explore with the final sections of this paper is the way that readily available ancient images of gender and disability make their way into Christian thought in the punishments of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Ancient medical authors, inscriptions, and physiognomic texts alike understood women's bodies to be weak, leaky, porous, and prone to illness. For ancient audiences, pain and bodily suffering were a prominent part of daily life. In this context, the medical authors describe sick bodies as "difficult to keep in order and needing outside supervision."³⁴ This understanding of the sick body overlapped with the understanding of the female body, which was also marked by flux, pain, and an unruliness that required constant discipline and regulation. The unregulated, undisciplined bodies – sickly and womanly bodies – provided the building blocks for the torments of early Christian hell.

Female bodies not only endured and caused pain, they were also thought to be the source of one of hell's most familiar tortures: worms. In the *Apocalypse of Peter* 7 murderers are afflicted with "worms like clouds of darkness," and in *Apocalypse of Peter* 9 those who betrayed the martyrs have their entrails eaten by the "worms that never die." If we look at the medical literature the mere prevalence of references to suffering from roundworms and tapeworms indicates that this was a fairly common concern for ancient persons, especially women and children, and failure to treat them properly resulted in death.³⁵ It is no wonder then that tapeworms are a dreaded punishment in the *Apocalypse of Peter* 9.

In *Epidemics*, Hippocrates describes the case of Thersander's wife. Nursing, and in a late stage of fever, her tongue became hard and there were worms in her mouth, just before she died (4.10).³⁶ In particular, women who are fasting are most vulnerable to vomiting up

³⁴ J. Perkins, *The Suffering Self: Pain and Narrative Representation in the Early Christian Era* (New York, 1995) 169.

³⁵ Hippocratic Corpus *Prog.* 11; *Crises* 2; *Coan Pre.* 338, 458–59, 589; *Fist.* 445–50; *Aph.* 26; *Pror.* 2.28; Celsus, *Med.* 4.24; Galen, *Aff. Part.* 1.4, 2.5, 6.2–4. See also P.D. Mitchell, 'Human Parasites in the Roman World: Health Consequences of Conquering and Empire', *Parasitology* 144 (2017) 48–58.

³⁶ And as Celsus, *Med.* 4.24, notes, vomiting worms is "nastier" than discharging them from the intestines. See also the story of Eumenes's wife in *Epid.* 4.16.

roundworms.³⁷ In addition to being most vulnerable to worms, women's bodies were thought to be responsible for creating roundworms and tapeworms *in utero*. In the Hippocratic corpus, *On Diseases* explains that the uterus is the only place in which tapeworms and roundworms could be formed.³⁸ As a place where many "untoward things" happen, the uterus provides the perfect conditions for the creation of worms, and this was evidenced by the large number of children who pass intestinal worms immediately after birth, and the common practice of dosing newborns with medications for worms to facilitate this process.

The worms that penetrate bodies and spew forth from the mouth in early Christian hell would remind readers of a ubiquitous, but deadly threat. These deadly worms originate in the female body, which provided the ideal conditions for their genesis. For this reason, the threat of bodily penetration by worms was thought to disproportionately effect female bodies. The murderers and traitors of *Apocalypse of Peter* 7 and 9 who are afflicted with worms like clouds of darkness and have their intestines consumed by everlasting worms are not only publicly shamed – their bodies look womanly. These sinners have become penetrable, porous and particularly vulnerable to contracting voluminous dark clouds of intestinal worms. In contrast to other forms of retributive justice, those whose unrighteousness on earth involved the abuse of power are depicted as powerless, eternally emasculated and kept in check as a monument of perpetual bodily consumption. The worm-infested, sick womanly body becomes a means of punitive bodily control, by joining Christian ethical norms, Greek and Roman bodily norms, and Roman disciplinary tactics.

In addition to Roman judicial concepts about punitive suffering, the tortures of early Christian hell also reflect the lived bodily experiences of other "real bodies." One prominent example is the punishment of those who give alms but do not strive for righteousness in *Apocalypse of Peter* 12: they are blind and deaf and packed on coals of unquenchable fire. This passage calls to mind the ancient literary and philosophical motifs that link bodily perception to ethical action.

³⁷ Hippocratic Corpus, *Pror.* 2.28, "This disease occurs mainly in women, next in girls, but less in others."

³⁸ I am extremely grateful to Kristi Upson-Saia for this reference.

Punitive blindness makes the link between perceptual impairment and ethical failure much stronger.³⁹ In Greek and Latin literature, punitive blindness occurred on earth but does not play a role in Hades.⁴⁰ Instead, the metaphor of sight and blindness is used repeatedly to describe the education that the soul receives in Hades. In Lucian's *Menippus*, the title character asks Teiresias what kind of life he considers the best: "Tell me and don't allow me to go about in life blinder than you are" (Lucian, *Men.* 21). In Greek and Roman depictions of Hades, moral or spiritual blindness was a fate far worse than physical blindness.⁴¹ By contrast, Christian depictions of hell, like *Apocalypse of Peter* 12, intensified ancient ideas by combining the conceptions of blindness as a metaphor and blindness as a punishment.⁴² In doing so, these hellscapes intensified and codified the view that bodily impairment was the consequence of sin.

³⁹ Plato, *Tim.* 45; Galen, *Func. Part.* X 2.66; *Doct. Hipp. Plat.* VII 5. M.T. May, *Galen: On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body* (Ithaca, NY, 1968) 472–73n19. On darkness and the lamp of the eye, see C.R. Moss, 'Blurred Vision and Ethical Confusion: The Rhetorical Function of Matthew 6:22–23', *CBQ* 73 (2011) 757–76.

⁴⁰ M.R. Henning, 'Metaphorical, Punitive, and Pedagogical Blindness in Hell', *Studia Patristica* 81/7 (2017) 139–52; In the case of Teiresias, the blind seer, blindness actually endows the seer with special powers, making him "superrational." Even though Teiresias may have been blinded as the result of divine punishment, there is no trace of that idea here. There are other examples of "blind seers" or prophets in ancient literature, including Phineus, Phormio, Ophioneus, and the story of Democritus, who blinds himself in order to gain spiritual insight. E.A. Bernidaki-Aldous, *Blindness in a Culture of Light: Especially the Case of Oedipus at Colonus of Sophocles* (New York, 1990) 72–94; C. Hartsock, *Sight and Blindness in Luke – Acts: The Use of Physical Features in Characterization* (Leiden, 2008) 77; R. Buxton, *Myths and Tragedies in Their Ancient Greek Contexts* (Oxford, 2013) 173–200.

⁴¹ In Plutarch, *Mor. Div. Veng.* 563F–67F the souls that can see properly in Hades are allowed to return to earth, while those that don't are "metaphorically blind," and are stuck in Hades because they cannot understand. See also 591E–F, in which some of the souls that have seen the torments of Hades become bright stars and are said to "possess understanding," while others are extinguished and "sink entirely into the body."

⁴² As D. Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, 2006) 201–2 has argued, "monastic authors shared a general ancient understanding of erotic desire as a 'pathology

Many common punishments in the tours of hell, pertained to the mouth. Mouth torments, like other tortures, were tightly tied to gender hierarchy and masculine ideals of bodily normativity. In the Ethiopic text of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, those who committed slander are chew their tongues for eternity; this same group of sinners bite through their lips in the later Greek Text (*Apoc. Pet.* 9 [28 in the Greek Akhmîm text]). In the same paragraph, those who provided false testimony against the martyrs have their lips cut off (in the Ethiopic; in the Greek they bite through their tongues), and have fire in their mouths and entrails (*Apoc. Pet.* 9 [29 Akhmîm]). And as I discussed earlier, the enslaved who disobey their enslavers gnaw at their tongues in *Apocalypse of Peter* 11.

These oral torments, following the logic of *lex talionis*, affect the part of the body that was used to commit the sin. They also leverage existing ancient ideas about the mouth's relationship to sin in order to terrify audiences. In the ancient world speech was a window into a person's character. In Greek and Roman culture improper speech revealed a person as weak, womanly, and of low socioeconomic standing.⁴³

Early Christians used this cultural value of verbal self-control to promote their reputation among outsiders.⁴⁴ For this reason, Christian texts reflected the ideas of the broader culture about how improper speech worked. Censuring bad speech was one lever within a gendered hierarchy that elevated exemplary speech as a display of elite manliness. Marianne Bjelland Kartzow argues that this gendered

of the eyes.'" Cf. B. Leyerle, 'John Chrysostom on the Gaze', *JECS* 1 (1993) 159–74 at 160; E.R. Cain, 'Medically Modified Eyes: A Baptismal Cataract Surgery in Clement of Alexandria' *SLA* 2 (2018) 491–511. On perceptual deficiency as a punishment in early Christian hell see *Apoc. Zeph.* 10; *Apoc. Paul* 40; *Liber Requiei* 97. See also Tertullian, *Res.* 35, who describes the "outer darkness where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth" as a "torture particularly attaching to eyes."

⁴³ This is especially the case for Plutarch and other moralists, but it is a well-worn trope. See, for instance, Plutarch, *Talk.* 502–19.

⁴⁴ As J. Hultin, *The Ethics of Obscene Speech in Early Christianity and Its Environment* (Leiden, 2008) 236, argues, 'But the second-century Christians evidently felt no need to deal with foul language directly. There was so clearly a sense of propriety about the matter that it did not often need to be addressed'.

hierarchy of speech labeled those men who spoke improperly as effeminate: “These men appeared as less male, although they did not become women.”⁴⁵ This dichotomous view of speech did not simply separate men and women, it also served to support other ancient hierarchies like class by separating the “legitimate” speech of elite males from other men (like the enslaved) whose speech was identified as “illegitimate” and womanly.⁴⁶ In the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the people who committed speech sins are not only depicted as “less male.” These damned bodies chew their tongues, fire penetrates their mouths, and they have their lips cut off. Their bodies are leaky, penetrable, like women’s bodies, but they are also unable to speak, exhibiting the symptoms of those with speech impairments.⁴⁷ These punishments reveal the intersectional nature of eternal punishments that drew upon ancient ideas of gender, class, and disability.

The mouth and the tongue also played a key role in ancient diagnostics. A yellow or dark tongue was a symptom of pneumonia (*Dis.* 3.15).⁴⁸ A tongue that burns or grows hard could signify death (*Epid.* 4.10; 7.74). The swelling of the tongue or the loss of speech were acute conditions that needed prompt treatment. Lacerating the tongue to draw blood was a way to treat the swelling of the tongue or speech impairments (*Dis.* 3.89). Galen describes tongue laceration as a treatment for a sore throat and swollen tonsils, and elsewhere he prescribes it for tongue swelling and head and chest inflammation (*Ther. Glau.* 2.4 [line 93K]; 13 [904K]).

⁴⁵ M. Kartzow, *Gossip and Gender*, 180–82.

⁴⁶ Gleason, *Making Men*, xxi–xxvi; M.Y. MacDonald, *Early Christian Women and Pagan Opinion: The Power of the Hysterical Woman* (Cambridge, 1996); J.A. Glancy, ‘Protocols of Masculinity in the Pastoral Epistles’, in S.D. Moore and J.C. Anderson (eds), *New Testament Masculinities*, (Atlanta, 2003) 235–64; Kartzow, *Gossip and Gender*, 180–82.

⁴⁷ As Hultin, *The Ethics of Obscene Speech*, 13–14, has noted, there were also a number of ancient medical texts that connected obscene speech with mental illness. Hippocratic Corpus, *Epid.* 3.17.11; 4.15. See also Seneca the Younger, *Wise Man* 13.1; and Plato, *Laws* 11 (934E).

⁴⁸ For other references to black tongues as symptom of fever or disease, see Hippocratic Corpus, *Aff.* 11; *Aph.* 87; *Epid.* 7.74. These are just a sampling, the references to changes in the tongue as a diagnostic tool are too numerous to cite.

For the ancient audience of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, oral torments recalled not only the speech sins that could damn people in hell, but also the medical treatments for those with speech impairments or inflamed or swollen tongues. The punishment in hell for improper speech is either eternal speech impairment, or a common medical treatment that allows blood to flow from the mouth. For those who committed speech sins, bodily deviance and the medicalized response to it become a mechanism for policing bodies. Hell's punitive spectacle not only objectifies bodily difference, but it unveils the different body as the sinful body. In these torments, the disabled body is a disciplinary tool. Hell is a well-structured alternative to the earthly chaos in which the order of the gendered bodily hierarchy has been disrupted by improper speech.

4. *The Apocalypse of Peter's Body Politics as Clues to Situating the Text*

The gendered notions of the body that the *Apocalypse of Peter* relies upon and intensifies may also help us situate this text. The gender imbalance in the punishments for adultery for instance make quite clear that the *Apocalypse of Peter* is reflecting an earlier Roman attitude toward masculinity in which men are not yet responsible for "self control" – a late antique development in Christian sexual morality in which men become responsible for self-control, a virtue previously associated with women.⁴⁹ At the same time, the fact that we have adulterous men burning in hell alongside women (and crying out in confusion that they are) shows some attempt to redefine sex and marriage in Christian contexts, as we see in other late second and early third century texts (like the Apocryphal Acts). The gender division around sins that pertain to

⁴⁹ On the shifts in Roman and Christian notions of masculinity during this period, see V. Burrus, *Begotten Not Made: Conceiving Manhood in Late Antiquity* (Stanford, 2000) 19–22; M. Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch: Masculinity, Gender Ambiguity, and Christian Ideology in Late Antiquity* (Chicago, 2001) 37–69; K. Cooper, *The Fall of the Roman Household* (New York, 2007); K. Sessa, *The Formation of Papal Authority in Late Antique Italy: Roman Bishops and the Domestic Sphere* (New York, 2011) 127–73; C.L. de Wet, *Preaching Bondage: John Chrysostom and the Discourse of Slavery in Early Christianity* (Oakland, 2015) 84–86, 124–25.

parenthood seems to mirror Roman attitudes more than it does the gender-neutral exhortations of the *Didache*, associated abortion with concealing adultery, but holding women exclusively responsible, like Ovid did. The concerns around female dress like plaiting hair as a gateway to adultery would be at home in mid and late second century contexts, as is attested by Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria's anxieties over these issues.⁵⁰ They also suggest an elite authorship, delineating sins and punishments from the vantage point of those who had the social standing and laborers (enslaved or paid free persons) to fashion their hair ornately.

In a recent article, Tali Artman-Partock argues that the Jewish tours of hell contain far fewer women in torment.⁵¹ I agree that there are not as many examples in these medieval texts, and would add that this is further evidence that these medieval Jewish apocalypses do not point to some Jewish "ur-text" that is earlier than the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Instead, I think that the *Apocalypse of Peter* is most likely the earliest apocalypse to fully transcribe the gendered Roman carceral techne onto the afterlife in this way.

I began this chapter with the real bodies of the Theodosian code and Rabbinic law, drawing your attention to the way in which the *Apocalypse of Peter* is tethered to earthly body politics in its reception. What I hope to have done here is to offer some insights into the

⁵⁰ Clem. Alex., *Educ.* 2.11–13; 3.1–2. This would fit well with the suggestion of an Alexandrian context for the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Citation of *Apocalypse of Peter* by Clement of Alexandria sets the *terminus ad quem* for the text, suggesting a mid to late second century date for the text (150–175 C.E.), though as Nicklas suggests it could have been written earlier. T. Nicklas, 'Jewish, Christian, Greek? The Apocalypse of Peter as a Witness of Early Second Century Christianity in Alexandria', in L. Arcari (ed.), *Beyond Conflicts: Cultural and Religious Cohabitations in Alexandria and in Egypt between the 1st and the 6th century CE* (Tübingen, 2017) 5–21; J.N. Bremmer, 'The Apocalypse of Peter as the First Christian Martyr Text: Its Date, Provenance and Relationship with 2 Peter', in J. Frey, M. den Dulk, and J. van der Watt (eds), *2 Peter and the Apocalypse of Peter: Towards a New Perspective* (Leiden, 2019) 75–98; T. Nicklas, 'Petrus-Diskurse in Alexandria: Eine Fortführung der Gedanken von Jörg Frey', *ibid.*, 99–127.

⁵¹ T. Artman-Partock, 'No (Jewish) Women in Hell', in Z. Stampfer and A. Ashur (eds), *Language, Gender and Law in the Judaeo-Islamic Milieu* (Leiden, 2020) 110–39.

way in which the inception of the *Apocalypse of Peter* also relies upon the ancient gendered notions of the household and the body to define sin and to punish it. In turn, the effeminate, deviant body on earth is simultaneously othered and instrumentalized. As both punitive object and tool, female bodies and impaired bodies reenacted and intensified the boundaries and stakes of bodily normativity. That these punishments were once again codified into religious law codes offers us a cautionary tale about the importance of ensuring that the *Apocalypse of Peter*'s hell remains in the past.

V. The Ethics of Hell: Righteousness in the *Apocalypse of Peter* and Early Christian Discourses About Ethics

MICHAEL SOMMER

For a very long time, research on early Christian apocalypses played only a marginal role in New Testament and early Christian studies. This is probably due to the verdict of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, which believed that the apocalypses of early Judaism and ancient Christianity were the result of a religious decline and cannot be compared with the rich theology of the Old Testament prophets, the letters of Paul or the Gospels. Thus, apocalyptic literature was treated as the product of religious minorities who could hardly contribute anything to the genesis of great theological themes.¹ Jörg Frey summarised this aptly in a fundamental editorial for *Early Christianity*:

Klassische Einführungen in die Apokalyptik, wie von Philipp Vielhauer, stellen diese als Geschichtsspekulation dar, d.h. in ihrer temporalen Dimension, und hoben als Hauptmerkmale Weltpessimismus und Jenseitshoffnung, den Dualismus zweier Äonen, eine deterministische Auffassung der Geschichte und vor allem die eschatologische Naherwartung hervor. Schon angesichts des faktischen Ausbleibens der Parusie musste diese Form frühchristlicher Frömmigkeit sachlich als hochproblematisch gelten, so dass man Jesus, Paulus und die meisten anderen frühchristlichen Autoren davon abzurücken versuchte.²

¹ Cf. J. Frey, 'Die Apokalyptik als Herausforderung der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft. Zum Problem. Jesus und die Apokalyptik', in M. Becker and M. Öhler (eds), *Apokalyptik als Herausforderung neutestamentlicher Theologie* (Tübingen, 2006) 23–94.

² J. Frey, 'Editorial. Apokalyptik und das Neue Testament', *EC* 4 (2013) 1–6 especially 2.

Towards the end of the 20th century, this assessment changed rapidly. Most importantly, scholars discovered that apocalyptic thoughts appeared not only in so-called apocalypses, but in many other texts of early Judaism and early Christianity. Apocalypticism was very popular and used as a medium to express many different theological ideas. For this very reason, the study of apocalyptic literature can contribute essentially to the history of early Christianity.³

In particular, it is the aim of this article to demonstrate similarities between early Christian authors, who are often attributed to the so-called Christian mainstream, and the *Apocalypse of Peter*. This article analyses the *Apocalypse* as a text that mainly expresses a certain notion of ethics. It both portrays the otherworld, or hell, and demonstrates what is righteous in the eyes of God and what is not. It exemplifies this core idea by using depictions of hellish punishments that vividly exemplify 'unrighteousness'. In doing so, the text unfolds a catalogue of vices and a list of virtues, which are more similar to ethical lists partly found in the apostolic fathers, the early apologists and the heresiologists, than they are to other apocalypses. Perhaps the *Apocalypse of Peter* took up an early Christian *Zeitgeist* processed in the narrative world of an apocalyptic tour of hell.

Furthermore, it will become apparent that the construction of ethics in early Christianity was often linked with a fundamental discussion about how to understand the Scriptures of Israel. Ethics and scriptural hermeneutics were often two sides of the same coin. Thus, a comparison with the *Apocalypse of Peter* might clarify which role the Scriptures play in this text.

1. *Methodological Restrictions*

Before presenting the results of my reading, it is necessary to mention some limits of my approach. The *Apocalypse of Peter* has a vivid history of reception, as it was used by the *Visio Pauli* and many early Christian writers who received parts of the text. In addition, echoes can

³ Cf. Frey, 'Editorial', 2–4. Further M. Sommer, 'The Hermeneutics of Scriptures in Apocryphal Apocalypses', in M. Henze and D. Lincium (eds), *The Old Testament in the New* (Grand Rapids, 2023) [forthcoming]; C. Marksches, 'Editorial', *ZAC* 20 (2016) 1–20.

be found in the works of Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, Methodius of Olympus and Makarios Magnes.⁴ It enjoyed a certain popularity not only in apocalyptic or prophetic circles but also among early Christian authors beyond the genre of apocalypticism, and it was not long before some writers accepted the Apocalypse as an authoritative text.⁵ This certainly suggests that it is worth looking for parallels between its ethics and the early Christian world more broadly. Nevertheless, I must restrict my readings because the form in which the ethics of the *Apocalypse of Peter* appeared in the second century remains unclear.

Even if the use of the *Apocalypse* by Clement allows for the assumption that the tradition of the *Apocalypse of Peter* existed at the time, it is not easy to determine its concrete form. The question of which of the recensions of the *Apocalypse* – the Greek or the Ethiopian – is closer to the original could hardly be solved.⁶ Furthermore, regardless of whether the Greek or Ethiopian version is older, the differences between the two indicate that it is a ‘living text’; its form and content were fluid and changed while it was handed down. A comparison of the concepts of time in different variations of the text makes this clear. In concrete terms, this means that, even if I consider the Ethiopian version to be closer to the original text, I cannot assume that its catalogue of ethical values and sins did not change from the second century to the time of the manuscripts. It cannot be known precisely what belonged to the original and what was added – or erased – in later times. While this uncertainty cannot be avoided, it must be noted. Therefore, I am also very careful with dating or locating the *Apocalypse* because the tentative dates of AD 117 or AD 135 cannot be definitively proven. Thus, it

⁴ Further T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas (eds), *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* (Berlin and New York, 2004) 11–68; E.J. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter. A New Translation and Analysis of the Purpose of the Text* (Tübingen, 2019) 2–17.

⁵ On the broad and diverse reception of the *Apocalypse of Peter* see the articles by Maier, Grypeou, Fiori, Bremmer and Erho in the present volume.

⁶ C.D.G. Müller, ‘Die Offenbarung des Petrus. Einleitung und deutsche Übersetzung’, in W. Schneemelcher (ed.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung* (Tübingen, 1989) 562–78.

is impossible to understand the ethics of the text as a mirror of a certain social situation.⁷

I also do not want to prove direct literary dependencies between the *Apocalypse of Peter* and other Christian texts. Rather, I believe that oral and written ethical traditions circulated among early Christians, and authors could adopt these traditions more or less freely and for different reasons. Furthermore, traditions like lists of sins and ethics spread throughout the Christian milieu of the Roman Empire, which could explain why the *Apocalypse* exhibits some similarities with the Epistle of Barnabas, Aristides of Athens, Theophilus of Antioch and Clement of Alexandria despite the fact that most of these authors did not come into contact with one another.

2. *The Ethics of Hell – The Apocalypse of Peter Between Nomos and Torah*

Tobias Nicklas has highlighted the Jewish characteristics of the *Apocalypse of Peter* in several studies.⁸ Certainly, its theology and eschatology

⁷ For the discussion about the origins of the *Apocalypse of Peter* see J.N. Bremmer, 'The Apocalypse of Peter. Greek or Jewish', in J.N. Bremmer and I. Czachesz (eds), *The Apocalypse of Peter* (Leuven, 2003) 1–14; J.N. Bremmer, 'Orphic, Roman, Jewish and Christian Tours of Hell. Observations on the Apocalypse of Peter', in T. Nicklas et al. (eds), *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World. Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions* (Leiden, 2010) 305–21, both reprinted in J.N. Bremmer, *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 2017) 269–80, 281–93, respectively; T.J. Kraus, 'Acherousia und Elysion. Anmerkungen im Hinblick auf deren Verwendung auch im christlichen Kontext', *Mnemosyne* IV 56 (2003) 145–63. W. Grünstäudl, 'Petrus, das Feuer und die Interpretation der Schrift. Beobachtungen zum Weltenbrandmotiv im Zweiten Petrusbrief', in L. Neubert and M. Tilly (eds), *Der eine Gott und die Völker in eschatologischer Perspektive. Studien zur Inklusion und Exklusion im biblischen Monotheismus* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2013) 183–208; R. Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden, 1998) 160–258; E. Norelli, 'Situation des apocryphes pétriniens', in *Apocrypha* 2 (1991), 31–83 especially 34–62; E. Norelli, 'Pertinence théologique et canonicité. Les premières apocalypses chrétiennes', in: *Apocrypha* 8 (1997) 147–64.

⁸ Cf. T. Nicklas, 'Insider und Outsider. Überlegungen zum historischen Kontext der Darstellung jenseitiger Orte in der Offenbarung des Petrus', in W. Ameling (ed.), *Topographie des Jenseits. Studien zur Geschichte des Todes in Kaiserzeit*

are strongly influenced by the prophets. In addition, it uses traditions from the Gospel of Matthew, or at least traditions related to Matthew, which again indicates the ‘Jewishness’ of the *Apocalypse*.⁹ The text also does not have a strong Christology; compared to the monotheistic image of God, Christ seems to play only a minor role.¹⁰ In the *Apocalypse of Peter* (hereafter referred to as *Apoc. Pet.*), the God of Israel is the creator, judge and redeemer of the creation. Of course, the text profiles its image of God by using several scriptural echoes and allusions.¹¹ The Scriptures play an important role in the text’s Christology, image of God and idea about the end of time and history. However, commentators have not yet examined if the ethics of the text have Jewish roots.¹² I suggest that the vision of hell in the Ethiopian text can be read as a detailed description of righteousness rooted in the Scriptures.

The story tells readers how they must behave in order to avoid suffering terrible torments after the great day of judgement and to receive the privilege of baptism in the Acherusian lake. *Apoc. Pet.* 1–6 (Ethiopian text) unveils a glimpse at the final judgement; the righteous ones are rewarded, whereas hellish punishments await those who have been unjust. Then, in the following tour of hell,¹³ the readers get a clear

und Spätantike (Stuttgart, 2011) 35–48; T. Nicklas, ‘Resurrection – Judgement – Punishment. Apocalypse of Peter 4’, in G. Van Oyen and T. Shepherd (eds), *Resurrection from the Dead. Biblical Traditions in Dialogue* (Leuven, 2012) 461–74; T. Nicklas, ‘Jewish, Christian, Greek? The Apocalypse of Peter as a Witness of Early Second Century Christianity in Alexandria’, in L. Arcari (ed.), *Beyond Conflicts. Cultural and Religious Cohabitations in Alexandria and in Egypt between the 1st and the 6th century CE* (Tübingen, 2017) 27–46.

⁹ Cf. Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead*, 175–76.

¹⁰ For a closer analysis of the text’s Christology, see T. Nicklas, ‘El hijo de Dios regio: sobre la cristología del *Apocalipsis del Pedro*’, in P. de Navascués Benlloch *et al.* (eds), *Filiación. Cultura pagana, religion de Israel, orígenes del cristianismo V* (Madrid, 2014) 275–88.

¹¹ Cf. M. Sommer, ‘Reading the Apocalypse of Peter Politically. The Political Portrayal of Trajan and the Vision of Christ’, in J. Snyder and K. Zamfir (eds), *Reading the ‘Political’ in Jewish and Christian Texts* (Leuven, 2020) 257–76 at 258–60.

¹² M. Sommer, ‘How Jewish is the Apocalypse of Peter?’, in M. Pesce (ed.), *From Jesus to Christian Origins: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of Bertinoro 2015* (Turnhout, 2019) 451–60.

¹³ For a discussion about the origins of Christian hell see J.N. Bremmer, ‘Christian Hell. From the Apocalypse of Peter to the Apocalypse of Paul’,

picture of the unrighteous deeds of those unjust ones. The term ‘righteousness’ is used in both sections of the text so regularly that it could be considered a *leitmotif*. Upon closer inspection of the profile of righteousness, it is possible to see a kind of system behind it. Moreover, by compiling all sins into a list, it becomes striking that the text’s image of God and idea of creation are not only influenced by the Scriptures, but also its ethics. Allusions to the Decalogue build the core of the ethics of hell. Apart from the cultic commandments, the *Apoc. Pet.* seems to mirror the complete Decalogue: apostasy from God, idolatry, honouring father and mother, murder, deceit, theft, lying, adultery and violation of the commandments. Furthermore, the Decalogue is extended by a series of sins, which could be found in the Scriptures: moneylending, prostitution, fornication, sorcery and neglection of widows and orphans. In addition, it mentions two violations that cannot be clearly identified as based on the Scriptures, though they can certainly be considered to be related: abortion and disobedience of slaves.¹⁴

Akhmim Codex	Ethiopian text	Parallels in the Torah
<i>Violations of the Decalogue</i>		
Apostasy from God (Fr. 10r)	Blasphemy (9)	Ex 20:7
Idolatry (Fr. 10r)	Idolatry (10) / Worship of reptiles	Ex 20:3; Deut 5:7; 6:14; 7:14; 8:19; 11:16, 28; 13:14; 28:14, 36; 29:25; 30:17
	Honour father and mother (11)	Ex 20:12; 21:17; Lev 20:9; Deut 5:16
Murder (Fr. 9v)	Murder (7)	Ex 20:13; Deut 5:17
Neglecting God’s Commandments (Fr. 10v)	Violation of the commandments (8)	Deut 5:10; Ex 20:7
	Fraud (9)	Ex 20:15, 17; Deut 5:19, 21
Lie (Fr. 10v) / <i>Blasphemy against justice</i> (Fr. 8r; Fr. 9r)	<i>Blasphemy of Justice</i> (7; 9)	
Adultery (Fr. 9v)	Premarital sex (11)	Ex 20:14; Deut 5:18

in *Numen* 56 (2009) 298–325, reprinted and updated in his *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs*, 295–312.

¹⁴ Cf. Sommer, ‘How Jewish is the Apocalypse of Peter?’, 458–59.

<i>Violations of Torah Commandments</i>		
Usury (Fr. 10v)	Usury (10)	Lev 25:36
Fornication and homosexuality (Fr. 10v)	Homosexuality (10)	Lev 18:22
	Prostitution (7; 8)	Deut 23:18, 19
	Magic (12)	Lev 19:26; Deut 18:10
Neglecting widows and orphans – violation of the bid (Fr. 10r)	Widows and orphans despise in God's face (9)	Ex 22:21; Deut 10:18; 24:17; 27:19
<i>Other Traditions</i>		
Abrasion (Fr. 9r)	Abortion (8)	
	Disobedient Slaves	

Some aspects of this notion of righteous ethics certainly allow for a few speculations. For instance, in a recent article, W. Grünstäudl called the ethics of the *Apoc. Pet.* ‘everyday-life ethics’:

Die Mehrzahl der in der petrinischen Hölle geahndeten Vergehen betrifft auffälliger Weise die Verletzung von sozialetischen, das Alltagsleben betreffenden Normen [...] Salopp gesprochen könnte man hier die Umriss einer etwas biedereren Hölle erkennen, deren pädagogischer Nutzen für das Diesseits wohl am ehesten in der Bewahrung eines mit der Mehrheitsgesellschaft konformen Sozialgefüges besteht.¹⁵

Grünstäudl is certainly right – or, at least, he is certainly not entirely wrong. However, I believe that this list of virtues and sins has a deeper meaning and can be understood as guidance or a kind of manual for how to understand the Torah. Like many other Christian texts, the *Apoc. Pet.* understands the Scriptures as ethical instructions that reveal God’s definition of righteousness. For the *Apocalypse*, the idea of righteousness can clearly be found in the social ethics of the Scriptures. On the one hand, the cluster of sins and values can easily be traced back to the Torah. The use of these sins and virtues identifies the Scriptures as an ethical revelation of God’s righteousness. On the other hand, it disregards cultic commandments and the obligation to keep the Sabbath. In my opinion, it reads

¹⁵ W. Grünstäudl, ‘Enthüllung im Fragment. Notizen zu Überlieferungsgestalt und Figureninventar der Offenbarung des Petrus’, in J. Verheyden, T. Nicklas and E. Hernitscheck (eds), *Shadowy Characters and Fragmentary Evidence. The Search for Early Christian Groups and Movements* (Tübingen, 2017) 109–23.

the Torah as *nomos* that could be fulfilled not only by Jews but by a non-Jewish society at large. The text preserves the ethical prescriptions of Israel's Scriptures and softens the obligations of the cultic law. The Torah as cultic law is changed in such a way that the will of God can be fulfilled through a good life according to the ethical standards presented in the *Apocalypse's* tour of hell.¹⁶ Perhaps it tried to inculturate the will of God as revealed in the Scriptures into the cultural environment of a pagan society, as it keeps the ethics of Scriptures without simultaneously fighting the cultic law. It does not argue against cultic 'identity markers', but simply excludes them from its reading of the Scriptures.

Tobias Nicklas stated that "questions of proper Tora observance do not play any role in this text".¹⁷ His statement is certainly correct if one understands Torah observance as a practical implementation of the cultic law. But, in my eyes, the ethics of the *Apocalypse* is the product of a conscious decision of how to read the Torah as *nomos*; in other words, it offers a certain form of Torah reading. Indeed, one could go so far as to say that the text does not accept all forms of Torah interpretation. It seems as if the *Apoc. Pet.* reviews interpretations of the Torah that understand the cultic law literally and critically. In this regard, it can be posited that it is not so far away from the standpoint of the Gospel of Matthew or the *Didache*. Although it does not actively argue against identity markers, such as circumcision, food and purity laws or sacrifices, it does not explicitly value them as relevant to salvation. The fate of a person in the afterlife is dependent on their social behaviour. This form of 'Jewish' ethics was certainly not supported by every 'Jewish' movement of the second century.

In Chapter 2 of the Ethiopian text, there are some more discreet suggestions that the text struggles with other 'Jewish' groups. The parable of the fig tree points out that the *Apoc. Pet.* defines itself as deeply 'Jewish', but it distances itself from certain other 'Jewish' groups that show no respect to the traditions of the fathers and do not believe in Christ. Although this discourse is not deepened in the vision of hell – it does not speak explicitly about Jews being in hell – it can still be speculated whether or not the decision to read the Torah as an

¹⁶ Cf. Sommer, 'The Hermeneutics of Scriptures'.

¹⁷ Nicklas, 'Jewish, Christian, Greek', 46.

ethical *nomos* has anything to do with this discourse. The text, at least, presents a form of 'Jewish' ethics that was certainly not accepted by all 'Jewish' groups in the second century.

3. *The Construction of Ethics in Early Christianity and in the Apocalypse of Peter*

The text's list of ethical regulations, has counterparts in the Scriptures. In particular, allusions to the social rules of the Decalogue play a central role in the tour of hell. Although the use of Israel's traditions is clearly noticeable, it is striking that the text omits references to cult regulations. The ethical profile created by a potentially conscious selection of inter-textual references is comparable to at least some early Christian identity designs. A broader comparison with the construction of ethics in early Christianity reveals that the construction of a catalogue of virtues was very often connected with the positioning of interpretations of the cultic law. Discourses about how to read the Scriptures and how to understand the cultic law were often connected with the portrayal of an idea of Christian ethics. Perhaps the comparison between the writings of early Christianity and the *Apoc. Pet.* provides evidence that the ethics of this apocalypse also contains, at least subliminally, a statement about the interpretation of the Scriptures.

Furthermore, such a comparison might help contextualise the text. It can be proven that the form of its ethics had much in common with notions that can be found in early Christian apologetic literature. At this point, I would like to return to the beginning of the paper and the methodological restrictions. I am aware that as soon as I leave the space of text-immanent interpretation, I cannot present a rock-solid thesis but must carefully interpret small gestures. In what follows, I do not wish to speak about direct literary relations between the *Apoc. Pet.* and other texts. Rather, I would like to support my assumption that the text's system of ethics reveals a certain interpretation of the Scriptures by comparing it with early Christian discourses about the Scriptures.

3.1. *Clement of Alexandria*

Although second-century Christians expressed ethics in innumerable forms, particular traditions existed that shared common features or were related to each other. One specific form of Christian ethics can

be found in texts that combine harsh polemics towards Jewish cultic practices with an ethical reading of the Scriptures. Most of these discourses distinguish themselves more aggressively from ‘Jewish’ groups than the *Apocalypse of Peter*, but they offer an ethical reading of Israel’s traditions that could – at least, carefully – be compared with its catalogue of virtues and vices. In this light, it may be helpful to discuss a certain early Christian *Zeitgeist*. Although authors differ from each other, they share at least common features or ideas. For instance, the *Epistle of Barnabas* and authors like Aristides of Athens, Justin, Irenaeus of Lyon, Clement and Tertullian, as well as ‘apocalyptic’ works like *5 Ezra*, unfold a diverse landscape of early Christian identity designs. They also work to some extent with similar traditions. In some parts of their works, they quote similar texts of the Torah and the prophets to offer a purely ethical interpretation of the Scriptures. In those parts where they argue against the relevance of cultic ‘identity markers’, they regularly quote cult-critical prophets, such as Isa 1; 58; Jer 6–7 and Zech 7–8, as well as the Decalogue. On the one hand, they rewrite these texts as if God did not attach any importance to the Sabbath, circumcision, the festival calendar and the sacrificial cult. On the other hand, they use the ethics of the prophetic texts and the Torah to demonstrate that the Torah is still valid but only in an ethical sense.¹⁸ The *Paidagogos* of Clement of Alexandria (probably written at the beginning of the third century CE in Alexandria)¹⁹ is an excellent example for that.²⁰ In doing so — and this is the crux — these authors often create a catalogue of virtues that is confusingly similar to that of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. As in our text, ethical lists consisting of the non-cultic part of the Decalogue extend with allusions to a certain selection of ethical values of the Scriptures

¹⁸ Cf. M. Sommer, ‘Das Brandopfer der Räuberhöhle. Die Rezeption der Tempelrede Jeremias (Jer 7) in den synoptischen Evangelien und im frühen Christentum’, *Biblica* 102 (2021) 206–28.

¹⁹ Cf. R. Feulner, *Clemens von Alexandrien. Sein Leben, Werk und philosophisch-theologisches Denken* (Frankfurt, 2006) 30; M. Pujiula, *Körper und christliche Lebensweise. Clemens von Alexandria und sein Paidagogos* (Berlin, 2006) 30–39.

²⁰ For a discussion about the use of Scriptures in the works of Clement see J. Carleton Paget, ‘The Christian Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Alexandrian Tradition’, in M. Sæbø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The History of Its Interpretation I/1. Antiquity* (Göttingen, 1996) 478–542 at 488.

and appear regularly in Christian ‘mainstream’ literature. Even though the contrast between ethics and cult obligations is found in many texts, the intensity of their arguments against ‘Jewish’ identity features differs. In *Paidagogos* 3.12.89–90, Clement explains how God’s will can be fulfilled through the praxis of virtues, which he revealed in the Torah and the prophets.²¹ Therefore, Clement uses the ethical instructions of Isa 1; 58; Jer 6–7; Zech 7–8 and Ps 50, which he combines with the social ethics of the Decalogue. At the same time, he takes over the cult criticism from Isa 58:6–10 and Isa 1:11–13 to shape arguments against Jewish fasting practices, burnt offerings, sacrifices, the new moon festival and the Sabbath. According to Clement, God wants social justice instead, which would have been expressed in the prophetic writings.

Clement of Alexandria <i>Paidagogos</i> , 3.89–91		<i>Apocalypse of Peter</i> ²²
89	<i>Marked as allusion to the Decalogue by Clement</i>	
	Adultery	<i>Adultery</i> (Fr. 9v) Premarital sex (11); Prostitution (7; 8)
	Idolatry	Idolatry (10) Worship of reptiles
	Fornication	<i>Fornication</i> (Fr. 10v)
	Theft	Fraud (9)
	Lie	<i>Lie</i> (Fr. 10v)
	Honour father and mother	Honour father and mother (11)
	<i>Marked as allusion to Isa 1 by Clement</i>	
	Justice	Blasphemy of Justice (7; 9)
	Care for widows and orphans	Widows and orphans despise in God’s face (9)
	<i>Marked as allusion to Isa 58 by Clement</i>	
90	Release of captives	
	Care for the homeless and poor; clothing the naked	

²¹ Further Pujiula, *Körper und christliche Lebensweise*, 39.

²² The table follows the Ethiopian text as a guideline. Differences and additions in the Greek text are included in the table and marked in italics.

	<i>Marked as allusion to Zech 7–8 by Clement</i>	
	Charity	Context
	Lie	<i>Lie</i> (Fr. 10v)
	<i>Marked as allusion to Jer 7 by Clement</i>	
	Lie	<i>Lie</i> (Fr. 10v)
	<i>Other Traditions</i>	
91	Usury	<i>Usury</i> (Fr. 10v)
	Positive relationship with the state	

Clement counts the release of prisoners, the clothing of the naked and the care for the homeless and the poor as ethical values. He also pleads for a positive relationship with the state. The *Apocalypse of Peter* does not mention these aspects. Instead, its catalogue of ethics includes commandments about slavery and the prohibition of abortion and magic, which Clement does not list. By comparing the ethical lists of both authors with each other, commonalities arise despite all the differences. For instance, in both texts, the socio-ethical side of the Decalogue forms a centre that is expanded with various commandments, most of which are anchored in the Scriptures. Neither of them values cultic identity markers as mandatory for salvation. However, both authors treat the cultic law differently; whereas the *Apocalypse of Peter* simply ignores it, Clement of Alexandria heavily argues against it.

3.2. *Theophilus of Antioch*

The *Apology* of Theophilus of Antioch stems (probably) from the last third of the second century. Theophilus is a highly educated writer aiming to proof that the Scriptures of Israel are more valuable than the thoughts of the Greco-Roman philosophers.²³

As has been recognised by Rhodes and Skarsaune,²⁴ Theophilus of Antioch works with the same group of allusions to Isa 1; 58,

²³ Cf. F.R. Prostmeier, 'Die Jesusüberlieferung bei Theophilus von Antiochia „An Autolykos“', in M. Lang (ed.), *Ein neues Geschlecht. Entwicklung des frühchristlichen Selbstbewusstseins* (Göttingen, 2014) 179–214.

²⁴ J.M. Rhodes, *The Epistle of Barnabas and the Deuteronomic Tradition. Polemics, Paraenesis, and Legacy of the Golden-Calf Incident* (Tübingen,

Jer 6–7 and Zech 7–8 as *Barn.*, Justin and Clement. In contrast to them, Theophilus only uses those texts to portray an idea of righteousness based on the Scriptures. He does not argue against identity markers, but uses those intertexts to explain that God revealed a notion of righteousness through the Torah and the prophets and in the *euangelion* of Christ. The similarities between Theophilus' concept of righteousness and that of the *Apocalypse of Peter* are striking. Although these texts clearly have different intentions, both underline in their own way how strongly their 'Christian' self-understanding is anchored in the Scriptures. Neither harshly argues against cultic laws, as they both read the Scriptures as an ethical guideline for righteous behaviour. For this, Theophilus uses Isa 1, 58, Jer 6–7 and Zech 7–8. Instead of quoting the Scriptures, the *Apocalypse of Peter* uses language and motifs that reference them. In any case, parallels in terms of content between the two texts cannot be overlooked.

Theophilus, Autol. 3.9–12		<i>Apocalypse of Peter</i> ²⁵
Fear of God and justice	Marked in Theophilus as allusions to the Decalogue	
	Apostasy from God	Blasphemy (9); <i>Apostasy from God</i> (Fr. 10r)
	Idolatry	Idolatry
	Honour father and mother	Honour father and mother (11)
	Adultery	<i>Adultery</i> (Fr. 9v)
	Murder	Murder (7)
	Theft	Fraud (9)
	Lie	<i>Lie</i> (Fr. 10v)
	Adultery	<i>Adultery</i> (Fr. 9v)
	Nearest house	

2004) 42 at note 25; O. Skarsaune, *The Proof from Prophecy. A Study in Justin Martyr's Proof-Text Tradition. Text-Type, Provenance, Theological Profile* (Leiden, 1987) 296.

²⁵ The table follows the Ethiopian text as a guideline. Differences and additions in the Greek text are included in the table and marked in italics.

	<i>Marked in Theophilus as allusions to the Torah</i>	
	Justice of the poor	
	Do not kill innocent and righteous people	Persecution of the Righteous (9) / Killing the Witnesses (9)
	Do not declare ungodly righteous	
	Do not accept gifts	
	<i>Marked in Theophilus as allusions to Isa 1 and Isa 58</i>	
	Ensuring compliance with the law	Blasphemy of Justice (7; 9)
	Giving rights to widows, orphans and strangers	Widows and orphans despise in God's face (9)
	Help for the oppressed/prisoners	
	Caring for the homeless and poor; Clothing of naked people	
	<i>Marked in Theophilus on allusions to Jer 6–7</i>	
	Ensuring justice	Blasphemy of justice
	<i>Marked in Theophilus on allusions to Zech 7</i>	
	Justice	Blasphemy of justice (7; 9)
	Charity	
	Do not oppress widows, orphans and strangers	Widows and orphans despise in God's face (9)
	Forgiveness of insults and love of enemies	

The catalogue of values of Theophilus is slightly larger, and some of the virtues that Theophilus derives from Isa 58 – for instance, the care of prisoners and the clothing of the naked – do not appear in the *Apocalypse of Peter*. However, Theophilus contains almost the entire ethical horizon of the latter, excluding only the critiques of homosexuality. Even the persecution and killing of the righteous ones, which is often used as an argument in the discussion about the *Apocalypse's* origins, appears in Theophilus's Torah-based idea of righteousness. Instead of being a special motif of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, perhaps this system of ethics belongs to an ethical tradition circulating among Christians.

Considering the literature of early Christianity, it becomes clear that ethical lists of a similar nature were widespread and located in a variety of different genres. Of course, I cannot prove it beyond any

doubt, but it is possible that the *Apoc. Pet.* uses related ethical traditions.

There are more possible lessons to learn from this comparison of texts. For example, it might be possible to learn something about the function of ethics in the *Apocalypse of Peter* by comparing it again with Theophilus. With this ethical list, Theophilus underlines that the Scriptures and the *euangelion* of Christ are inspired in the same way and form a unity, although he does not define the term ‘euangelion’. The Scriptures and the gospel do not contradict each other because both reveal God’s will. Although the *Apocalypse of Peter* does not reflect its understanding of scriptures, its hermeneutics share at least some common features. It deeply anchors its ‘Christian’ self-understanding, theology, and Christology in the Scriptures, and – like Theophilus – it underlines that the ethics of the Scriptures are the foundation of ‘Christian’ ethics.

3.3. *The Apology of Aristides*

The *Apology* of Aristides was (probably) written during the reign of Antoninus Pius and is one of the earliest Christian apologies – maybe the first at all.²⁶ In the recent years, the parting-of-the-ways research showed great interest in this text because it creates a remarkable respectful borderline between Jewish and Christian identity.²⁷

The *Apology* of Aristides demonstrates overlaps with the *Apocalypse of Peter* that are similar to Clement and Theophilus.²⁸ Although it is implausible that the ethics of all of these authors are literary

²⁶ Cf. B. Pouderon, *Aristide Apologie. Introduction, Textes Critiques, Traductions et Commentaire* (Paris, 2003) 23–61; M. Lattke, *Aristides Apologie* (Freiburg, 2018) 20–21.

²⁷ Cf. W.C. Rutherford, ‘Reinscribing the Jews. The Story of Aristides’ *Apology* 2.2–4 and 14.1b–15.2’, *HTR* 106 (2013) 61–91; further M. Lattke, ‘Die Wahrheit der Christen in der Apologie des Aristides. Vorstudie zu einem Kommentar’, in M. Lang (ed.), *Ein neues Geschlecht. Entwicklung des frühchristlichen Selbstbewusstseins* (Göttingen, 2014) 215–35; T. Nicklas, *Jews and Christians. Second-Century ‘Christian’ Perspectives on the Parting of the Ways* (Tübingen, 2014) 87.

²⁸ For parallels between Justin and Aristides see D.E. Nyström, *The Apology of Justin Martyr* (Tübingen, 2018) 30–31.

dependent on each other, the similarities suggest that common ideas of ethics have developed and have grown in different Christian circles. If one takes a closer look at the *Apology* of Aristides, one notices that his construction of ethics is also linked to an interpretation of the cultic law of the Scriptures. It provides further evidence that the construction of ethics and the interpretation of the Scriptures often went hand-in-hand. Perhaps this is an additional indication that the list of values in the *Apocalypse of Peter* contains instructions on how to read the Scriptures.

Aristides develops an idea of Christian identity and distinguishes between Christ followers and Jews. His idea of Christianity shares some common features with Theophilus of Antioch. For instance, both Aristides and Theophilus present a notion of Christianity that is strongly rooted in Israel's traditions. Aristides esteems Jewish ethics as pleasant in God's eyes, although he heavily criticises their practice of worship.²⁹ He also holds the ethical traditions of Israel in high esteem, but detaches himself – here, the apologist's rhetoric resembles the lines of argumentation of many early Christian authors – from the 'Jewish' identity features of the cult. Aristides writes in *Apol.* 14:4 that Israel, through the Sabbath, new moon festival, circumcision, dietary regulations, the great day and the feast of unleavened bread, reveals that they have misunderstood the Scriptures. Nevertheless, at the same time, Aristides emphasises that the Jewish social practices of caring for prisoners and poor and burying the dead are righteous (Aristides, *Apol.* 14:3).³⁰ Thus, Aristides portrays Christian ethics, anchoring his catalogue of Christian virtues deep in Jewish traditions (Aristides, *Apol.* 15:4–7).

Aristides, *Apol.* 15:4–7 and the *Apocalypse of Peter* are quite similar. As with Clement, Theophilus and the *Apocalypse*, the socio-ethical part of the Decalogue stands in the centre of Aristides's ethics, which is expanded with references to social commandments of the Scriptures.³¹

²⁹ Cf. Rutherford, 'Reinscribing the Jews', 63–64.

³⁰ Cf. Nicklas, *Jews and Christians*, 87.

³¹ Cf. Lattke, 'Die Wahrheit der Christen', 226–32.

Aristides, <i>Apol.</i> 15:4–7		Parallels in the Scriptures	<i>Apocalypse of Peter</i>
15:4a	Adultery	Ex 20:14; Deut 5:18	<i>Adultery</i> (Fr. 9v)/ Premarital sex (11)
15:4a	Prostitution	Ex 34:15–16	Prostitution (7; 8)
15:4a	Lie	Ex 20:16; Deut 5:20	<i>Lie</i> (Fr. 10v)
15:4a	Coveting another's property; Theft	Ex 20:15, 17; Deut 5:19, 21	Fraud (9)
15:4a	Honour father and mother (11)	Ex 20:12; Deut 5:16	Honour father and mother (11)
15:4a	Justice	z.B. Isa 1; 58; Zech 7; Jer 7	Blasphemy of Justice (7; 9)
15:4b	Idolatry	Deut 5:8; Ex 20:4	Idolatry (10) / Worship of reptiles Blasphemy (9)
15:4b	Golden Rule	Lev 19:18	
15:4c	Forgiveness of insults and love of enemies	Ex 23:4–5; Lev 19:18; also Zech 7:9–10; 8:16–17	
15:5a	Fornication	Lev 18; 19:29	<i>Fornication</i> (Fr. 10v)
15:5b	Slaves	Isa 58:6	Slaves
15:6b	Lie	Deut 5:20; Ex 20:16; Lev 19:18; also Zech 7:9–10	<i>Lie</i> (Fr. 10v)
15:6b	Care for widows and orphans	z.B. Isa 1; Jer 7; Zech 7	Widows and orphans despise in God's face (9)
15:6c	Hospitality	Ex 22:20; Deut 10:18–19; 23:16; 24:17 etc.	
15:7a	Burial of the dead	Tob 1:17	
15:7b	Help for the oppressed/prisoners	Isa 58:6–10	
15:7c	Charity	Ex 22:24; 23:6, 11; Lev 19:10; 23:22; Deut 15:4–11; 24:14; Isa 58:6–10	Context

The great overlap between the ethics of the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Apology* of Aristides is striking. The two catalogues of virtues of both authors are very similar in essential points. Indeed, the only significant difference between the texts is that the former contains the

aspects of murder, usury, magic and abortion and the latter contains the ethical values of hospitality, burial of the dead and the care of prisoners. The surplus of values in the *Apology* of Aristides, however, appears in the *Paidagogos* of Clement. Apart from this minor difference, the general idea of Christian ethics is remarkably similar in both texts. The major difference between the two is that the *Apology* of Aristides, like Clement and many second-century authors, presents this list of virtues as the only way to fulfil the will of God in contrast to Jewish festivals and practices of worship. This is not the case with Theophilus or in the *Apocalypse of Peter*. However, the *Apology* of Aristides provides a further indication that early Christian ethics often commented upon the cultic law of the Scriptures.

4. *Implications*

We could go on with many other examples. In the works of many apologists and heresiologists, catalogues of virtues often functioned as identity markers that distinguished their idea of Christianity from 'Jewish' groups. In many cases, early Christians used discourses about ethics to comment upon the relevance of the cultic law. Even if the positions of the individual authors diverge from each other, many of them share common lines of argumentation, portraying a righteous way of life that fulfils the will of God as revealed in the Scriptures. The Scriptures appear as a simple collection of virtues and values, whereas the cultic law loses its relevance for salvation. Clement of Alexandria quotes from texts by Israel's prophets that are cult critical, adopts their socio-ethical directives, which he connects with the Decalogue, and uses their criticism against Jewish identity markers. His catalogue of virtues is similar to that of Theophilus of Antioch. Certainly, the similarities arose because Theophilus used similar, if not the same, cult-critical prophetic texts. The most significant difference between the two is that Theophilus does not actively distance himself from Jewish identity markers. If one compares Theophilus and Clement with the *Apology* of Aristides, one also recognises a certain overlap, although Aristides, unlike Theophilus and Clement, does not quote from the Scriptures directly. Each of these authors' catalogues of virtues has a specific profile. The centre of the list of virtues is formed by allusions to the Decalogue, which are expanded with a

selection of allusions to social commandments of the Scriptures. This profile is also apparent in the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Since the ethical discourses of these authors contain statements about the meaning of the Scriptures, the question arises whether this is also the case in the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

In sum, the ethics of the *Apoc. Pet.* are deeply rooted in the Scriptures of Israel. I believe that its list of sins reveals a certain program of how the text understands the Torah as *nomos*. It is notable that its ethics only contains ethical commandments besides the prohibition against worshipping foreign gods. Its virtues and vices are arranged in such a way that its roots can be traced back to the Scriptures. It is significant, however, that the *Apoc. Pet.* reads the Torah and the prophets but does not take on any commandments about Jewish identity markers concerning the cult. The text does not mention Shabbat, circumcision, food and purity regulations or the festival calendar. Without actively dissociating from it, the text handles the Torah as an ethical revelation of God's righteousness. One could also go so far as to say that its reading differs from other 'Jewish' groups who attach great importance to the cultic law.

I cautiously ask whether this brief conclusion allows us to draw comparisons with early Christian discourses. The form of the *Apocalypse's* ethics is similar to many discourses that offer an ethical reading of the Torah with the help of the cult-critical prophets, while at the same time distancing itself to varying degrees from a literal interpretation of the cultic law. Even if, like Theophilus, it does express polemics against the cultic law, its idea of righteousness has some remarkable similarities with authors of the so-called Christian mainstream. Perhaps this could offer a hint as to why the *Apocalypse of Peter* was read in early Christianity outside of apocalyptic circles.

VI. Contrasting Places of Joy and Punishment in the Akhmîm Text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* through Sensory Experience Textual Lens

CARLOS OLIVARES

The *Apocalypse of Peter* is an early Christian document probably written in the first half of the second century.¹ It describes two opposite scenes when reporting a vision seen by Jesus' disciples and then only by Peter. The first portrays a place of reward and happiness (*Apoc. Pet.* 6–20²), while the second stages images of torment (21–34).

Likely composed originally in Greek,³ the *Apocalypse of Peter* has been preserved in two versions that diverge from one another: (1) the Akhmîm text, extant in Greek and (2) the Ethiopic version, which is longer than its Greek counterpart.⁴ Although the current academic trend considers the Ethiopic version to be closer to the lost original text and therefore a better textual witness for the *Apocalypse of Peter*,⁵ in this

¹ For the date, see most recently the various studies in J. Frey, M. den Dulk and J. van der Watt (eds), *2 Peter and the Apocalypse of Peter. Towards a New Perspective* (Leiden, 2019).

² The numbering of the *Apoc. Pet.* in this article follows the system of the Akhmîm Codex as it can be found in T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* (Berlin, 2004).

³ R. Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead. Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden, 1998) 162.

⁴ I. Czachesz, *The Grotesque Body in Early Christian Discourse. Hell, Scatology and Metamorphosis* (London, 2014) 10.

⁵ M.R. James, 'A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter', *JTS* 12 (1910) 36–54; Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead*, 162–65; Czachesz, *The Grotesque Body*, 10. For a critical view of this assumption see M. Himmelfarb, *Tours*

paper I will concentrate my analysis on the Akhmîm text. The reason is simple. My focus is not historical but literary, which in this article means to view the *Apocalypse of Peter* as a piece of creative literature.

Both versions of the *Apocalypse of Peter* have been studied from different perspectives, undertaking source, form, redaction, reception and socio-rhetorical critical examinations.⁶ Other studies made further approaches to the texts by focusing on the punishment of the body or through engaging with the vivid descriptions of hell and paradise.⁷

of Hell. An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature (Philadelphia, 1983) 10–11.

⁶ E.g., D. Fiensy, 'Lex Talionis in the Apocalypse of Peter', *HTR* 76 (1983) 255–58; M.R. James, 'A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter', *JTS* 12 (1910) 36–54; P. Chapuis, 'L'Évangile et l'Apocalypse de Pierre', *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie et Comptendu des Principales Publications Scientifiques* 26 (1893) 338–55; R. Bauckham, 'The Apocalypse of Peter. A Jewish Christian Apocalypse From the Time of Bar Kokhba', *Apocrypha* 5 (1994) 7–112; id., 'The Apocalypse of Peter', 4712–50; id., 'The Two Fig Tree Parables in the Apocalypse of Peter', *JBL* 104 (1985) 269–87; id., *The Fate of the Dead*, 149–268; id., 'A Quotation from 4Q Second Ezekiel in the Apocalypse of Peter', *RevQ* 15 (1992) 437–45; A. Jakab, 'The Reception of the Apocalypse of Peter in Ancient Christianity', in J.N. Bremmer and I. Czachesz (eds), *The Apocalypse of Peter* (Leuven, 2003) 174–86; G. Quispel and R.M. Grant, 'Note on the Petrine Apocrypha', *VC* 6 (1952) 31–32; A. Bausi, 'Towards a Re-Edition of the Ethiopic Dossier of the Apocalypse of Peter. A Few Remarks on the Ethiopic Manuscript Witnesses', *Apocrypha* 27 (2016) 179–96; P. Gray, 'Abortion, Infanticide, and the Social Rhetoric of the Apocalypse of Peter', *JECS* 9 (2001) 313–37; J.R. Harris, 'The Odes of Solomon and the Apocalypse of Peter', *ExpTim* 42 (1930) 21–23.

⁷ E.g., T. Adamik, 'The Description of Paradise in the Apocalypse of Peter', in Bremmer and Czachesz, *The Apocalypse of Peter*, 78–90; I. Czachesz, 'The Grotesque Body in the Apocalypse of Peter', *ibid.*, 108–26; repr. in his *The Grotesque Body*, 9–26; J.N. Bremmer, 'Christian Hell. From the *Apocalypse of Peter* to the *Apocalypse of Paul*', *Numen* 56 (2009) 298–325, updated in his *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 2017) 295–312; C.E. Mattos, 'Um inferno para ser visto. O Apocalipse de Pedro e os sofrimentos físicos dos condenados', *Caminhando* 25 (2020) 87–100; F.B. Leite and R.B. Wotckoski, 'Perspectivas para estudos sobre o Apocalipse de Pedro', *Oracula* 10 (2014) 89–104; C.E. de Araújo de Mattos and P.A. de Souza Nogueira, 'Un Apocalipsis fuera de lugar. Un relato de viaje al más allá en Los Hechos de Felipe, en comparación con los Apocalipsis de Pedro y de Pablo', *Revista de interpretación bíblica latinoamericana*

The value of these findings is enormous, and I do not intend to repeat or question them here. My goal, on the contrary, is to explore the Akhmîm text of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, focusing on how the text construes extant and eschatological reward and punishment scenes through sensory experience, narratively.

Methodologically, narrative criticism enables readers to determine literary designs by focusing on the way writings portray scenes and locations and builds events and characters creatively.⁸ Although employed mostly to examine biblical stories, narrative criticism has also been used to study non-canonical texts, such as Jewish and Christian apocryphal literature.⁹ The method in both cases is similar, assuming the last form of the text, which allows interpreters to undertake synchronic readings textually.¹⁰ Because narrative criticism is a

73 (2016) 93–112; J.M. Blázquez, ‘Los castigos del infierno cristiano en el Apocalipsis de Pedro’, in F.D. de Velasco (ed.), *Miedo y religión. IV Simposio Internacional de la Sociedad Española de Ciencias de las Religiones* (Madrid, 2002) 331–42; Â.M.P. Aleixo, ‘O Apocalipse de Pedro. A narrativa da viagem de Pedro na perspectiva da psicologia histórica de Klaus Berger’, *Oracula* 9 (2013) 84–94; M.J. Gilmour, ‘Delighting in the Sufferings of Others. Early Christian Schadenfreude and the Function of the Apocalypse of Peter’, *BBR* 16 (2006) 129–39.

⁸ See J.L. Resseguie, *Narrative Criticism of the New Testament. An Introduction* (Grand Rapids, 2005); M.A. Powell, *What is Narrative Criticism?* (Minneapolis, MN, 1990); S.B. Chatman, *Story and Discourse. Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (New York, 1980).

⁹ See, for example, I. Nowell, *The Book of Tobit. Narrative Technique and Theology* (PhD diss., The Catholic University of America, 1983); R.S. Hobyane, ‘The Compositional/Narrative Structure of Judith. A Greimassian Perspective’, *OTE* 27 (2014) 896–912; id., ‘Canonical Narrative Schema. A Key to Understanding the Victory Discourse in Judith. A Greimassian Contribution’, *Journal for Semitics* 24 (2015) 638–56; E. Nshimbi, *The Characterization of Tobit in the Light of Tobit 1: 1–2* (PhD diss., Santa Clara University, 2017); see my own contribution to the topic: C. Olivares, ‘Ana y María en el Protoevangelio de Santiago. Análisis literario de dos personajes en contraste’, *Estudos de religião* 33 (2019) 101–17; id., ‘La historia de un anciano bueno. Caracterización narrativa de José en el Protoevangelio de Santiago’, *Teoliteraria – Revista de Literaturas e Teologias* 11 (2021) 34–51.

¹⁰ One of the key aspects of narrative criticism is that it explores texts synchronically, assuming their finished final form and artistic creativity. See Powell, *Narrative Criticism*, 7–10.

text-oriented perspective,¹¹ in my literary study of the Akhmîm text I use the critical edition of Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas.¹²

Unlike historical criticism, narrative criticism does not engage in debates about the development, identification of sources and origin of ancient documents, but reads them as stories with a rhetorical purpose in mind.¹³ This is why I do not explore in this paper, not even comparatively, the vision presented by the Ethiopic version of the *Apocalypse of Peter*.¹⁴ Distinct from source or redaction criticism, narrative studies focus only on one text, leaving aside other writings that even share similar issues.¹⁵

As will be demonstrated in this paper, to achieve its literary purpose, the Akhmîm text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* tells a story that can be interpreted through sensory experience. The purpose of my paper is to discover, from a narrative critical approach, if all the characters of the story experience the five senses in the same way. In my analysis, I differentiate between explicit senses, interwoven in the narrative, and implicit senses, which readers need to infer from the story. In the first case, readers can recognise characters' senses by observing linguistic and literary clues revealed in the account, such as describing events and scenes in rich detail. In the second, readers need to construe them by using logical conjectures, like for instance, deducing whether characters can listen to voices around them or can smell aromas that other characters can.

¹¹ M.A. Powell, *Chasing the Eastern Star. Adventures in Biblical Reader-Response Criticism* (Louisville, 2001) 67.

¹² Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 104–16. For other critical Greek texts see A. Lods, *L'Évangile et l'Apocalypse de Pierre publiés pour la première fois d'après les photographies du manuscrit de Gizéh* (Paris, 1893) 25–31; E. Klostermann (ed.), *Apocrypha I. Reste des Petrusevangeliums, der Petrus-Apokalypse und des Kerygmata Petri* (Bonn, 1903) 8–11.

¹³ On the differences between the historical-critical method and narrative criticism, see M.A. Powell, 'Toward a Narrative-Critical Understanding of Matthew', *Int* 46 (1992) 341–46.

¹⁴ On some of the differences between the Akhmîm text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the Ethiopic version see M. Goguel, 'A propos du texte nouveau de l'Apocalypse de Pierre', *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 89 (1924) 191–209; E.J. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter* (Tübingen, 2019) 73–96.

¹⁵ The best examples are the Synoptic Gospels, which, even though they are thematically related, narrative criticism examines them individually.

Since the story told by the Akhmîm text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* entails two settings, I will divide my paper into two parts. First, the focal point is on scenes depicting beauty, exploring the sensory experience of Jesus' disciples and the characters of the vision. Then, the attention goes to the locations of torment, noting how Peter and the actors of the story undergo the imagery of punishment through their senses. In each section, I will offer a literary interpretation.

1. *Point of View of Descriptions of Beauty* (Apoc. Pet. 6–20)

The Akhmîm text of the *Apocalypse of Peter*'s narrative opens with Jesus talking to his disciples about God's coming to judge the sons of iniquity (Apoc. Pet. 1–3). After that, Jesus' twelve disciples go with him to pray on a mountain (Apoc. Pet. 4).¹⁶ On their way, Jesus's disciples ask him to show them the righteous brothers who had departed from the world (Apoc. Pet. 5). They want to see what they look like, so they will take courage and encourage others who will hear them (Apoc. Pet. 5). Then Jesus responds to their request when they are praying by giving them a vision,¹⁷ a vision which I will examine now (Apoc. Pet. 6–20).

1.1. *The Sensory Experience of Jesus' Disciples*

Readers observe that Jesus' disciples engage with three explicit senses in this segment of the story: sight, smell and hearing. Touch and taste are left out. From a literary perspective, readers can determine whether these senses exist in the text by noticing how the Akhmîm text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* either depicts actions related to them or employs words associated with sensory experiences.

1.1.1. Sight

The first human sense Jesus' disciples experience is sight. As the reader reads, two men appear standing before Jesus, whom later Jesus

¹⁶ The name of the mountain is not revealed by the Akhmîm Text of the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

¹⁷ It is not clear for readers whether Jesus responds to the petition on their way or when they finally arrived at the mountain.

identifies as the righteous ones (*Apoc. Pet.* 6, 11–13). Ironically, Jesus' disciples cannot look at them (οὐκ ἐδυνήθημεν ἀντιβλέψαι) because their face and clothing shines, such as the human eye (ὀφθαλμός ἀνθρώπου) has never seen before (*Apoc. Pet.* 6–7). The mention of the verb ἀντιβλέπω (to look straight at someone) and the noun ὀφθαλμός (eye) lead readers to consider the sense of sight unambiguously. Because, although they cannot look at the two men standing in front of Jesus, Peter can metaphorically describe the beauty of their faces (ὄψις),¹⁸ clothes (ἔνδυμα),¹⁹ bodies (σῶμα) and hair (κόμη) (*Apoc. Pet.* 6–11, 17).

The vision, readers imply, is impossible to describe with human words (cf. *Apoc. Pet.* 7, 9). That's why the text uses metaphors to represent the two men's bodies, such as whiter than all snow (λευκότερα πάσης χιόνος) and redder than every rose (ἐρυθρότερα πάντος ῥόδου) (*Apoc. Pet.* 8–9). The same happens with the description of the two men's curly hair. Their hair, the account says, is blooming (ἀνθηρά)²⁰ and falls on their faces and shoulders like a crown woven of nard and various colourful flowers (ποικίλων ἀνθῶν),²¹ or like a rainbow in the air (*Apoc. Pet.* 10).²² Narratively, light and colours permeate Jesus' disciples' vision, making it cheerful and intense.

¹⁸ The noun ὄψις, in this context, can describe “the front portion of the head or expression thereof, face, countenance” (see BDAG, 746). Translations render the noun in this same way. “Countenance” in M.R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924) 508; J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1993) 610. Cf. “visage” in Lods, *L'Évangile et l'Apocalypse de Pierre*, 86 and “Angesicht” in Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 115.

¹⁹ Although the noun ἔνδυμα can mean “covering in reference to one's inner life” (BDAG, 333), in this context, the noun ἔνδυμα can be translated as “garment, item of clothing, covering” (See MGS, 692; cf. BDAG, 333). Cf. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 610 (raiment); James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 508 (raiment); Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 105 (Gewand).

²⁰ In the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the word ἀνθηρός depicts splendid and brilliant hair. See BDAG, 80. Cf. MGS, 177.

²¹ The noun ἄνθος in this context can mean “colourful splendor” (καὶ ποικίλων ἀνθῶν) (*Apoc. Pet.* 10). See BDAG, 80.

²² My translation of the text is quite formal (ὥσπερ ἴρις ἐν ἀέρι), but shared by other translations. See James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 508 (“like a rainbow in the air”); Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 610

After watching the scene, Peter asks Jesus about the world where all the righteous are (*Apoc. Pet.* 14). Jesus agrees and shows him a great place located out of the world (ὁ κύριος ἔδειξέ μοι μέγιστον χῶρον ἐκτὸς τούτου τοῦ κόσμου) (*Apoc. Pet.* 15). It is important to underline that the account depicts a vision and not a physical journey to paradise. However, for readers, Jesus' disciples engage vividly with the vision by their, albeit limited, sensory experience. Apparently, the scene is not only seen by Peter. As the story goes on, the reader notices that other deceased followers of Jesus also appear in the vision (*Apoc. Pet.* 16, 20).²³ Again, Peter employs vivid language when describing the place to the reader. The site, Peter affirms, is exceedingly bright with light (ὑπέρλαμπρον τῷ φωτί), and the rays of the sun illuminate its air (τὸν ἄερα τὸν ἐκεῖ ἀκτῖσιν ἡλίου καταλαμπόμενον) (*Apoc. Pet.* 15). The earth itself blooms with unfading flowers (ἀνθοῦσαν ἀμαράντοις ἄνθεσι), a place also full of spices (ἀρωμάτων πλήρη) and incorruptible plants bearing fruit (ἀφθάρτων καὶ καρπὸν εὐλογημένον φερόντων) (*Apoc. Pet.* 15). Finally, Peter adds, the dwellers wear the clothing of shining angels (ἀγγέλων φωτεινῶν), because their garments are a reflexion of the place where they live (*Apoc. Pet.* 17). For the reader, in this scene everything glows and is full of colours, uncovering an apparent sense in the account.

1.1.2. Smell

The next human sense Jesus' disciples experience is smell. Unlike the sense of sight, the sense of smell only occurs briefly. Initially, the reader implies that Jesus' disciples can smell the blossomed flowers, spices and plants of the place located out of the world (*Apoc. Pet.* 15). Peter then confirms this when he asserts that the perfume is so great

(“like a rainbow in the air”); Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 107 (“wie ein Regenbogen in der Luft”).

²³ Lexical clues in the narrative point in that direction. For example, Peter says: “fragrance of flowers was carried to *us* from there” (Τὸ ἄνθος ὡς καὶ ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖθεν φέρεσθαι, emphasis mine) (*Apoc. Pet.* 16). Then, Peter adds: “The Lord says to *us*” (λέγει ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος, emphasis mine) (*Apoc. Pet.* 20). See also, πρὸς οὓς οὐκ ἐδυνήθημεν ἀντιβλέψαι (*Apoc. Pet.* 6, emphasis supplied), οὓς ἰδόντες ἐθαμβώθημεν (*Apoc. Pet.* 8, emphasis supplied) and ἰδόντες οὖν αὐτῶν τὸ κάλλος ἑκθαμβοὶ γεγόναμεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς (*Apoc. Pet.* 11, emphasis supplied).

that the odour even reaches the place where Peter and the disciples are located (τοσοῦτον δὲ ἦν τὸ ἄνθος ὥς καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖθεν φέρεσθαι) (*Apoc. Pet.* 16).²⁴ Narratively, therefore, the storyteller depicts an explicit sense and invites readers to breathe in the air of paradise.

1.1.3. Hearing

The last sense Jesus' disciples experience is hearing, which is briefly described. Peter states that the inhabitants of that world praise God (*Apoc. Pet.* 19). The text construes the sense of hearing with the Greek verb ἀνευφημέω, a word that in this context entails a loud shout or praise,²⁵ and that in the narrative Peter uses when reporting the scene (*Apoc. Pet.* 19).²⁶ This specific literary detail allows readers to recognise Jesus' disciples' ability to hear sounds, making this sense explicit. Readers are not informed about the content of the chant, although they notice the dwellers sing with one voice (μὴ φωνῇ) (*Apoc. Pet.* 19). Peter says that the glory of these inhabitants is equal, which explains their unity when singing to God in a loud voice (*Apoc. Pet.* 19). This is the first time that readers, and from the point of view of the narrative Peter and Jesus' disciples (cf. *Apoc. Pet.* 16, 20), listen to the righteous ones speak. The variation at the end of this narrative portion seeks to crown the story with another aesthetically charming and plain description of the world where the righteous dwell.

1.2. *The Sensory Experience of the Righteous Ones*

In contrast to the limited but explicit sensory experience of Jesus' disciples, the senses of the righteous ones are portrayed implicitly. Three can be inferred by readers: sight, smell and hearing. However, touch and taste appear to be excluded. Readers can imagine the first

²⁴ In this context, the noun ἄνθος can describe the “fragrance of flowers” (τοσοῦτον δὲ ἦν τὸ ἄνθος ὥς καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖθεν φέρεσθαι) (*Apoc. Pet.* 16). See BDAG, 80.

²⁵ BDAG, 78; LSJ, 136.

²⁶ Translations, in general, do not make this aspect of praise clear. See, for example, James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 508; Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 611. However, the critical text of Kraus and Nicklas (*Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrus-apokalypse*, 109) makes this detail clear in their translation: “und einstimmig priesen sie *laut* Gott” (*Apoc. Pet.* 19, emphasis mine).

three by using logical assumptions presented in the account related to colours, events and actions happening around them.

1.2.1. Sight

Although not mentioned explicitly, the righteous people can see each other shining and can grasp the indescribable colour of their bodies as well (*Apoc. Pet.* 7–9, 17). Readers infer that the righteous ones can contemplate the lights, spices, flowers and plants of the place located out of the world (*Apoc. Pet.* 15); or even see the angels running around them (περιέτρεχον αὐτούς) (*Apoc. Pet.* 18). As Peter and Jesus' disciples appreciate the view, so also do the righteous ones. Readers assume this sense by noticing that Jesus' disciples' description of paradise underlines the beauty and perfection that the inhabitants enjoy there, and the sense of sight allows them to experience it. For readers, blindness could not be a reward, therefore they conjecture the righteous ones are able to see and relish what is around them.

1.2.2. Smell

The second implied sense the righteous ones experience is smell. Readers deduce that if Jesus' disciples can smell the perfume of the spices, plants and flowers of paradise, so do the righteous ones (*Apoc. Pet.* 15–16). Although none of this is stated in the story, readers can unlock this sense by observing how important it is for Jesus' disciples to emphasise not only what they see but also describe the unforgettable aroma of the place. Its importance seeks to make readers imagine how the righteous ones, as Jesus' disciples do, take pleasure in the smell of paradise.

1.2.3. Hearing

The final tacit sense readers infer is hearing. If Jesus' disciples can hear the righteous ones praising God, then the righteous ones are able to listen to each others' voices (*Apoc. Pet.* 19). Although none of this mentioned, readers can infer it by noticing that the dwellers of paradise resonate with one voice (μιᾷ φωνῇ) (*Apoc. Pet.* 19).²⁷ This

²⁷ The text says: καὶ μιᾷ φωνῇ τὸν κύριον θεὸν ἀνευφήμουν εὐφραινόμενοι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ (*Apoc. Pet.* 19). It is important to remember that readers understand the verb ἀνευφημέω to mean a loud praise or a shout (BDAG, 78;

unified musical expression makes readers wonder whether or not the inhabitants of paradise also benefit from this sacred concert. Readers respond to this question positively. Because, as they continue reading, they discover that chanting makes the righteous ones delight in that place (εὐφραινόμενοι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ) (*Apoc. Pet.* 19).

1.3. *The Sensory Experience of Paradise: Literary Interpretation*

From a narrative perspective, the sensory experience of Jesus' disciples watching a vision of a dwelling space in paradise construes an incomplete experience that needs to be fulfilled. The reader learns that sight, the first sensory experience that Jesus' disciples have, is related to descriptions of beauty. This sense helps them contemplate colours and lights, allowing them to see the righteous ones and the splendour of a place located outside of this world. The sense of smell underlines a positive experience. The smell of unfading flowers, spices and plants overtakes the vision, inviting the reader to experience the smell of paradise. Finally, the sense of hearing operates in positive terms. Jesus' disciples hear only once the inhabitants of this shiny world and their artistically pleasing and unified praise.

The narrator construes these three senses hyperbolically. At the beginning, they are *unable* to look at the righteous ones because of the brightness of the light.²⁸ Then, the smell is *so strong* that even it reaches the place where they are located.²⁹ Finally, they hear the righteous singing with a *loud* voice. In each one of these cases, the sensory experience of Jesus' disciples is overemphasised, aiming at cultivating pleasant emotions in readers through some of their senses.

LSJ, 136), which explains the phrase “with one voice” (μῦ φωνῇ). It is because they sing with one voice that the chant is loud.

²⁸ Readers notice that the Akhmîm text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* construes this scene by employing hyperbolic language, using the image of the sun's emanations coming out from the righteous faces (*Apoc. Pet.* 7), for example. Its hyperbolic purpose is expressed clearly when Peter and Jesus' disciples affirm that nobody has seen something like that before, οὐδὲ στόμα δύναται ἐξηγήσασθαι ἢ καρδία ἐκφράσαι τὴν δόξαν ἣν ἐνεδέδυντο, καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῆς προσώψεως αὐτῶν (*Apoc. Pet.* 7).

²⁹ The Akhmîm text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* employs the demonstrative pronoun τοσοῦτος to express the strength of the perfume, which explains why it reaches even Peter and Jesus' disciples.

The narrative probably omits touch and taste for literary reasons. For readers, Jesus' disciples are contemplating and not living the vision. As mentioned before, they do not travel to paradise but are part of a revelation. In short, they are viewing an idyllic place from afar, in fact, from another world. However, Jesus' disciples can smell the perfume of the spices, plants and flowers of that paradisiacal place. These differences can probably be explained by noticing that the experience of Jesus' disciple is incomplete. From a literary point of view, the text rhetorically invites readers to complete one day the missing senses by behaving like the righteous people do.

Likewise, the text omits a description of the complete sensory experience of the righteous ones by implicitly portraying sight, smell and hearing. In addition, it is impossible for readers to infer whether the two absent senses, touch, and taste, are present or simply not in the story. For instance, there is fruit in this paradise that can be tasted, but the narrator omits that action. The same can be said about touching. There are plants, flowers and people that can be touched, but there is no way to infer that from the text. Jesus' disciples, indeed, do not experience anything of that, therefore readers cannot establish any narrative connection between these two excluded senses and the righteous ones. As stated above, from a narrative perspective, by leaving aside touch and taste, the narrator may want to make the sensory experience of this account even more incomplete. The *Apocalypse of Peter's* narrative encourages readers to conduct themselves properly, and not like the tormented people, to undergo one day the complete experience of living in paradise.

2. *Point of View of Descriptions of Torment* (Apoc. Pet. 21–34)

After Jesus responds to his disciples' request to see the righteous brothers who had departed from the world (Apoc. Pet. 5), he then reveals to Peter a place of punishment (Apoc. Pet. 21–34). Because there is no hint in the text that also shows Jesus' disciples in the vision, I will explore Peter's sensory experience alone (cf. Apoc. Pet. 21).³⁰ Then,

³⁰ In the first part, readers notice that Peter at least twice talks in the first person singular when describing the vision: καὶ ἀπλῶς οὐ δύναμαι ἐξηγήσασθαι τὸ κάλλος αὐτῶν (Apoc. Pet. 9), καὶ ὁ κύριος ἔδειξέ μοι

I will examine the sensory experience of those being punished. Again, in the case of Peter, what the text describes is a vision, not a physical journey. This suggests that Peter did not actually go to hell physically.

2.1. *The Sensory Experience of Peter*

Explicitly Peter uses three senses in this part of the narrative. These are sight, hearing and smell. Touch and taste are again absent. The senses that appear can be determined by examining narrative clues and specific wording.

2.1.1. Sight

The first and most notorious sense Peter experiences is sight. Peter sees (εἶδον) a place of punishment that he describes as very dreary (*Apoc. Pet.* 21).³¹ He also describes a lake full of flaming mire (*Apoc. Pet.* 23), probably located somewhere in that place of punishment. He then contemplates (ἐβλεπον) another narrow site full of evil reptiles (*Apoc. Pet.* 25). Near to that narrow location, Peter sees (εἶδον) another setting in which the pus and filth of those being constantly punished (κολαζομένων)³² stream down and turn into a lake (*Apoc. Pet.* 26).

As the narrative proceeds, Peter continues reporting on other places, giving details to readers about the torments that people experienced in there (*Apoc. Pet.* 22–34). Peter depicts, for instance, people hanging by their tongues or hair over fire and mire (*Apoc. Pet.* 22,

Apoc. Pet. 15). However, as stated before, he also uses the first person plural. E.g., πρὸς οὓς οὐκ ἐδυνήθημεν ἀντιβλέψαι (*Apoc. Pet.* 6), οὓς ἰδόντες ἐθαμβώθημεν (*Apoc. Pet.* 8), ἰδόντες οὖν αὐτῶν τὸ κάλλος ἐκθαμβοὶ γεγονάμεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς (*Apoc. Pet.* 11), τοσοῦτον δὲ ἦν τὸ ἄνθος ὥς καὶ ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ἐκείθεν φέρεσθαι (*Apoc. Pet.* 16), λέγει ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος (*Apoc. Pet.* 20). On the other hand, in the settings of torments, it seems that only Peter experiences the vision (cf. *Apoc. Pet.* 21, 25–26).

³¹ In this context, the adjective αὐχμηρός describes a “very dreary” place (εἶδον δὲ καὶ ἕτερον τόπον καταντικρὺς ἐκείνου αὐχμηρόντων). See BDAG, 154. The translations render the term as “very squalid” (see James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 508; Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 603) or “finster” (Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 109).

³² The verbal aspect of the present participle of κολάζω appears to convey the idea of a continuous punishment.

24). In another example, Peter talks about men and women being burned up (*Apoc. Pet.* 27, 34), whipped by evil spirits (*Apoc. Pet.* 27) or receiving heated iron in their eyes (*Apoc. Pet.* 28; cf. 26). For readers, Peter can portray these scenes in detail because he is able to observe them. After all, narratively, he needs the sense of sight to describe the vision. In the readers' view, all these instances portray a dark and depressing explicit sensory experience. Peter supports this when he informs readers that those being punished and the angels who inflict the punishments both wear dark garments, which, as Peter says, it agrees "with the air of the place" (κατὰ τὸν ἄερα τοῦ τόπου) (*Apoc. Pet.* 21).³³

2.1.2. Hearing

The second explicit sense Peter experiences is hearing. Peter describes the lament of women and men hanging over a lake with flaming mire (*Apoc. Pet.* 23–24). The continuous verbal aspect of the verb λέγω likely suggests that what Peter hears is incessant wailing (ἔλεγον). Peter even relates the words communicated by these people, who in disbelief cry that they never thought they will end up in that place (*Apoc. Pet.* 24). Because Peter can repeat what those in torment say unceasingly (ἔλεγον), readers recognise he can hear.

After that scene, Peter echoes the voices of those who had been murdered and who praise God because of his right judgement over the killers and accomplices (*Apoc. Pet.* 25). In addition, Peter informs readers about the crying of numerous children who were born out of due time (*Apoc. Pet.* 26). In short, as in the cases above, readers observe Peter can listen to other people, making the act of hearing explicit. Except for the instance in which some people praise God's justice, each case shows individuals lamenting, exposing an unpleasant sensory experience.

³³ My translation is literal because I think it keeps the focus on the emotions of the narrative. Cf. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 508 ("according to the air of the place"); Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 603 ("in accordance with the air of the place"); Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 109 ("entsprechend der Luft des Ortes"); Blázquez, 'Los castigos del infierno cristiano en el apocalipsis de Pedro', 331 ("como [tenebroso] era el aire de aquel lugar").

2.1.3. Smell

The last sense Peter experiences is smell. Peter describes a lake full of the pus and filth of those being punished (*Apoc. Pet.* 26). The Greek word translated as filth (δυσωδία) conveys the meaning of “a strong offensive odour,” like a stench.³⁴ Although it does not say that Peter can smell the lake, Peter describes it by using a specific Greek word, which suggests the involvement of the senses.³⁵ Something different can be said about the content of another lake filled with pus, blood and mire (*Apoc. Pet.* 31). Even though in real life all these nouns evoke a distasteful odour, there is nothing explicitly said in the narrative that leads readers to make that connection with the sense of smell. It can be made implicitly. However, the term filth already fills in the space, evoking in readers a repulsive, and unambiguous, sensory experience.

2.2. *The Sensory Experience of the Tormented People*

The tormented people experienced all five senses within the account. While some are mentioned explicitly in the narrative, others must be inferred. Readers can deduce their presence in the narrative by paying close attention to the vivid details about torture and suffering in Peter’s description.

For readers, the reason some people are castigated in the narrative is that they behaved unrighteously (e.g., *Apoc. Pet.* 23–34). For example, they showed no pity on orphans and widows (*Apoc. Pet.* 30) or demanded interest on loaned money (*Apoc. Pet.* 31), among other many reasons (*Apoc. Pet.* 21–34). Since it is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the logic of these judgements,³⁶ I will focus my analysis only on the senses the tormented people experience.

³⁴ BDAG, 265 (“‘a strong offensive odor, stench’, then also that which causes the stench, filth”). Cf. LSJ, 462 (“foul smell”); MGS, 573 (“bad smell, fetor, stink”).

³⁵ Cf. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 605: “And near that place I saw another gorge wherein the discharge and *excrement* of those who were in torment ran down” (emphasis mine); Blázquez, ‘Los castigos del infierno cristiano en el apocalipsis de Pedro’, 331: “Cerca de allí vi otro barranco por el cual corrían sangre y *excrementos* por debajo de los castigados en aquel lugar, formándose un lago” (emphasis mine).

³⁶ For some interpretations regarding the reason the tormented people suffered see Fiensy, ‘Lex Talionis in the Apocalypse of Peter’, 255–58; Beck,

2.2.1. Touch

The first and more important sense the tormented people experience is touch. In this part of the vision, Peter contemplates the physical castigation of different persons, revealing images of pain and human humiliation. This portion of the vision describes some people inside a lake filled with boiling mire, while angels torment them (*Apoc. Pet.* 23; cf. 31). As the narrative advances, readers learn about men hanging by their feet while their heads are in mire that bubble up (*Apoc. Pet.* 24). In other scenes, readers read about people's bowels eaten by restless worms (ἐσθιόμενοι τὰ σπλάγχνα ὑπὸ σκωλήκων ἀκοιμήτων) (*Apoc. Pet.* 27), while women and men roll over sharp pebbles heated with fire (*Apoc. Pet.* 30).

Readers notice that in all the examples given above, something is touching the body of the characters under punishment,³⁷ and therefore are experiencing the sense of touch. This becomes clear when readers notice that in the vision some people feel pain at least once (*Apoc. Pet.* 25), in which reptiles beat them, causing their bodies to contort (στρεφομένους).³⁸ In short, for readers, the sensory experience

'Perceiving the Mystery of the Merciful Son of God', 189–256; C. Callon, 'Sorcery, Wheels, and Mirror Punishment in the Apocalypse of Peter', *JECS* 18 (2010) 29–49; Mattos, 'Um inferno para ser visto', 87–100; Aleixo, 'O Apocalipse de Pedro', 84–94; Gray, 'Abortion, Infanticide, and the Social Rhetoric of the Apocalypse of Peter', 313–37; Blázquez, 'Los castigos del infierno cristiano en el Apocalipsis de Pedro', 331–42; Gilmour, 'Delighting in the Sufferings of Others, 129–39; L. Roig Lanzillotta, 'Does Punishment Reward the Righteous? The Justice Pattern Underlying the *Apocalypse of Peter*', in Bremmer and Czachesz, *The Apocalypse of Peter*, 127–57; B.D. Ehrman, *Journeys to Heaven and Hell. Tours of the Afterlife in Early Christian Tradition* (New Haven, 2022) 83.

³⁷ In other scenes readers observe how the text talks about people beating each other endlessly (*Apoc. Pet.* 33) or turning themselves when being roasted (*Apoc. Pet.* 34). In both cases, readers understand that the tormented people are touched or burned, making the sense of touch explicit in the narrative.

³⁸ The text says: καὶ οὕτω στρεφομένους ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ κολάσει ἐκείνῃ. The verb στρέφω operates here in the sense of twisting movements or contortions of the body, which in the narrative are produced by the bite of beasts (*Apoc. Pet.* 25). Cf. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 509 ("and so turning themselves about in that torment"); Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 604 ("writhing about in that torment").

of the tormented people is painful and full of vicious details, establishing the sense of touch explicitly within the account.

2.2.2. Hearing

Another sense the tormented people experience is hearing. As shown above, Peter hears the dead praising God (*Apoc. Pet.* 25). In fact, Peter sees these men and women standing and looking at the murderers while they declare: “O God, just is your judgment” (*Apoc. Pet.* 25). In the same way, Peter watches various children weeping next to a group of women in a lake of pus and filth who had harmed babies (*Apoc. Pet.* 26). It is important to recognise that the text does not say explicitly that the tormented people can hear. However, because Peter can hear their accusers, and talks about what they say, readers probably can infer that those tormented can likewise hear. Ultimately, it is narratively essential to employ the sense of hearing in order to perceive the characters’ anguish.

Readers can also imagine that the tormented people’s punishment includes endlessly hearing the voices of their accusers, which narratively functions as their guilty conscience. Both instances show that there is a close relationship between the two parts. In the first, the souls of the ones that had been murdered are standing and looking upon the murderers (αἱ δὲ ψυχαὶ τῶν πεφονευμένων ἐστῶσαι καὶ ἐφορᾶσαι τὴν κολάσιν ἐκείνων τῶν φονέων) (*Apoc. Pet.* 25). In the second, the women’s punishment includes flames of fire coming from children sitting (καθήμενοι) next to them (*Apoc. Pet.* 26).³⁹ Literarily speaking, there is a geographic closeness that allows readers to build scenes of physical agony along with constant noise.

Similarly, as previously mentioned, Peter describes people lamenting their fate with incredulity, stating in disgrace that they never thought they were going to come to this place (*Apoc. Pet.* 24). Because all (πάντες) the characters of the scene complain, readers can infer that the tormented people can hear each other. From the readers’ point of view, therefore, the sense of hearing, albeit implicit, signals the horrors of listening to uninterrupted accusations or cries.

³⁹ The Akhmîm text tells readers that the children are sitting ἀντικρὺς, an adverb that in this context can mean opposite (BDAG, 89), detailing that the children are located next to or across from the women in the account (καὶ ἀντικρὺς αὐτῶν πολλοὶ παῖδες οἵτινες ἄωροι ἐτίκτοντο καθήμενοι ἐκκλαιον).

2.2.3. Smell

The next sense the tormented people experience by is smell. As mentioned before, Peter talks about a lake full of the filth of those being punished (*Apoc. Pet.* 26). The word filth, as I previously mentioned, involves a strong offensive odour.⁴⁰ Using this specific term implies that Peter not only wants to describe his own sensory involvement, but points out that the characters of the vision can smell as well. The horror of the judgement includes constantly smelling something repulsive.

There are other references, however, that suggest an implicit, but nevertheless strong, depiction of the sense of smell. Several times, readers read about people being burned (*Apoc. Pet.* 22, 26–29) or fried (*Apoc. Pet.* 34), which allows readers to imagine the smell of burning flesh. Having in mind these scenes, readers can conjecture that the tormented people not only smell the odour of other people's flesh roasting but also their own. In all these cases, considering the rhetorical literary construction of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, readers feel a nauseous sensory experienced when reading Peter's vision and explicit description of foul odours in the narrative.

2.2.4. Taste

Another sense the tormented people experience is taste. Women and men, Peter says, bite their lips (μασώμενοι αὐτῶν τὰ χεῖλη) when being punished with heated iron in their eyes (*Apoc. Pet.* 28). In the next scene, additional groups of women and men gnaw their tongues (τὰς γλώσσας αὐτῶν μασώμενοι) because of the flames of fire placed in their mouths (*Apoc. Pet.* 29). In all these instances, readers observe that something painful is tasted, damaging the lips, tongue and mouth of the tormented people. Unlike Peter, who does not experience the sense of taste in the vision, the tormented people lived it in full, making a new narrative move in the sensory experience of readers.

2.2.5. Sight

The last sense the tormented people experience is sight. It is true that at no point in the narrative does Peter mention actions related to the sense of sight. However, readers cannot find any place in the story in

⁴⁰ BDAG, 265. Cf. LSJ, 462; MGS, 573.

which Peter describes the tormented people as blind.⁴¹ Although implicitly stated, the punishment of these people also consists in watching the horrors they and others are going through, whether looking upside down when hanging by the feet (*Apoc. Pet.* 28) or looking at clouds of worms moving over their bodies (*Apoc. Pet.* 25). Ironically, Peter begins this part of the vision by portraying the place as *αὐχμηρός* (*Apoc. Pet.* 21), an adjective commonly used in Hellenistic literature to convey dry, dark and gloomy settings.⁴² Despite the obscure nature of the scene, both the tormented and Peter are able to envision terrifying images (cf. *Apoc. Pet.* 27).

The real penalty not only comprises hearing, tasting, smelling and being touched by something disgusting, but also the contemplation of their physical punishment. From the readers' point of view, the sense of sight, although implied, is unambiguous in the narrative, evoking a horrific sensory experience.

2.3. *The Sensory Experience of Torment Scenes: Literary Interpretation*

Unlike the previous section, the colour, mood and feeling of the last part of the vision change dramatically for readers. Peter experiences three senses: Sight, hearing and smell. Readers observe that sight allows Peter to contemplate detailed scenes of the terrors of a depressing place. In fact, Peter does not see colours or light in that place, and it is important to point out that there is at least one reference to a dark environment. Similarly, the sense of hearing lets Peter listen to the cries of babies and the lament of tormented people. Finally, Peter can smell the nasty odour of a lake in which people are punished. From a narrative stance, these three senses construct a negative and nasty image in the reader's mind that the Akhmîm text of the *Apocalypse of Peter's* narrative uses as a rhetorical warning for readers.

As noted, readers observe that touch and taste are omitted. On the one hand, this can be explained by noticing that Peter only contemplates the scene through a vision, which excludes him from tasting

⁴¹ For readers, the only possible exception can be two scenes in which people are punished in their eyes (*Apoc. Pet.* 26, 28). However, the text does not say that they lost their vision.

⁴² BDAG, 154; LSJ, 285; MGS, 350.

anything or touching someone or something. The omission seems to work again as a rhetorical warning that emphasises the author's belief that the incomplete punishment can be complete if readers act as the tormented people did in their lives. This means that Peter's sensory experience functions as a literary device that motivates readers to change their lives through images of horror.

In contrast to what was presented above, the tormented people experience their senses in full. Touch is first, which they experience in the form of painful and repulsive punishments. Then they hear other people's accusations or afflictions, working both as a constant reminder of what they have done and why they are in that place. Additionally, the tormented people can smell nauseous odours and be tortured in the mouth when tasting painful punishments. Finally, they can see the atrocities that angels and others inflict on their own bodies.

Therefore, the tormented people suffer in full through their sensory experience. It is a complete involvement, which the text uses to warn readers through their senses about the horrors of a place in which the pain never ends.⁴³

3. Conclusion

After exploring the Akhmîm text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* through sensory experience, I conclude with the following. The text construes extant and eschatological reward and punishment scenes by senses, explicitly and implicitly. The text asks readers to immerse themselves mentally in the narrative through what the characters see, hear, touch, taste and smell, provoking joy and fear at the same time. While the

⁴³ Using a different approach from mine, M.R. Henning ('Eternal Punishment as Paideia. The Ekphrasis of Hell in the Apocalypse of Peter and the Apocalypse of Paul', *BR* 58 [2013] 29–48) affirms something similar when stating that "The 'vividness' or *enargeia* of hell in the apocalypses is not only limited to visual description but also appeals to other senses" (emphasis in original, *ibid.*, 73). Henning also affirms that "[t]hese vivid depictions of the aromas of the afterlife add a further dimension to the *ekphrasis* of eternal punishment and enliven the reader's experience of the journey as a 'spectator'" (emphasis in original, *ibid.*). Cf. M.R. Henning, *Hell Hath No Fury. Gender, Disability, and the Invention of Damned Bodies in Early Christian Literature* (New Haven, 2021) 21.

imagery of the righteous builds its argumentation through an incomplete sensory experience, the punishment scenes of those tormented manufacture the pain and horror by describing their senses in full. In doing so, the narrative invites readers to contemplate what it will be like to experience paradise with all their senses and to avoid experiencing the suffering and shame of the place of torment.

VII. Judgment, Punishment, and Hell in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the *Apocalypse of Peter*

MICHAEL R. JOST

If anyone knows anything about the *Apocalypse of Peter*, it is probably the fact that it describes many punishments in hell. However, it is interesting that in this writing, before the “tour of hell,”¹ the question is first discussed whether it would be better for sinners if they had never been created than suffering punishment in hell (*Apoc. Pet.* 3:4, corresponding to a word of Jesus from Mark 14:21). The *Apocalypse of Peter* thus discusses two options for the deceased who are not among the righteous: either non-creation or the punishments, described afterwards drastically in the vision of hell.

On the one hand, it is remarkable that with this alternative the question of hell is combined with the notion of creation. Grace and judgment are not weighed against each other but existence in hell and non-existence. Jesus’ answer additionally emphasizes this focus, according to which mercy is not up for discussion, for God as creator will certainly not condemn his creation merciless for no reason (*Apoc. Pet.* 3:6). His answer leads back to the fundamental question of being created and existence: “for he created them and brought them forth where they did not exist”² (*Apoc. Pet.* 3:6). It seems, if one exists, there is no longer the possibility of not existing. If once the existence is given by God, then the only question for sinners is which punishment one will suffer according to his deeds (*Apoc. Pet.* 1:8; 6:3).

¹ So, the famous work of M. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell. An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia, 1983).

² Translation here and following by E.J. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter. A New Translation and Analysis of the Purpose of the Text* (Tübingen, 2019).

Therefore, this alternative suggests that a third option, namely extinction, the so-called annihilation on the Day of Judgment, is not considered, even though “the wicked will be rooted out for ever and ever” (*Apoc. Pet.* 3:2). The view of the *Apocalypse of Peter* is unambiguous: there is a necessity of the punishment of hell for sinners. Hence, Jesus’ answer: “But when you saw the grief that will happen to the sinners in the last days and because of this your heart was sorrowful. But they who have transgressed against the Most High, I will show you their works” (*Apoc. Pet.* 3:7). In the face of their sins against God, the urgency of hell’s torment is recognized. So, the final annihilation of the unrighteous in judgment is either not a satisfactory theological answer or the option is entirely outside of theological imagination, though we might speculate about the reasons for this.

This implication is not undisputed in ancient texts. Rather, the relationship between judgment, hell, and punishment is described in controversial concepts. What is expected from judgment? What is the purpose of punishment and what is the function of hell? With these questions in mind, I turned to the Qumran writings. And the results surprised me, because the answers in these writings differ at crucial points from the message of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. The idea of an eternal torment in hell was not a matter of course in early Jewish writings.

I would like to present these findings in three steps. I begin with the texts from Qumran, whose origin are assumed to be in the *yahad*. Then, I bring in insights from *I Enoch*, which reveal a different understanding in certain aspects. Finally, I evaluate these insights from the texts of the *yahad* and *I Enoch* in relation to the study of the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

1. *The Yahadic Tradition*

The subject of judgment and hell has received relatively little attention in Qumran scholarship. Often, the claim stands that the Dead Sea Scrolls have little information to offer on life after earthly death. John Collins writes exemplary: “But in the pre-Christian period, the topography of the afterlife was still unclear, and the Scrolls give surprisingly little information on the subject.”³ This view requires a revision,

³ J.J. Collins, ‘The Otherworld in the Dead Sea Scrolls’, in T. Nicklas *et al.* (eds), *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World. Early Jewish and*

which I offer in the following. What is presented here, however, is only on a case by case basis and is focused on the question of the judgment and the damnation of the wicked. For this purpose, I will take a closer look at three texts (1QS, 4QS11, and 1QH^a) and the use of the term Sheol.⁴

1.1. *1QS Community Rule*

The second column of the *Serekh ha-Yahad*, usually called the Community Rule, contains words of blessing, which the priests are to speak over their community members, and words of cursing, which the Levites are to speak over their opponents. With the words of cursing, the theme of judgment comes into focus. Thereby the judgment on the “sons of iniquity” is expected in the present time. Thus, 1QS II 4b–9 reads:

The Levites in turn shall curse all those foreordained to Belial. They shall respond, ‘May you be damned in return for all your wicked, guilty deeds. May the God of terror give you over to implacable avengers; may He visit your offspring with destruction at the hands of those who recompense evil with evil. May you be damned without mercy in return for your dark deeds, an object of wrath licked by eternal flame, surrounded by utter darkness. May God have no mercy upon you when you cry out, nor forgive so as to atone for your sins. May He lift up His furious countenance upon you for vengeance. May you never find peace through the appeal of any intercessor.’⁵

The judgment shall fall upon the ungodly in their earthly existence. In everyday life the vengeance of God shall be felt. Just like the blessings for the “sons of light” (i.e., the members of the *yahad*), the

Ancient Christian Traditions (Leiden, 2010) 95–116 at 95–96. See also J.J. Collins, ‘Eschatology’, *EncDSS* 1 (2000) 256–61, wherein the topic of the “day of judgment” is barely addressed. Similar K.E. Pomykala, ‘Eschatologies and Messianisms’, in G.J. Brooke and C. Hempel (eds), *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London, 2019) 496–504.

⁴ A solid introduction to the eschatology of the *yahad* texts is provided by A.L. Hogeterp, *Expectations of the End. A Comparative Tradition-Historical Study of Eschatology, Apocalyptic and Messianic Ideas in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (Leiden, 2009) 43–76.

⁵ Translation here and following, unless otherwise noted, from M. Wise, M. Abegg, and E. Cook with N. Gordon from <https://scholarlyeditions.brill.com> (accessed 17.03.2022).

curses for the apostates or non-members are initially aimed at the present and not only at a future eschatological judgment. Here the blessing and the curse are expected during one's earthly existence (cf. also V 6–7; VIII 6).⁶ A few lines later this thought is taken up again.

It shall come to pass, when he hears the words of this Covenant, that he shall bless himself in his heart, saying 'Peace be with me, though I walk in the stubbornness of my heart' (Deut 29:18–19). Surrounded by abundant water, his spirit shall nevertheless expire thirsty, without forgiveness. God's anger and zeal for His commandments shall burn against him for eternal destruction (לכלת עולמים). All the curses of this Covenant shall cleave to him, and God shall separate him out for a fate befitting his wickedness. He shall be cut off from all the Sons of Light because of his apostasy from God, brought about by unrepentance and the stumbling block of sin. He shall cast his lot with those damned for all time (ארורי עולמים). The initiates are all to respond in turn, 'Amen, amen.' *Vacat* (1QS II 12b–18).

These lines also show that the punishments are requested now and are to strike the wicked in the present time. So, one hopes for separation of the stubborn within the community in the present. Curse and forgiveness, vengeance and peace, wrath and grace are contrasted. But the final state of the "sons of darkness" is destruction. Therefore, the root כלה is to be found several times in this text.⁷ The extermination of the godless people is deserved. Hence, they are removed from the community of the sons of light. At this point we can observe that the focus is not on the punishment of the sinners, but on the purification of one's own community. The curses should help to clarify who belongs to the covenant and who has become apostate. This idea is also found in 1QS V, where it is written of "eternal destruction with

⁶ This becomes particularly evident in the liturgical community with the angels, see M.R. Jost, *Engelgemeinschaft im irdischen Gottesdienst. Studien zu Texten aus Qumran und dem Neuen Testament* (Tübingen, 2019) 72–85 and 199–200 and id., 'The Liturgical Communion of the Yahad with the Angels. The Origin of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice Reconsidered', *DSD* 28 (2022) 52–75. This aspect has also been emphasized by J.J. Collins, 'Conceptions of Afterlife in the Dead Sea Scrolls', in M. Labahn and M. Lang (eds), *Lebendige Hoffnung – ewiger Tod? Jenseitsvorstellungen im Hellenismus, Judentum und Christentum* (Leipzig, 2007) 103–25.

⁷ Vgl. H.-J. Fabry, כלה, *ThWQ* II (2013) 390–6.

none spared” (לכלת עולם לאין שרית) (1QS V 13) and that they shall be destroyed “from upon the face of the earth” (ישמיד מתבל; 1QS V 19). Judgment nevertheless opens an eschatological horizon because the fire (1QS II 8) and destruction (II 15) are to last forever, so that the wicked is eternally counted among the damned (II 17). The thought of the eternal punishment leads beyond the present time. This is formulated even more clearly in the final hymn. There, the execution of judgment is seen entirely as God’s responsibility:

Then shall I know that in His hand resides the judgement of all the living, and all His works are truth. When distress breaks out I shall praise Him, and in His salvation shall I rejoice. To no man shall I return evil for evil, I shall pursue a man only for good; for with God resides the judgement of all the living, and He shall pay each man his recompense. My zeal shall not be tarnished by a spirit of wickedness, neither shall I lust for riches gained through violence. The multitude of evil men I shall not capture of vengeance;⁸ yet my fury shall not abate from men of the pit, and I shall never be appeased until righteousness be established. (1QS X 16b–20)

Following this prayer, the judgment is expected from God alone. One can speculate whether with it simply the time is meant, at which the fate meets the sinner in this earthly life. Accordingly, the vengeance of God would consist in the distress which God lets meet him (similar to the curses in 1QS II 6). Or one can emphasize the eschatological judgment, “for with God resides the judgement of all the living, and He shall pay each man his recompense.” A dazzling answer to this ambiguity is given by a passage from the so-called *Two-Spirits-Treatise*:

The judgement of all who walk in such ways will be multiple afflictions at the hand of all the angels of perdition, everlasting damnation (לשחתה)

⁸ A scribe introduced here “until the day” (עד יום), thereby proposing the reading “until the day of vengeance.” These words point even more clearly to the judgment to come. But this is undoubtedly an interlinear correction. See the manuscript on <http://dss.collections.imj.org.il/community> (17.03.2022). The translation of Charlotte Hempel shows very well the complicated nature of the text: “I shall not {...} ^{seize (opportunities to)} quarrel with a person (intent on) ^{destruction} ^{until the day of} vengeance.” C. Hempel, *The Community Rules from Qumran. A Commentary* (Tübingen, 2020) 280 and 288 (words in superscript according to Hempel to indicate corrections and additions).

עולמים) in the wrath of God's furious vengeance, never-ending terror (לועזות נצח) and reproach for all eternity (והרפת עד), with a shameful extinction in the fire of Hell's outer darkness (כלה באש מחשכים). For all their eras (וכול קציהם), generation by generation, they will know doleful sorrow, bitter evil and dark happenstance, until their utter destruction with neither remnant nor rescue. *Vacat* (1QS IV 11b–14).

One can read two things from this text: Either one emphasizes the everlasting damnation and the continuing lamentation. Or one emphasizes that here, too, everything ultimately boils down to the fact that no one escapes, but is completely destroyed and extinct, which would emphasize the finality of this state. Thus, the two aspects of the word עולם are indicated: on the one hand an infinite amount of time or a final state.⁹ But because here, as mostly in the writings of the *yahad*, judgment is connected with the word כְּלָה, which means “end, destruction, annihilation, completion,”¹⁰ in my opinion the focus is also on the latter in this passage, with which no eternal punishment in hell is taught, but a judgment that leads to the final annihilation of the wicked, as it is regularly emphasized in the Community Rule.

1.2. 4Q511 Rule of the Maskil

It is similar in the so-called Songs of the Maskil.¹¹ The theme of judgment is significant in it. The judicial action can be related to the present time.¹² This is especially true where the judgment is connected

⁹ The basic meaning is usually called “everlastingness, furthest time” (see DCH 6, 300). But E. Jenni, ‘עולם’, THAT 2 (2004⁶) 228–43, here 230 adds to this that “im Gebrauch von ‘*ōlām*’ auch allerlei qualitative Konnotationen wie ‘Dauerhaftigkeit, Endgültigkeit, Unabänderlichkeit’ usw. mitschwingen können.” The aspect of finality or irreversibility is surprisingly completely missing in Christian Stadel’s article, ‘עולם’, ThWQ II (2013) 61–68. The whole article is oriented towards a durative understanding, which is why Stadel translates with “dauerhafte Vernichtung” or “dauerhaftes Feuer” (p. 63). See also DCH 6, 302 which translates כֶּלֶת עוֹלָמִים “destruction of everlastingness, i.e. everlasting destruction.”

¹⁰ DCH 4, 418.

¹¹ For a reconstruction see J.L. Angel, ‘The Material Reconstruction of 4QSongs of the Sage^B (4Q511)’, *RevQ* 27 (2015) 25–82.

¹² See also M.R. Jost, ‘Das Selbst- und Wirklichkeitsverständnis der Lieder des Maskil (4Q511)’, *RevQ* 34 (2022) 115–35.

with the activity of the Maskil. Exemplary of this are the statements in 63 iii 3–5, spoken by the Maskil: “in order to justify the righteous one in Your truth and to condemn the wicked one *vacat* in his guilt, to proclaim peace to all the men of the covenant and to e[*xal*]t with a terrifying voice, ‘Woe to all who break it!’” The judgment, however, is based on the judicial action of God and thus also affects the worshipper himself. Thus, the Maskil confesses in 4Q511 18 ii 7b–10:

And I have hated all the works of impurity, for God has shined the knowledge of understanding in my heart. Righteous instructors correct my sins, and faithful judges correct all my guilty transgressions. For God is my judge.

Thus, on the one hand, the judgment applies to his own people for purification. On the other hand, it also applies to the godless, whom God destroys in his wrath. This is formulated in fragment 35 as follows (4Q511 35 1–5):

against all flesh, and a judgment of vengeance to exterminate wickedness (לכלות רשעה), and for the rag[ing] anger of God. Some of those seven times refined and some of the holy ones God will sancti[fy] for Himself as an eternal sanctuary (למקדש עולמים) and (as) purity among the cleansed. They shall be priests, His righteous people, His host, and ministers, the angels of His glory. They shall praise Him with wondrous marvels.¹³

The text begins with the judgment of God, which means the end-time eradication of godlessness. The use of the imperfect indicates the still expected realization.¹⁴ At this point, therefore, an eschatological perspective undoubtedly comes into view. Among the purified and the

¹³ Translation J.L. Angel, ‘Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510–511)’, *DSD* 19 (2012) 1–27, here 22–23. Similar J.R. Davila, ‘Heavenly Ascents in the Dead Sea Scrolls’, in P.W. Flint and J.C. VanderKam (eds), *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment*, Vol. 2 (Leiden, 1999) 461–85, here 478–79.

¹⁴ Joseph Angel sees a similar eschatological view in 4Q511 37, a rather fragmentary text: “It is reasonable to suggest that this part of the text deals with the events of the eschatological day of judgement, which will witness the disappearance of demonic evil.” J.L. Angel, ‘Reading the Songs of the Sage in Sequence. Preliminary Observations and Questions,’ in M.S. Pajunen and J. Penner (eds), *Functions of Psalms and Prayers in the Late Second Temple Period* (Berlin, 2017) 185–211, here 198.

saints who are not affected by the annihilation, God will consecrate some for himself to an eternal sanctuary. Thus, here too, the destruction of the wicked corresponds to the eternal life of the righteous.

Finally, a special spotlight is cast in frg. 10 on the subject, which Joseph Angel places much later in column 11 and is reconstructed with the help of 4Q510 1 7–8. Here it is emphasized that destruction does not occur eternally, explicitly: “not for eternal destruction, [bu]t for an era of humiliation for transgression” (4Q510 1 7–8). The passage paints an understanding of an evil age that will one day be overcome, which is why the incantation of evil spirits spoken by the Maskil will not continue indefinitely, probably “as a deliberate limitation upon the power of magic itself.”¹⁵ If this reconstruction and interpretation are correct, then the destruction by the Maskil should not be understood as “everlasting”, because there is God’s “judgment of vengeance to exterminate wickedness” (4Q511 35 1).¹⁶

1.3. *1QHodayot*^a

The Hodayot also speak several times of judgment, which is first referred to the present. As for example in 1QH^a X 25–26:

By Your mercies You save my life, my steps are with You. But because of You they attack me, that You may be honoured through the judgment of the wicked, and that You may strengthen me against the children of men, for I stand in Your mercy.

Corresponding to this, the rescue or elevation from the pit is also a present experience of the person praying, as 1QH^a XI 20–24 indicates:

I give thanks to You, O Lord, for You have redeemed my soul from the pit. From Sheol and Abaddon You have raised me up to an eternal height, so that I might walk about on a limitless plain, and know that

¹⁵ B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, trans. J. Chipman (Leiden, 1994) 249.

¹⁶ Similar Angel, ‘Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience’, 5: “Presumably, God himself will see to the absolute destruction of the demons and the redemption of the sons of light at the end of the ‘present dominion of wickedness’ on the day of eschatological judgment. In a sense then, the protection effectuated by the Maskil’s hymns in the present anticipates the world as it will be after the final punishment of the forces of darkness.”

there is hope for him whom You created from the dust for the eternal council. The perverse spirit You have cleansed from great transgression, that he might take his stand with the host of the holy ones, and enter together (or in the *yaḥad*) with the congregation of the sons of heaven. And for man, You have allotted an eternal destiny with the spirits of knowledge, to praise Your name together with shouts of joy, and to recount Your wonders before all Your creatures.

These lines describe the present experience of the members of the *yaḥad*, who already saw themselves raised to the heavenly heights, such that they praised God in community with the angels.¹⁷ And yet, an eschatological perspective is already indicated here. Shortly after, the wrath of God is prayed for with apocalyptic words:

The earth shouts out, because of the disaster which comes about in the world, and all its plotters scream. All who are upon it behave as if mad, and they melt away in the gr[ea]t disaster. For God thunders with the roar of His strength and His holy dwelling roars forth in His glorious truth. Then the heavenly hosts shall raise their voice and the everlasting foundations shall melt and quake. The war of the heroes of heaven shall spread over the world and shall not return until an annihilation that has been determined from eternity is completed (עַד כֻּלָּה וְנַחֲרָצָה לְעַד). Nothing like this has ever occurred (1QH^a XI 34–37).

This idea is deepened later when it is announced that God will cut off all men of deceit in judgment:

But You, O God, shall answer them by judging them in Your strength [according to] their idols and the multitude of their transgressions, in order that they, who have turned away from Your covenant, might be caught in their own schemes. You shall cut off in ju[dgem]ent all deceitful men; seers of error shall no longer be found. For there is no deception in any of Your works, and no deceit in the deliberation of Your heart. Those who are in harmony with You shall stand before You for ever, and those who walk in the way of Your heart shall be secure for evermore (1QH^a XII 19–23).

This clearly no longer means the present experience, but the future “ages of wrath” and the “day of slaughter”, for which they are destined (see 1QH^a VII 30–32). This age does not aim at punishment, but

¹⁷ Detailed exegesis Jost, *Engelgemeinschaft*, 96–100.

at extermination.¹⁸ False prophets shall simply no longer exist. While the men of deceit are exterminated, eternal life in the presence of God is expected. The total extinction (annihilation) of sinners is thus opposed to eternal life.

If we now return to the question of what is meant by “eternal destruction,” it seems to me that the yahadic texts as a collection, and the Hodayot in particular, do not have in mind a continuing punishment in hell, but a final state of annihilation. Eternal life does not correspond to eternal punishment, but to the extinction of the person, thus the idea of annihilation is present here.

This understanding can be supplemented by further evidence, such as 1QH^a XIV 21–22, in which the consuming fire of judgment is spoken of in a drastic way, the result of which is annihilation: “In its bright flames all the children of [iniquity] will burn, [and it will become] a fire that burns up all the guilty until they are utterly destroyed (עַד כִּלְיָה)” (trans. C. Newsom, DJD 40). This formulation even indicates an end in a temporal way and shows that it is not about an everlasting event (see also 1QH^a XIV 32–36). There is a court, in which the punishment is carried out, but whose goal is the destruction of the sinners.

1.4. *Sheol in the Dead Sea Scrolls*

The topic of the judgment is not yet completely described in the Hodayot. It was pointed out rightly that Sheol is mentioned in 23 places, which can be connected with the idea of hell, “die eine Brücke zur Vorstellung einer brennenden Unterwelt sowohl in zwischentestamentlichen Texten (1 Hen 102,1–3; 103,7f.; 4 Esra 7,36–38; 4 Makk 99; 12,12) als auch in Mt 25,41; Lk 16,23f. bildet.”¹⁹ But a distinction must be made here. Sheol is mentioned above all in the Hodayot. And there, Sheol is first of all the present experience of

¹⁸ Overall, the end times are stretched out, so that even the “Day of Judgment” is not a punctual event (11QM^{elch}); see H. Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus* (Freiburg, 1994³) 288–89. Contrary, “the end of days would be a time of testing and purification for the community”, Pomykala, ‘Eschatologies and Messianisms’, 498. See also É. Puech, ‘Messianisme, eschatologie et resurrection dans les manuscrits de la Mer Morte’, *RevQ* 18 (1997) 255–98, here 257–65.

¹⁹ L. Lee, שאול, ThWQ III (2016) 798.

affliction from which the person who is praying knows to be saved. Exemplary for this view is 1QH^a XI 20–22, which was quoted earlier. Sheol is not to be associated primarily with the afterworld, but with the destruction of the present world. The person praying compares his afflictions, which he perceives as experiences of death or Sheol,²⁰ as 1QH^a XVI 28–33 reads:

I have become like a man who is forsaken by [] there is no refuge for me. For my agony breaks out to bitterness, and an incurable pain without stopping, [ro]ars over me, like those who descend into Sheol. Among the dead my spirit searches, for [my] li[fe] goes down to the pit [] my soul is faint day and night without rest. And my agony breaks out as a burning fire shut up within [my] b[ones] whose flame consumes for days on end, putting an end to my strength without ceasing and destroying my flesh without end (cf. XVII 4).

At the same time, Sheol is also associated with talk of judgment. When one rejoices in the covenant of God, one flourishes. But the groaning penetrates into Sheol, where the judgment of God is heard, 1QH^a XVIII 34–38:

My groaning enters the depths and completely searches out the chambers of Sheol. I am terrified when I hear of Your judgements with powerful warriors, and Your dispute with the hosts of Your saints in [] and judgement against all Your creatures, and righteousness [].

Sheol here stands for the world of the dead. It is true that in the Qumran writings also a connection of Sheol with fire can be seen, which Lydia Lee has emphasized in an informative article and in which she recognizes a new aspect in contrast to the Hebrew Bible.²¹ However, the three passages she uses for this purpose should not be weighted too heavily. For two of them are only fragmentarily preserved and therefore have to be reconstructed, which makes it difficult to define in which way the fire is to be understood in these passages (cf. 1QH^a IV 25–26a; 1QM XIV 16–18; 4Q184 1 6–11).

²⁰ Emphasized by W. Nebe, ‘Scheol in den Schriften vom Toten Meer’, in J. Tubach *et al.* (eds), *Sehnsucht nach der Hölle? Höllen- und Unterweltsvorstellungen in Orient und Okzident, Beiträge des Leucorea-Kolloquiums 2010* (Wiesbaden, 2012) 169–98, here 181.

²¹ See L. Lee, ‘Fiery Sheol in the Dead Sea Scrolls’, *RevQ* 27 (2015) 249–70.

1.5. *Conclusion Regarding the Yahadic Texts*

Yahadic texts attest to a present judgment and a communion with the angels of the earthly community, yet expect a judgment at a certain future time, the day of wrath and vengeance, which leads to the destruction of the ungodly on the one hand and to the purification of the righteous on the other, thus beginning a new age. The judgment accordingly becomes the final word on the ungodly, determining their final fate. Eternal destruction therefore does not mean eternal torment in hell, but the final state of extinction.²² This also makes it possible to understand why no hell or punishments in hell are executed.

Hence the first half of the statement of John Collins is comprehensible: “the topography of the afterlife was still unclear ...”²³ However, the second part seems too pessimistic: “and the Scrolls give surprisingly little information on the subject.” In my opinion, the Dead Sea Scrolls speak much more about judgment and punishment than is often claimed. My short summary of some important paragraphs proves that. But they do not draw a topography of hell, because the judgment of the wicked aims at destruction. Therefore, there is no need for tours of hell. Nevertheless, the *yahad* looked into the judgment and the destiny of the righteous and the sinners after the earthly life.

Finally, the general observation is important that the judgment and destruction is contrasted with grace and mercy, for which the members of the *yahad* give thanks to God: “In your anger are all punishing judgments, but in your goodness is abundant forgiveness, and your compassion is for all the children of your good favour. For you have made known to them the secret counsel of your truth” (1QH^a XIX 11–12; trans. C. Newsom, DJD 40). The members of the *yahad* have a deep awareness that it is only by grace that they can stand before God and that it is God’s mercy that keeps them alive. The reason some experience mercy and others do not is explained with the providence of God, in which he sovereignly designs the different lives and destinies (e.g., 1QH^a VII 25–35 or 1QS III 13–IV 26). The individual deeds have much less impact on one’s eternal destiny than they do in later apocalyptic writings.

²² Lee, ‘Fiery Sheol’, 266–70 also argues for the idea of annihilation in the Qumran writings.

²³ Collins, ‘Otherworld’, 96.

2. *First Enoch*

In addition to these yaḥadic texts, compositions were also collected at Qumran that did not originate from the *yaḥad* itself. Among these is *1 Enoch*. John Collins recognizes similarities between the two traditions, especially in the question of the fate of the godless: “The continuity with the Enochic literature is most readily evident in the fate of the wicked”,²⁴ quoting 1QS IV 11–14. A special proximity can be seen in the idea of annihilation. In *1 Enoch*, however, a greater interest in punishment can be perceived and the underworld is described in a much more concrete way, which I briefly outline following.

2.1. *The Judgment of Annihilation*

Already the opening sentence tend to compare the living righteous and the annihilation of the sinners: “The blessing of Enoch: with which he blessed the elect and the righteous who would be present on the day of tribulation at (the time of) the removal of all the ungodly ones”²⁵ (*1 En.* 1:1). This general view is amplified later in the text (*1 En.* 1:8–9), and again and again the destruction of sinners and ungodliness is emphasized (e.g. *1 En.* 10:15,20; 45:6; 52:9; 53:2; 62:2; 69:27–29; 92:5; 98:3; 99:16; 107:1; 108:3). Especially significant is *1 En.* 22, where the four-part underworld in the west is described. One of these four places is bright and has a water source, which is the place of the deceased righteous. But then there are other spaces for the unrighteous. A distinction is made between those who have already been punished during their lifetime. These will no longer be punished on the Day of Judgment, but they will not be resurrected either. Those of the remaining unrighteous in the other space, on the other hand, who have not yet experienced judgment in their lifetime, will be punished on the Day of Judgment.

²⁴ Collins, ‘Otherworld’, 102.

²⁵ Translation by E. Isaac, ‘(Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch (Second Century B.C.-First Century A.D.)’, in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Apocalyptic Literature & Testaments* (Garden City, 1983) 5–89, here 72.

The idea that where judgment has already taken place on earth, there is no longer a need for resurrection fits with the previous remarks of the yahadic writings. The decisive thing is accomplished as soon as the judgment has taken place. Thus, the idea of an eternal torment in hell loses relevance and the perspective ends with the last judgment, which can certainly be combined with the yahadic texts.²⁶

A similar idea is also found in *1 En.* 91, part of the Epistle of Enoch. There it is announced that injustice will once again increase.

Then a great plague shall take place from heaven upon all these; the holy Lord shall emerge with wrath and plague in order that he may execute judgment upon the earth. In those days, injustice shall be cut off from its (sources of succulent) fountain and from its roots – (likewise) oppression together with deceit; they shall be destroyed from underneath heaven. All that which is (common) with the heathen shall be surrendered; the towers shall be inflamed with fire, and be removed from the whole earth. They shall be thrown into the judgment of fire, and perish in wrath and in the force of the eternal judgment (*1 En.* 91:7–9).

This destruction is contrasted with the resurrection of the righteous from the sleep of death (91:10). While the unrighteous are facing destruction, the righteous are being brought to life.

2.2. *The Judgment of Punishment*

Nevertheless, the Enochic literature shows more interest in eschatological images. Among these is the place where the fallen angels will be punished. This place is described with horrific illustrations of an environment of fire.²⁷ They will be bound there “until the time of the completion of their sin in the year of mystery” (*1 En.* 18:16). The

²⁶ R. Bauckham, ‘Early Jewish Visions of Hell’, *JThS* 41 (1990) 355–85 at 375 recognizes here “a transition from the belief that the punishment of the wicked will begin after the last judgement to the belief that it is already taking place in the intermediate state before the last judgement coincides with the emergence of visions of the punishments taking place in hell.”. See also id., ‘Hades, Hell,’ *AYBD* 3 (1992) 14–15. However, I would not interpret the waiting room already as punishment before the judgment. Rather, judgment and punishment belong together, which is why the person whom judgment has not already struck in earthly life must still wait for the final judgment. That this cannot be the place of bliss is self-evident.

²⁷ Comparable to the description in *Apoc. Pet.* 5:1–9.

angels who have transgressed with the women will also be bound there “until the great day of judgment in which they shall be judged till they are finished” (19:1). This statement shows that the idea of hellish punishments does not contradict the concept of annihilation. It is precisely the punishments that lead to destruction.

Elsewhere it speaks of eternal captivity, so that the idea of annihilation is relegated to the farthest reaches. *First Enoch* 21:10: “This place is the prison house of the angels; they are detained here forever” (see also 18:14). Other texts speak accordingly of eternal torment in the fire, as 10:13: “In those days they will lead them into the bottom of the fire – and in torment – in the prison (where) they will be locked up forever.” But here too, the notion of the destruction follows immediately afterwards. Thus, it is called to “destroy all the souls of pleasure and the children of the Watchers, for they have done injustice to man. Destroy injustice from the face of the earth. And every iniquitous deed will end, and the plant of righteousness and truth will appear forever, and he will plant joy” (10:15–16).

In general, there is an eschatologization of the judgment in *I Enoch*. Certainly, there is also the possibility mentioned, that the punishment took place already during one’s earthly life (*I En.* 22). However, the focus shifts on individual punishment after the earthly death, where it has not already taken place during life. This environment of fire in the afterworld is the place, where the judgment is realized. Nevertheless, also here the narrative points to the annihilation. Through the destruction of injustice, the new age of salvation is implemented.

2.3. Conclusion Regarding *I Enoch*

If we therefore return to the thesis of John Collins at this point, it is confirmed that there is definitely a continuity between the Enochic and yahadic tradition. *First Enoch* 22 expresses a judgment leading to annihilation, so that after the judgment no further confrontation with the godless would be necessary, as it is the case in the texts from Qumran. *First Enoch* 92:5 sums it up: “Sin and darkness shall perish forever and shall no more be seen from that day forevermore.”

Nevertheless, in contrast to the *yahad*, the judgment is more consistently transferred to the afterlife. Thus, communion with the angels

is not a present experience of the congregation, but a visionary-eschatological expectation.²⁸ Moreover, the focus shifts from judgment to punishment and thus from the enforcement of justice to the punishment of sinners in the afterworld. This is particularly evident in *1 En.* 90. This chapter describes the execution of punishment in a way that is not found in the yahadic texts. That is why the closest proximity to the idea of an eternal torment in hell exists here:

Then his judgment took place. First among the stars, they received their judgment and were found guilty, and they went to the place of condemnation; and they were thrown into an abyss, full of fire and flame and full of the pillar of fire. Then those seventy shepherds were judged and found guilty; and they were cast into that fiery abyss. In the meantime I saw how another abyss like it, full of fire, was opened wide in the middle of the ground; and they brought those blinded sheep, all of which were judged, found guilty, and cast into this fiery abyss, and they were burned – the abyss is to the right of that house; thus I saw those sheep while they were burning – their bones also were burning. Then I stood still, looking at that ancient house being transformed: All the pillars and all the columns were pulled out; and the ornaments of that house were packed and taken out together with them and abandoned in a certain place in the South of the land (*1 Enoch* 90:24–28).

These lines do not explicitly speak of annihilation, but of burning. The statement foreshadows the notion of an eternal conscious suffering in hell, especially if one combines it with the idea of the eternal prison house (*1 En.* 10:13; 18:14; 21:10). It is therefore not surprising that the youngest part of *1 Enoch* also talks about this place where there “is no peace” for sinners (*1 En.* 102:3), “they shall experience evil and great tribulation” (*1 En.* 103:7), which underlines a conscious experience of hell.

But if one analyzes this passage on the basis of the other statements in *1 Enoch*, a perpetual suffering in the hell is not necessarily in view here. If we read these on the basis of the statements in *1 En.* 22, according to which those who are judged on earth do not rise again and the statement in *1 En.* 91, that the sinners will be destroyed in the wrath of God, the idea of final annihilation is not unreasonable. Certainly, the punishment is now emphasized, and with it the act of suffering. Nevertheless, it aims at removing “the old house” to make

²⁸ See Jost, *Engelgemeinschaft*, 28–30.

way for the messianic kingdom (*1 En.* 90:28–38). Also here, one thing is destroyed to make place for another.

So we are facing the interesting question in which context we want to interpret *1 Enoch*. In my opinion we should do this in the context of the early Jewish writings of the 1st/2nd century BCE and not in the context of later apocalyptic writings. We should be careful to not read *1 Enoch* through the lens of later “tours of hell.” Therefore, with regard to eschatology, Uhlig rightly emphasizes the notion of annihilation in *1 Enoch*, which stands in contrast to the eternal joy of the righteous.²⁹

3. *Early Jewish Concepts of Judgment, Hell, and Punishment and the Apocalypse of Peter*

If we finally compare the *Apocalypse of Peter* with the yahadic texts and *1 Enoch*, then a clear shift in the notion of judgment and hell can be observed. In the *Apocalypse of Peter* there is no talk of judgment as the enforcement of God’s justice and the eradication of ungodliness. Instead, the question of the punishment of sinners is decisively accentuated, combined with an individualization and focus on one’s deeds. In two respects, a changed view can be detected in this.

First, different conceptions of the relationship between judgment and punishment can be identified. On the one hand, we find a judgment that consists of annihilation in the texts of the *yahad* and the Enochic literature. In this view, judgment and punishment coincide because punishment is carried out along with God’s judgment. The goal of the judgment is the destruction of evil and purification of God’s people and thus has a cosmological-eschatological dimension.³⁰ We find this understanding in a special way in the texts of the *yahad*. On the other hand, a judgment that consists in punishment can be distinguished from it. In this case, judgment and punishment are successive actions. First, there is the judgment in the sense of a verdict on the deeds committed. The aim is to determine the chastisement due

²⁹ S. Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch* (Gütersloh, 1984) 493.

³⁰ See further C. Stettler, *Das letzte Gericht. Studien zur Endgerichtserwartung von den Schriftpropheten bis Jesus* (Tübingen, 2011) 130–38. He speaks of the “enforcement of the reign of God” (“Durchsetzung der Gottesherrschaft”).

to the sinner. Then follows the corresponding suffering of the punishments. Exemplary for this stands the *Apocalypse of Peter*. This no longer speaks of “eternal destruction” but now explicitly of “eternal punishment” (*Apoc. Pet.* 6:6, 9) and of “darkness that cannot be extinguished” (*Apoc. Pet.* 6:5).³¹ The judgment is oriented entirely on the individual’s past and has no future-oriented meaning, which is why it now lasts forever.

The view of *1 Enoch* contains both aspects. One finds the thought of a judgment unto annihilation that precedes a new age of salvation. But one also finds the thought of individual judgment based on past sins. Taken together, however, the views of *1 Enoch* are closer to the texts of the *yahad* than to the *Apocalypse of Peter*, because the thought of annihilation is leading.³²

³¹ Also in Matt 25:46; Heb 6:2; Rev 20:10. For a discussion whether *Apoc. Pet.* discusses *eternal* punishment, see, e.g., T.J. Kraus, ‘Fürbitte für die Toten im frühen Christentum. «Ich werde ... den gewähren, den sie aus der Strafe erbitten»’, in H. Klein *et al.* (eds), *Das Gebet im Neuen Testament* (Tübingen, 2009) 355–96; T. Nicklas, ‘Petrusoffenbarung, Christusoffenbarung und ihre Funktion. Autoritätskonstruktion in der Petrusapokalypse’, in J. Frey, F. Tóth and M. Jost (eds.), *Autorschaft und Autorisierungsstrategien in apokalyptischen Texten* (Tübingen, 2019) 319–35

³² See further J.N. Bremmer, ‘Descents to the Underworld from Gilgamesh to Christian Late Antiquity’, *Studia Religiosa* 50 (2017) 291–309. He concludes: “This underworld was appropriated by Hellenised Jews, who also made use of their own Jewish tradition in the measure-for-measure punishments, the demonstrative pronouns and the prominence of fire. Somewhere between *1 Enoch* and the middle of the second century AD, a Jew invented the genre of the Apocalypse, which contained features of classical Descent literature but also a number of ethical transgressions, with fire being the instrument of punishment for anonymous sinners.” See also P. Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter. Nach den Quellen der rabbinischen, apokalyptischen und apokryphen Literatur* (Hildesheim, 2003 [reprint]) 309, who emphasises the notion of destruction, but at the same time recognizes a connection with the notion of punishment: “Das Gericht als Vernichtung hat überwiegend einen vorbereitenden Charakter, es sollen durch dasselbe, damit das Heil kommen kann, zuvor alle feindlichen Elemente aus der Welt geschafft werden, z.B. Hen 1 1. [...] Nicht selten weiss aber der Fromme von einem Strafzustand der Verdammnis, in den die Gottlosen versetzt werden, oder man beliebt, beides, Vernichtung und Verdammung, miteinander zu verbinden”.

Second, these two views are based on different concepts of how life is defined. In the texts of the *yahad* as well as in *1 Enoch*, judgment is primarily equated with annihilation. Whoever is removed from the community of God perishes, as 1QH^a XI 18 quotes: there is “destruction without your mercy” (כלה בלוא רחמך). Therefore, eternal life is opposed to annihilation. Human life is a gift that depends on God’s judgment and can therefore be taken away. In the *Apocalypse of Peter*, however, the meaning of death is limited to corporeality and the earthly loss of life. After the judgment there is only the possibility of being, either in a state of damnation or heavenly glory.³³

This brings us back to Peter’s question following a word of Jesus from Mark 14:21, to which I referred in the introduction. Would not being uncreated be better for sinners than suffering eternal hell? From this comparison, it can be concluded that the existence of human beings can no longer be erased. Life is not defined in dependence of a relationship with God but is simply grounded in being created. The consequence of this is that not life and death are combined, but creation and punishment. Not mercy is juxtaposed with punishment as in the Dead Sea Scrolls, but being created is contrasted with punishment.³⁴ The only fate for the soul of the sinners in the *Apocalypse of Peter* is the destiny in hell, or alternatively the (partial) apocatastasis, as Daniel Maier argues in his contribution to this volume.³⁵ Both

³³ Platonic influences can be suspected behind this shift. N. Artemov, ‘Erfindung Platons? Zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Hölle in der griechischen Antike’, in Tubach, *Sehnsucht nach der Hölle?*, 9–33, here 31 concludes in this way: “Die Geburtsstunde der Hölle scheint daher in einem gewissen Sinne mit der Geburtsstunde der ‘Seele’ in der europäischen Tradition zusammenzufallen.” But, we find this shift to the soul or human spirit also in *1 Enoch*. The souls go down to Sheol and the souls enter into the great judgment (e.g., *1 En.* 103:7–8).

³⁴ It is striking how the concepts of grace and mercy are almost completely absent from *Apoc. Pet.* Mercy is mentioned only from ch. 24 on in the Ethiopian version (except Prologue and 13:4). This is in striking contrast to the Dead Sea Scrolls.

³⁵ In the *GreekPetrApk* (P.Vindob.G 39756) one can also find the idea that sinners can be saved from punishment through the prayers of the elect; see Kraus, ‘Fürbitte’, 355–96; id. and T. Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* (Berlin and New York, 2004).

conceptions give an answer to the question of the fate of the created immortal souls. But with it the greatest possible contrast to the conception of annihilation for the sinners is reached.

Thus, it can be acknowledged that Qumran cannot be regarded as the primary context of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Not only is the catalog of punishments for eschatological judgment so typically offered in the *Apocalypse of Peter* missing.³⁶ The differences are even more deeply located in different eschatological and anthropological concepts. The analysis of the Qumran writings, however, contributes decisively to obtaining a differentiated picture of the eschatological worldviews at the time of the Second Temple, in which such different concepts as annihilation and eternal torment in hell can be found.

Moreover, these insights show that we should be highly cautious about genealogical explanations of individual *topoi*, as judgment of sinners or descriptions of hell. The problem can be exemplified by an essay by Richard Bauckham, who, while himself critical of Martha Himmelfarb's account, looks for "transitions". In doing so, he draws a transition from the notion that punishment follows judgment to a notion that judgment happens immediately after death in the intermediate state before judgment.

The preceding four sections have shown how, within the tradition of tour apocalypses, a transition from the belief that the punishment of the wicked will begin after the last judgement to the belief that it is already taking place in the intermediate state before the last judgement coincides with the emergence of visions of the punishments taking place in hell.³⁷

The insights from the Dead Sea Scrolls seem to problematize this explanation. The visions of eternal punishments in hell are not primarily to be connected with the intermediate state, but much more with the understanding of judgment, punishment, and life. It is not only a temporal transition regarding the time of the punishment. I see rather a tendency that the notion of annihilation has shifted to the

³⁶ Particularly emphasized in the works of Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, *passim* and J.N. Bremmer, 'Orphic, Roman, Jewish and Christian Tours of Hell. Observations on the Apocalypse of Peter', in T. Nicklas *et al.* (eds), *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World* (Leiden, 2010) 306–21, updated in his *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 2017) 281–93.

³⁷ Bauckham, 'Early Jewish Visions of Hell', 375.

notion of suffering in hell. This ideological rupture can probably have been favored by the eschatologization of the notion of annihilation, but it cannot yet explain the redefinition of the content of the judgment. Therefore, a genealogy of the visions of hell is usually much more complex than the proposals want to make it.³⁸

³⁸ I wish to thank Daniel Maier and Christian Stettler for commenting a draft of this contribution and Jacob Cerone for reviewing the English of this article.

VIII. The *Apocalypse of Peter*, 2 Peter and *Sibylline Oracles II*: Alexandrian Debates?

JAN N. BREMMER

The status quo of the discussions concerning the *Apocalypse of Peter* (= *Apoc. Pet.*) can be summarised fairly quickly.¹ The main points of debate remain the provenance (Palestine or Egypt),² the time of composition (around 150 or several decades earlier), the priority regarding 2 Peter and the actual message of the *Apocalypse* (monitory or not). As I have recently defended my position for Egypt,³ Alexandria in particular, around 150, and accept the dependence of 2 Peter on our *Apocalypse*,⁴ following the new perspective, I will not repeat myself here, although I realise that these solutions can only be considered as

¹ For the most recent *Forschungsgeschichte*, see P. Piovaneli, ‘Les origines et la fortune de l’*Apocalypse de Pierre* reconsidérées’, in J. Lieu (ed.), *Peter in the Early Church: Apostle - Missionary - Church Leader* (Leuven, 2021) 311–29; J. Schröter, ‘Evangelientraditionen in der Offenbarung des Petrus’, in H.J. de Jonge et al. (eds), *The Gospels and their Receptions. Festschrift Joseph Verheyden* (Leuven, 2022) 453–77 at 45–65; D. Batovici, ‘Apocalypse of Peter (Greek)’, in J.Ch. Edwards (ed.), *Early New Testament Apocrypha* (Grand Rapids, 2022) 446–58.

² Note that E. Norelli, ‘L’*Apocalisse di Pietro* come apocalisse cristiana’, *RSCr* 17 (2020) 111–84 at 128–29 still supports the connection with Bar Kokhba but does admit the possibility that the *Apoc. Pet.* was written outside Judaea.

³ For further arguments, see M.G. Ruf, “In Aegyptum, ut denuo disseratur de me”, in J. Frey et al. (eds), *2 Peter and the Apocalypse of Peter: Towards a New Perspective* (Leiden, 2020) 196–216.

⁴ See also E. Repo, *Der “Weg” als Selbstbezeichnung des Urchristentums* (Helsinki, 1964) 97–107.

plausible, given that we have insufficient data to reach absolute certainty.⁵

It is not that everybody has accepted the late dating of the *Apoc. Pet.* In an article of a decade ago, Norelli restated his position, and rejected the various arguments adduced by Eibert Tigchelaar and Tobias Nicklas against the importance of Bar Kokhba for the interpretation of our *Apocalypse*.⁶ To give one example of his arguments, he adduces 1:4 'Take care not to be deceived lest you become doubters and worship other gods'.⁷ Now Norelli rightly argues that the author had in mind Matt 24:4–5 and connects also, again rightly, Deut 13:2–6. On the other hand, he surely goes too far in speculating what the author and his readers will have thought about the connection between these two texts. We have no idea about their thoughts, and there is no indication in the text that the author was inspired by Deuteronomy but chose Matthew for his treatise, as Norelli suggests. This is clearly special pleading to arrive at a single pseudo-prophet instead of the plurality mentioned in our text. We also notice that Norelli does not give any attention to the first part of the admonishment, which is not found in either biblical text: the reference to doubters. Apparently, with this mention of doubt the author updated his biblical pretext, but this doubt also fits better the worship of other gods. The latter comment is much more suitable to Egypt than Palestine and would hardly fit the Bar Kochba period.⁸ That does not mean that the latter could

⁵ J.N. Bremmer, 'The *Apocalypse of Peter* as the First Christian Martyr Text: Its Date, Provenance and Relationship with 2 *Peter*', in Frey, *2 Peter and the Apocalypse of Peter*, 75–98 at 85–90.

⁶ Cf. E. Tigchelaar, 'Is the Liar Bar Kokhba? Considering the Date and Provenance of the Greek (Ethiopic) *Apocalypse of Peter*', in J.N. Bremmer and I. Czachesz (eds), *The Apocalypse of Peter* (Leuven, 2003) 63–77; T. Nicklas, 'Christliche Apokryphen als Spiegel der Vielfalt frühchristlichen Lebens: Schlaglichter, Beispiele und methodische Probleme', *ASE* 23 (2006) 27–44 at 33–39, not refuted by Piovanelli, 'Les origines et la fortune de l'*Apocalypse de Pierre* reconsidérées', 324–27.

⁷ I use the translation by E.J. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter* (Tübingen, 2019) 66–73, but have sometimes adapted the text by checking it against other translations.

⁸ For arguments against the identification with Bar Kokhba, see also Schröter, 'Evangelientraditionen', 472.

not have been in the mind of our author, but we have to be careful with our arguments, as Norelli himself often stresses.⁹

Now very soon after the discovery and publication of the Greek Akhmîm fragment of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, it was seen that a relationship existed between the *Apocalypse* and the second book of the Sibylline Oracles,¹⁰ however complicated the text and tradition of the latter are.¹¹ Yet this relationship has rarely been studied in any depth. The exception to this situation – and let's stress that it is a brilliant exception – is the commentary by Jane Lightfoot on the first two books of the Sibyllines.¹² However, her analysis has had little impact on the investigation of the *Apocalypse* in recent years.¹³ Lightfoot has observed that the Sibyl differs from the *Apoc. Pet.* in three respects in particular: her use of Scripture, her borrowings from other Sibyllines and her use of classical literature.¹⁴ It cannot be my intention here to systematically compare the two writings, which would require a proper book, but it may be useful to offer some observations on the differences and similarities by taking account of Lightfoot's observations. In this analysis, I will mostly use the order of the Sibyl, as it is easier to follow than that of the *Apoc. Pet.*

⁹ E. Norelli, 'L'adversaire eschatologique dans l'Apocalypse de Pierre', in Y.-M. Blanchard *et al.* (eds), *Les forces du bien et du mal dans les premiers siècles de l'Église* (Paris, 2011) 291–317.

¹⁰ J.A. Robinson and M.R. James, *The Gospel according to Peter and the Revelation to Peter* (London, 1892) 61–63; A. Harnack, *Bruchstücke des Evangeliums und der Apokalypse des Petrus* (Leipzig, 1893) 49. For later bibliography, see T.J. Kraus, 'Die griechische Petrus-Apokalypse und ihre Relation zu ausgewählten Überlieferungsträgern apokalyptischer Stoffe', *Apocrypha* 14 (2003) 73–98 at 85 note 44.

¹¹ Cf. J. Lightfoot, *The Sibylline Oracles* (Oxford, 2007) 257–68, 552–53.

¹² Lightfoot, *The Sibylline Oracles*.

¹³ Cf. J. Frey, 'Fire and Water? Apocalyptic Imagination and Hellenistic Worldview in 2 Peter', in J. Baden *et al.* (eds), *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy* (Leiden, 2017) 451–71 at 460 note 36: 'Although *Sib. Or.* 2 might already use the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the correspondences can point to a common context', but see also J. Hultin, 'Reading 2 Peter 3 in the Light of the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Sibylline Oracles*', in Frey, *2 Peter and the Apocalypse of Peter*, 160–95 at 191–93; note that Lightfoot is absent from the bibliography of Beck, *Justice and Mercy*.

¹⁴ See Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 131–43, 558–62, for the comparison.

Let me start with the point where the Sibylline Book is thought to incorporate the *Apoc. Pet.* Lightfoot begins at line 194 with the cosmic disaster, but one may at least wonder if the Sibyl had not also looked closely at the sections preceding Chapter 5, since the disaster starts in the *Apoc. Pet.* on the day of judgement, but before that Christ has stated that false Messiahs will come, with one in particular mentioned (1:5, 2:7–10). From line 165 and following, the Sibyl speaks of false prophets but also with one, Belial, singled out. Undoubtedly, close reworkings of our text start at l. 194, but it is not that likely that the Sibyl started to read the *Apocalypse* at Chapter 5:1, and the influence of our *Apocalypse*'s beginning on the Sibyl here can hardly be excluded.

However this may be, there is no doubt about the Sibyl's fairly detailed use of the *Apoc. Pet.* in her picture of the cosmic disaster. At this point, I would like to make two observations. First, without entering here in the debate about the relationship between *Apoc. Pet.* and 2 Peter, I am not sure that Jörg Frey is right when he notes: 'The parallel description of the cataclysm (cf. *Apoc. Pet.* [E] 4–6 and the shorter and focused argument 2 Pet 3:5–13) provides further confirmation for the view that 2 Peter is dependent on the *Apocalypse of Peter*. While Bauckham speculates about an otherwise unknown Jewish apocalyptic source in 2 Pet 3:5–7, 10, the assumption that the text (esp. 3:10) draws on a scenario as presented in *Apoc. Pet.* 4–6 provides an easier explanation'. I agree that Bauckham is unconvincing in adducing an unknown source, but at the same time, I wonder if the similarity is not exaggerated. 2 Peter mentions both the Flood and the future conflagration in Chapter 3, and the Flood and the fire of Sodom and Gomorrah in Chapter 2:5–6, whereas the *Apoc. Pet.*, followed by the Sibyl, only mentions the fire.¹⁵ Now the combination of flood and fire is an old one, which is already found in the Pythagorean Philolaus (44 A 18DK, with Huffman *ad loc.*) and Plato's *Timaeus* (22C), taken up by the Stoa and even found in the *Martyrdom of Pionius* (4:17–23).¹⁶ Its repeated combination,

¹⁵ See also E. Norelli, 'Les débats récents sur le rapport entre 2 Pierre et l'Apocalypse de Pierre: le cas de la conflagration universelle', *RSCr* 19 (2022), forthcoming; for the origin of the idea of conflagration, see Ch. Vasallo, 'Measuring the End: Heraclitus and Diogenes of Babylon on the Great Year and Ekpyrosis', *Apeiron* 56 (2023), forthcoming.

¹⁶ Cf. J. Chaîne, 'Cosmogonie aquatique et conflagration finale d'après la *Secunda Petri*', *RB* 46 (1937) 207–16; W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in*

then, in 2 Peter probably depends on Hellenistic sources rather than on the *Apocalypse of Peter*. If we want to have a motif in 2 Peter that does depend on our Apocalypse, we might think of 3:12 where the heavenly bodies melt away. We find that same metaphor in *Apoc. Pet.* 5:4E, where Beck's translation of 'waste away' is less precise than Marrassini's 'seront fondue'.¹⁷ The same metaphor is found in the Septuagint version of Isaiah 34:4, but the lack of any other detail from its context and the fact that the *Apoc. Pet.* seems to quote only Ezekiel 37 and Psalm 24 from the Old Testament makes it less likely to see a reference to Isaiah.¹⁸

Second, it is clear that the Sibyl follows the *Apoc. Pet.* pretty closely in her description of the cosmic disaster. Unfortunately, we cannot see which Greek words the Sibyl repeated from *Apoc. Pet.*, as that would perhaps have enabled us to get a better idea of the author's literary knowledge, but it can easily be seen from Lightfoot's commentary that the Sibyl expands the picture of cosmic dissolution by adding an evocation of the desolation through reference to the absence of anything alive, from birds to fishes to ploughing bulls. Yet there is one other detail in the Sibyl's description, lacking in the *Apoc. Pet.*, which has not been properly commented upon by Lightfoot. In line 205, the Sibyl says: 'and ash will cover all' (τέφρα δέ τε πάντα καλύψει), which is a kind of closure of the description of the destructive fires. What Lightfoot does not notice is that the ash is taken from Book 4, where it describes the eruption of the Vesuvius (its *terminus post quem*) and ends with 'much smoking ashes will fill the great sky'

Ancient Pythagoreanism (Cambridge, MA, 1972) 315 n. 86; J. Mansfeld, 'Providence and the Destruction of the Universe', in M.J. Vermaseren (ed.), *Studies in Hellenistic Religions* (Leiden 1979) 129–88 at 146 n. 52 = id., *Studies in Later Greek Philosophy and Gnosticism* (London, 1989) Ch. I, 146 n. 52.

¹⁷ Cf. R. Bauckham and P. Marrassini, 'Apocalypse de Pierre', in F. Bovon and P. Geoltrain (eds), *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens I* (Paris, 1997) 747–85 at 761.

¹⁸ Cf. J. van Ruiten, 'The Old Testament Quotations in the *Apocalypse of Peter*', in Bremmer and Czachesz, *The Apocalypse of Peter*, 158–73; T. Nicklas, 'Jewish, Christian, Greek? The *Apocalypse of Peter* as a Witness of Early 2nd-Cent. Christianity in Alexandria', in L. Arcari (ed.), *Beyond Conflicts: Cultural and Religious Cohabitations in Alexandria and Egypt between the 1st and the 6th Century CE* (Tübingen, 2017) 27–46 at 28.

(4:133: πολλή δ' αἰθαλόεσσα τέφρη μέγαν αἰθέρα πλήσῃ). In both cases, then, the covering with ash concludes a description of a cosmic or natural disaster.

The Sibyl continues with the resurrection, which, less logically, precedes the final destruction of the earth. It is noteworthy that she gives God a much more active role than in the *Apoc. Pet.* where God orders Uriel to reassemble the body parts (4:7–9) and the angel seems to replace the prophet in Qumran's *Second Ezekiel* (4Q385). However, as van Ruiten persuasively argues, the gap in time and language between the two documents makes direct reliance of the *Apoc. Pet.* on *Second Ezekiel* unlikely but does suggest sharing a tradition of interpretation.¹⁹ By all accounts, it is unlikely that the *Apoc. Pet.* predates the revolt under Trajan. But if indeed not, it would mean that certain Jewish traditions survived that terrible war, and not only the Septuagint. René Bloch has shown that it is likely that there always were some Judeans in Egypt who knew Hebrew.²⁰ Unfortunately, the time of the middle of the second century is basically a 'black hole' in our knowledge of Jewish history in Egypt. Yet this connection with *Second Ezekiel* suggests that, for a while at least, some exegetical Jewish traditions were still available in Alexandria after the revolt, although ongoing contact between Judeans in Egypt and in Palestine is not wholly impossible.²¹

In this passage, the enumeration of the various parts of the body in the *Apoc. Pet.* (4:8–9E) is nearly completely taken over by the Sibyl, although she has added a voice (221) and moved flesh forward in the list in order to effect a strictly 'inside-out' order.²² It is not clear why the Sibyl changed the singular of 'soul' in the *Apoc. Pet.* into 'souls' (221), as that is not metrically necessary. In any case, it seems almost certain that we can see a bit of the original Greek of the *Apoc. Pet.* in this passage as ψυχὰς καὶ πνεῦμα in the Sibylline version must reflect the Ethiopic 'soul and spirit' (4:9), which would give ψυχή καὶ πνεῦμα, a combination found in that order in Hebrews (4:12), although usually the order is the other way round (Phil 1:27; 1 Thess 5:23 and passim).

¹⁹ Van Ruiten, 'The Old Testament Quotations', 168.

²⁰ R. Bloch, 'How Much Hebrew in Jewish Alexandria?', in B. Schliesser *et al.* (eds), *Alexandria* (Tübingen, 2021) 261–68.

²¹ Thus Jeremiah Coogan (*per email* 6 June 2022).

²² As noted by Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 492–30.

It is noteworthy to observe that the Greek speaking author of the *Apoc. Pet.* has adapted the source text of Second Ezekiel at this point. The latter just says: ‘Prophesy over the four winds of the sky and the wind[s of the sky] will blow [upon them and they will live...]’ (4Q385 fr. 2.7–8, tr. García Martínez/Tigchelaar), which is a variant of Ezekiel’s: ‘I will cause breath to enter you and you shall live’ (37:5. tr. NRSV). In other words, the author has already made concessions to the Greek anthropology, in which a human consists of a body and soul. This anthropological concept took hold in the Christian world only gradually, and the juxtaposition of soul and spirit in our text seems typical of the transitory period between the originally Jewish holistic idea and the Platonic view of humans as consisting of a body and a soul.²³

The resurrection takes place from the underworld, which is described in a few words in contrast to the punishments, which are mentioned in great detail. We are only told that ‘(God) will command Gehenna that it opens its bars of adamant and return everything that there is within it’ (4:3). The meagreness of this description is immediately clear when we compare it with the Sibyl, who gives three lines to the description of the gates of Hades (2:227–29), which include the adamant, whereas the gates of hell are clearly presupposed, but only alluded to, by our author. Bauckham has argued that Gehenna in the Ethiopic text is its translation of an original Greek ‘Hades’.²⁴ For three reasons, this is not immediately necessary.

First, I would stress that the angel Uriel who is charged with the resurrection is also connected with the accursed valley, that is, Gehenna, in *1 Enoch* (27:2). Second, and more importantly, a Latin fragment of the apocryphal *Apocalypse of Elijah* has survived in the *Epistula Titi discipuli Pauli de dispositione sanctimonii*. In its final form, this Apocalypse probably dates to the fourth century, but it almost certainly goes back to a second-century original.²⁵ It describes

²³ See J.N. Bremmer, ‘Body and Soul in the Pre-Valerian Christian Martyr Acts’, in J. Frey and M. Nägele (eds), *Der Nous bei Paulus und in seiner Umwelt* (Tübingen, 2021) 259–78.

²⁴ Bauckham, *Fate of the Dead*, 279, followed by Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 494.

²⁵ Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 34–36; D. Frankfurter, *Elijah in Upper Egypt: the Apocalypse of Elijah and Early Egyptian Christianity* (Minneapolis, 1993); Bauckham, *Fate of the Dead*, 57–60, 70–71.

Gehenna where the angel of the Lord shows Elijah a series of torments that are clearly related to the *Apocalypse of Peter*, in that men and women are hanging by the limbs with which they sinned, but without the question/answer structure, if with the demonstrative pronouns that are characteristic for the tour of hell. Even if this Apocalypse would derive from a Jewish *Vorlage*, as Himmelfarb postulates, it still shows that the name Gehenna is not necessarily to be replaced by Hades.²⁶ Last but not least, also the Sibyl mentions that the sinners will be thrown ‘in the thick of night in Gehenna’ (2:290–91).

It is intriguing, though, that the connection between the legendary metal adamant and the underworld, as mentioned in both *Apoc. Pet.* and the *Sibyl*, is rather late and mostly found in Latin poets at the turn of the Christian era.²⁷ We probably have to think of a Hellenistic model, as the term is used by Theocritus (2.33–34: τὸν ἐν ᾿Αἰδα κινήσαις ἀδάμαντα), the Sicilian poet who worked in Alexandria. In any case, the usage of the term shows our author’s familiarity with Greek poetry.²⁸

In *Apoc. Pet.*, Uriel will fetch the souls of the sinners who perished in the flood (6:7E). This happens after the general resurrection (4E) and the ordeal of fire (6:2E), whereas the Sibyl lets it follow directly after the bodily resurrection and locates it before the judgment and ordeal of fire.²⁹ But there is an interesting difference between the two. Whereas the *Apoc. Pet.* does not expand on the identity of

²⁶ For the most recent edition, see M. Stone and J. Strugnell, *The Books of Elijah Parts I&2* (Missoula, 1979) 14–15, cf. M. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell* (Philadelphia, 1981) 34–37; I. Miroshnikov and A. Somov, ‘A New Look at Enoch and Elijah in the Apocalypse of Elijah’, in A. Usacheva and A.-Ch. Jacobsen (eds), *Christian Discourse in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 2020) 197–223.

²⁷ Gates of adamant: Verg. *Aen.* 6.552; Propertius 4.11.3; Ovid, *Met.* 4.453.

²⁸ Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 166 has noted that *Sib. Or.* 2:227–29 seems to be modelled on *Il.* 9.158 (δηθήτω Ἀἰδης τοι ἀμείλιχος ἦδ’ ἀδάμαστος), which is followed up by H. Van Noorden, ‘Hesiodic Rhapsody: The Sibylline Oracles’, in M. Fantuzzi *et al.* (eds), *Reception in the Greco-Roman World* (Cambridge, 2021) 344–70 at 365–66. Helen Van Noorden notes (*per email* 2 May 2022): ‘I do also find it interesting that in Hesiod’s *Works and Days* 146–54, the Bronze race, which is the first to go to Hades, is said to be made of adamant. Perhaps the seeds of the association ultimately lie here’.

²⁹ Cf. Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 495–96.

the souls brought back by Uriel, but gives much attention to idolatry, the Sibyl is clearly more interested in the identity of the sinners as opposed to idolatry. The difference shows that the Sibyl is not a slavish follower of the *Apoc. Pet.* in this part of her oracle but offers her own accents.

As regards identity, the Sibyl says that Uriel will bring to judgement ‘foremost there the ancient Titans’ shades and Giants and the victims of the flood, and those that came to grief upon the sea, and those on whom beasts, creeping things and birds, feasted’ (231–35, tr. Lightfoot). In these lines, the Sibyl has combined and expanded the passages of 4:4E and 6:7E, but in a manner that makes it not wholly clear which traditions she has used. Bauckham argues that with the sinners the author of *Apoc. Pet.* means the giants, the sons of the fallen angels and the mortal women, whom he also identifies as the demons of the idols to which we will come shortly. Yet our text clearly separates the two categories, and this is also what the Sibyl does. She does not specify where exactly all those to be judged come from, but there can be hardly any doubt that in the Jewish-Hellenistic tradition the Titans and Giants, who were even often confused with one another, formed one group and were relegated to the deepest part of the underworld, as they were in our earliest Greek sources.³⁰

In the Qumran version of *I Enoch* 10:11–12, God says to Michael about the angels who had ‘fornicated’ with the ‘daughters of men’: ‘[chain them up for] seventy ge[n]erations in the valleys of] the earth until the great day [of their judgment]’ (4Q202 IV.10–11, tr. García Martínez/Tigchelaar).³¹ This ultimate fate of the angels is also alluded to in the New Testament, where Jude (6) says regarding the fallen angels that ‘he (the Lord) has kept (them) in eternal chains in deepest darkness for the judgement of the great day’. And 2 Peter (2:4) states: ‘For if God did not spare the angels when they sinned but cast them

³⁰ For Jewish knowledge of the myth of the Titans and Giants, see J.N. Bremmer, *Greek Religion and Culture, the Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Leiden, 2008) 93–98; for the earliest sources, see J.L. Lamont, ‘Cosmogonies of the Bound: Titans, Giants, and Early Greek Binding Spells’, *Classical Philology* 116 (2021) 471–97.

³¹ The Qumran version is our oldest testimony of the text. For a discussion of the Ethiopic version and modern translations of *I Enoch*, see E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old and The Days of the End* (Leiden, 1996) 144–51.

into hell (ταρταρώσας) and committed them to chains of deepest darkness to be kept until the judgement...' (tr. NRSV). This verse is particularly important, since virtually all passages with the verb κατα(ταρταρώ) refer to the struggle of Zeus against Kronos and the Titans, with which the author of 2 Peter presumably was acquainted.³² The knowledge of these New Testament writers of *I Enoch*³³ – Jude (14–15; see also Barnabas 16:6) explicitly names Enoch and quotes from *I Enoch* – suggests their familiarity with the Greek translation, which we primarily know from a codex found in Akhmîm in 1886–87,³⁴ although a recently published papyrus with a Greek text very close to that of *I Enoch* 17:1–5 has complicated the understanding of the history of the Greek translation.³⁵

Apparently, the Sibyl presumed that the *Apoc. Pet.* referred to the Titans and Giants, which is not impossible, given the Jewish traditions, but for some reason the *Apoc. Pet.* had no particular interest

³² B. Pearson, 'A Reminiscence of Classical Myth at II Peter 2.4', *GRBS* 10 (1969) 71–80.

³³ See the standard commentaries *ad loc.*

³⁴ U. Bouriant, 'Fragments du texte grec du livre d'Énoch et de quelques écrits attribués à saint Pierre', *Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire* IX.1 (Paris, 1892: editio princeps); for better photographs, see O. von Gebhardt, *Das Evangelium und die Apokalypse des Petrus* (Leipzig, 1893); <http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/AE/AE01.html>, accessed 17-5-2021. For a modern analysis of the codex, see P. van Minnen, 'The Greek Apocalypse of Peter', in Bremmer and Czachesz, *The Apocalypse of Peter*, 15–39.

³⁵ M. Bagnoud, 'P.Gen. inv. 187: un texte apocalyptique apocryphe inédit', *Museum Helveticum* 73 (2016) 129–53; see also M. Bagnoud and K. Coblenz Bautch, 'An Otherworldly Journey of an Unknown Figure (P.Gen. inv. 187)', in F. Feder and M. Henze (eds), *The Deuterocanonical Scriptures* 2B (Leiden, 2020) 387–88; D. Hamidović, '1Enoch 17 in the Geneva Papyrus 187', in I. Dorfmann-Lazarev (ed.), *Apocryphal and Esoteric Sources in the Development of Christianity and Judaism* (Leiden, 2021) 439–51. For the situation before this publication, see L.T. Stuckenbruck, 'The Book of Enoch: Its Reception in Second Temple Jewish and in Christian Tradition', *EC* 4 (2013) 7–40, but see now the circumspect analysis of M.J. Bokhorst, *Henoch und der Tempel des Todes: 1 Henoch 14-16 zwischen Schriftauslegung und Traditionsverarbeitung* (Berlin, 2021) 55–72, who concludes that we have 'mit einer griechischen Vorlage zu rechnen, von der sowohl die beiden griechischen Zeugen als auch die altäthiopische Übersetzung abhängig ist' (p. 71).

in the fate of these primeval beings, but was more interested in present day sinners and the current idols, which he enumerates in considerable detail. It is a great pity that we have this passage only in Ethiopic, as the author clearly employs quite a Greek vocabulary for the statues that were used in worship, but which is not recoverable from the translation. In fact, the translator seems to have had some trouble with the original, as the text is not wholly clear. What should we think of ‘and they who dwell in all the high places and stone and on the roads, who were called gods’ (6:8E). Although there were wooden statues, most contemporary ones will have been of stone, so its separate mention is a bit odd, as is the reference to high places, which has an Old Testament ring to it. And what should we think about those on the road? Will that have been the herms, which were ubiquitous on Greek roads? In any case, this abundance of pagan statues is hardly typical of Palestine but will have been normal for Greek Alexandria and the rest of Egypt.³⁶

After these idolators, the text of the *Apoc. Pet.* abruptly shifts to the fate of contemporary sinners. However, there is one previous point which deserves some attention. In 6:1–2E, Christ is seated on a throne next to God, who, presumably, is also sitting on a throne. In the background, are Old and New Testament traditions of God sitting on his throne, such as in Ezekiel (1 and 10), Daniel (7:9–14), Matthew (25:31) and Revelation (4:1–11). Now it is rather striking that the Sibyl does not have God and/or Christ seating on a throne, but on a βῆμα, ‘tribunal’ (2:235, 237, 243). This is clearly an adaptation to the contemporary situation, as in the Empire the Roman judge and his assessors were sitting on a semi-circular tribunal, βῆμα, in Latin *tribunal*;³⁷ in front of and below him there was a platform, which in

³⁶ For the statues, see T.J. Kraus, ‘Zur näheren Bedeutung der “Götzen(bilder)” in der Apokalypse des Petrus (ApkPetr)’, *ASE* 24 (2007) 147–76; for Jewish Alexandrian rejection of idols, see K. Berthelot, ‘Regards juifs alexandrins sur les religions’, *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 234 (2017) 635–60; for the vocabulary, see J.N. Bremmer, *The World of Greek Religion and Mythology* (Tübingen, 2019) 101–04 (with extensive bibliography).

³⁷ H. Gabelmann, *Antike Audienz- und Tribunalszenen* (Darmstadt, 1984) 172–74; L. Robert, *Le martyre de Pionios, prêtre de Smyrne* (Washington, D.C., 1994) 107–08; add *Acta Pauli et Theclae* 16.

Greek is also, rather confusingly, sometimes called βῆμα.³⁸ I suspect that the Sibyl must have witnessed such trials and therefore introduced the term βῆμα in connection with God/Christ as judge, as his readers would immediately recognise this situation.

Rather enigmatic, probably because of a corrupt text, is the mention of the river of fire, which the *Apoc. Pet.* gives as follows: ‘And he will command them (each of the nations) to pass through the middle of the river of fire ... But as for the elect, those who have done well, although they are dead, will certainly not see the devouring fire’ (6:2–4E). It is somewhat surprising, therefore, that the Sibyl says that all will pass through the river of fire (2:252). Bauckham suggests that this was also meant by our Apocalypse. This is not impossible, but it presupposes really a larger corruption, also the addition that the elect will not see the fire, although dead (6:4E, following the translation by Marrassini), is somewhat odd.

Bauckham also sees a Zoroastrian background in the river of fire, ‘which is already found in the *Gathas*’. He does not give a reference, but probably means *Yast* 51, where the righteous and the wrongful ones must pass through ‘flaming fire’ and ‘molten metal’ (51:9–10, tr. M.L. West). There is no mention of a river, which we find only in the middle Persian *Bundahishn*, ‘Creation’: ‘Then fire and divine Êrman will melt the metal of the mountains and the hills which will lay on the earth like a river. Every person will pass through that molten metal and will be pure. To the righteous it will feel like walking through warm milk, while to the wicked it will feel like walking through molten metal in the material world’ (34:19, tr. Agostini/Thorpe).³⁹ Once again, there is no mention of molten metal in our text. In the end, if we would have to think of a Zoroastrian background, one can only say that it is not very pronounced, as fire is ubiquitous in our text with regard to punishment. One may seriously doubt if we need Zoroaster here, and if so, certainly not in a very direct manner.

The Sibyl calls the two groups who are separated by the river the δίκαιοι (εὐσεβεῖς in 314, 331) and the ἄσεβεῖς. Commenting on the

³⁸ For the term, see J.-J. Aubert, ‘The Setting and Staging of Christian Trials’, in F. de Angelis (ed.), *Spaces of Justice in the Roman World* (Leiden, 2010) 277–309 at 300.

³⁹ For the Zoroastrian tradition, see A. Panaino, *The “River of Fire” and the “River of Molten Metal”* (Vienna, 2021).

verses 253-54, Jane Lightfoot compares 2 Peter 2:9 where we have εὐσεβεῖς and ἄδικοι. She wonders: 'Did the original Greek of Apoc. Petr. follow suit?'⁴⁰ The somewhat vague sentence seems to presuppose the priority of 2 Peter, which is less likely in the light of recent discussion, but the suggestion is also unlikely because the *Apoc. Pet.* continuously speaks of the 'elect' when referring to those who believe in Christ (4:12E, 6:4E, 13:1E, 14:1-2EG, 16:9E). In this respect, 4:12E is especially interesting as it mentions 'those who believe in him and his elect'. We find this combination precisely in the Sibyl, who mentions 'the confusion of ἐκλεκτοὶ πιστοὶ' (169) and 'ἐκλεκτοὶ πιστοὶ Ἑβραῖοι' (175, cf. 3:69). The combination is very rare in that time. We find it in Revelation 17:14: κλητοὶ καὶ ἐκλεκτοὶ καὶ πιστοί, although this book is not influential in the *Apoc. Pet.* if used at all, but otherwise in the second century only in the Sibyl and Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 5.1.3.3, 7.2.6.6) – perhaps another indication of the Alexandrian origin of this Sibyl.

We should also pause a moment at the use of the term ἐκλεκτός. Whereas this word occurs less than 10 times in the older pagan literature, it takes off with dazzling speed in the Jewish Greek writings, starting with the *Letter of Aristeas* (c. 13), more than 100 occurrences in the Septuagint, only once in Posidonius and Philodemus, but again a number of times in the Sibylline Oracles, the Greek translation of *1 Enoch* and the New Testament. There can be no doubt, then, that the usage of the term is heavily overrepresented in Greek Jewish literature. I take it, therefore, that its usage here is also a part of the Greek Jewish tradition on which the *Apoc. Pet.* is drawing.

Even if 2 Peter, then, does not help us on a lexical level, Lightfoot may well be right that the opposition between the pious and the unjust has been taken from the Sibyl. But did the Sibyl know 2 Peter or did 2 Peter know the Sibyl? Building on Thomas Kraus' dissertation, Lightfoot has shown a series of correspondences between the Sibyl and 2 Peter.⁴¹ However, in his thesis and 2003 article Kraus still supposed that *Apoc. Pet.* draws on 2 Peter,⁴² and Lightfoot does not

⁴⁰ Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 502.

⁴¹ Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 253, who has been overlooked by W. Gründl, *Petrus Alexandrinus* (Tübingen, 2013) 226–32.

⁴² T.J. Kraus, *Sprache, Stil und historischer Ort des zweiten Petrusbriefes* (Tübingen, 2001) 359 and 'Die griechische Petrusapokalypse'.

pronounce herself on the problem of priority. Even in the book on Jörg Frey's Radboud lectures, there is no discussion of the Sibyl by those who analyse the relationship between the *Apoc. Pet.* and 2 Peter. Whatever the solution is, it seems clear to me that we should triangulate the problem. When 2 Peter is later than the Sibyl, it is virtually unthinkable that it is not later than the *Apoc. Pet.*, given that the latter is hardly dated later than 150 and the Sibyl not much earlier than 150. If Collins and Gauger are right that Book VIII of the Sibyl draws on Book 2, as seems the received opinion at the moment,⁴³ we have a *terminus ante quem* for our Sibyl of about 175 at the earliest. But that is as far as we can go.

We turn now to the sinners. It seems important to note with Lightfoot that the Sibyl has restructured the order in *Apoc. Pet.* along the lines of the classical *katabasis*, which separated the listing of the sinners from that of their punishments. Following Tigchelaar, Lightfoot calls the sins in the *Apoc. Pet.* 'a haphazardly assembled collection of diverse sins', but that is exaggerated, as I have shown.⁴⁴ I will not repeat myself but would like to point to a striking aspect of the Sibyl's characterisation of the apostates and persecutors. In the *Apoc. Pet.*, there is a fair amount of attention to these categories. In Chapter 9:2–4E, we read:

And angry spirits will beat them with all kinds of scourges, and the sleepless worms will eat their entrails. And these are those who have persecuted and betrayed my righteous. Close to those who are there, there are other men and women who will chew their tongues. They will be tortured with a fiery iron, burning their eyes. These are those who have blasphemed and slandered the way of righteousness.⁴⁵ And opposite them will be other men and women, whose actions (have been carried out) with fraud, from whom they will cut the lips; fire will enter their mouth and their entrails. And these are the false witnesses.

⁴³ Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 518–19; especially, O. Wassmuth, *Sibyllinische Orakel 1-2: Studien und Kommentar* (Leiden, 2011) 70–86.

⁴⁴ Tigchelaar, 'Is the Liar Bar Kokhba?', 71; Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 505, but see J.N. Bremmer, *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 2017) 284–91.

⁴⁵ This seems closer to the original than the Ethiopic 'have transformed (or perverted) my righteousness', cf. 22, 28, 34G and 2 Peter 2:2: δι' οὗς ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας βλασφημηθήσεται; 2:1: κρεῖττον γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς μὴ ἐπεγνώκεναι τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης; see also Repo, *Der "Weg" als Selbstbezeichnung*, 91–93, 104–07.

Although the text in these verses is not always fully certain, the gist is partially clear. First, we find mentioned the persecutors and betrayers of my righteous (27G~9:2E), but who are ‘those who have blasphemed and slandered the way of righteousness’ (28G~9:3E)? Tobias Nicklas has argued that we probably have to think of pagan rather than Jewish opponents of Christianity at this point, comparing Tacitus and Suetonius about the Christians.⁴⁶ I am not sure, though, that this is right. The passage has obviously to be compared, as Nicklas did, with the earlier ‘And some there will be hanging by their tongues. And these are those who blasphemed the way of righteousness’ (22G~7:2E). The punishment clearly has to do with people’s speech, not so much with people’s deeds. Before we come back to this passage, let us quickly also look at the next category of those being punished by gnawing their teeth and having fire in their mouth: ‘these are the false witnesses’ (29G~9:4E). It seems, then, that all three of these verses have to do with a situation of persecution, in which we first hear of the persecutors, then, of those who have abandoned the faith and probably slandered it, and finally the false witnesses who must have helped to condemn Christians to death.

Our text is not very informative about the slandering, but when we imagine a situation of Christians being on trial, we can compare the *Passion of the Scilitans*, where the proconsul Saturninus tells Speratus and his fellow Christians: ‘We too are religious, and our religion is honest and straight: we swear by the genius of our lord the emperor and we offer sacrifices for his health, as you also ought to do’.⁴⁷ Here we have a clear example of a Roman religious practice in the context of persecution that would have been interpreted as the slandering of God/Christ by the early Christians. And indeed, Philo (*Leg.* 368) also expresses his horror at blasphemy, such as when the emperor requests

⁴⁶ T. Nicklas, ““Insider” und “Outsider”: Überlegungen zum historischen Kontext der Darstellung “jenseitiger Orte” in der *Offenbarung des Petrus*”, in W. Ameling (ed.), *Topographie des Jenseits* (Stuttgart, 2011) 35–48 at 43.

⁴⁷ *Passio Scilitanorum* 3, cf. J.N. Bremmer, ‘Imitation of Christ in the *Passion of the Scilitan Martyrs*?’, in A. Bettenworth *et al.* (eds), *For Example: Martyrdom and Imitation in Early Christian Texts and Art* (Munich, 2020) 143–69 at 149–50.

worship. As prayers were part of Roman sacrifices, the allusive formulation of our Apocalypse may well refer to these practices.

We can check our interpretation, to a certain extent, by looking at the comparable passage of the Sibyl. Here we read:

δεινοί θ' ὕβρισται τ' ἄνομοί τ' εἰδωλολάτραι τε·
 ἦδ' ὅποσοι μέγαν ἄθάνατον θεὸν ἐγκατέλειψαν
 βλάσφημοι δ' ἐγένοντο καὶ εὐσεβέων κεραῖσται
 πιστολέται καὶ τῶν δικαίων φθισήνορες ἀνδρῶν·
 the terribly violent and lawless, and idolaters,
 and those who abandoned the great immortal God
 and became blasphemers and plunderers of the pious,
 faith-destroyers and killers of the righteous. (259–63)

What is striking in this passage is the literary register. It starts with an extraordinary adaptation of Hesiod's description of the monster Typho in his *Theogony* (307, noted by West *ad loc.*). There follows εἰδωλολάτρης, a word that before the Sibyl occurs only in the New Testament and certainly is part of the latter's Jewish tradition. The word κεραῖσται occurs only in the archaic *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (336), πιστολέτης is found only in one other verse of the Sibyl (8:187), and φθισήνωρ is another epic word that after Homer and Hesiod does not occur before this passage. In other words, our author has done his best to give this passage as much literary relief as he could.

Lightfoot, who departs from an antiquated Ethiopic text in this case, has analysed the sinners in our passage and states that 'ultimately, they are all sins of speech', which seems only partially true. It is certainly the case that those who abandoned God and became blasphemers suggests apostates, who always must have been an aspect of persecutions,⁴⁸ although our surviving texts mainly focus on those

⁴⁸ For apostasy, a relatively underresearched subject, see S.G. Wilson *Leaving the Fold: Apostates and Defectors in Antiquity* (Minneapolis, 2004²) 66–99; J.M.G. Barclay, *Pauline Churches and Diaspora Jews* (Tübingen, 2011) 123–39 ('Deviance and Apostasy: Some Applications of Deviance Theory to First-Century Judaism and Christianity', first published in 1999); Z. Crook, 'Agents of Apostasy: Apostasy in a Collectivistic Culture', in B.S. Bøgh (ed.), *Conversion and Initiation in Antiquity* (Frankfurt, 2014) 119–34; C. Hornung, *Apostasie im antiken Christentum* (Leiden, 2016); L. Hurtado, *Why on Earth Did Anyone Become a Christian in the First Three Centuries?* (Milwaukee, 2016) 94–103.

who endured and did not abandon their faith. It is also the case for the ‘plunderers’, which will refer to the false accusations by private *delatores* for financial or otherwise personal gain, an abuse of the Roman legal system that was the subject of frequent complaints and that also hampered Pliny’s processing of the accusations against the Christians.⁴⁹ However, the killers of the righteous will hardly have been killing by speaking but must have actually murdered the martyrs. The Sibyl’s interpretation, then, supports the impression that the *Apoc. Pet.* was written in a situation of persecution.

In the subsequent verses, the Sibyl often continues to draw on the *Apoc. Pet.*, as Lightfoot demonstrates in detail, but for the sake of space, I will discuss only a few more cases, taken from her description of the punishments and paradise. First, let’s look at a moment in which whips are used in the *Apoc. Pet.* and by the Sibyl. The latter mentions that ‘angels will punish with whips of fire and fiery chains’ (2:288). The whipping angels clearly derive again from the *Apoc. Pet.* (9:2E~27G), but they also occur in the Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul* (NHC V.2) where angels whip a lawless soul (20:11). In Vergil’s description of the sinners in the underworld in the *Aeneid*, we find the Fury Tisiphone whipping the sinners.⁵⁰ Norden (*ad loc.*) noted that such whipping also occurs in Lucian’s description of the underworld (*VH* 2.26) and deduced from this coincidence a communal source which, however, he did not identify.⁵¹ Given Vergil’s dependence on an Orphic *katabasis*, it is important to note that the so-called Bologna papyrus, which contains an Orphic description of the underworld and which was

⁴⁹ Plin. *Ep.* 10.96.5: *Mox ipso tractatu, ut fieri solet, diffundente se crimine plures species inciderunt.* For the *delatores*, see S.H. Rutledge, *Imperial Inquisitions: Prosecutors and Informants from Tiberius to Domitian* (New York, 2001); Y. Rivière, *Les délateurs sous l’Empire romain* (Paris, 2002); O.F. Robinson, ‘The Role of Delators’, in J.W. Cairns and P.J. du Plessis (eds), *Beyond Dogmatics: Law and Society in the Roman World* (Cambridge, 2007) 206–20; M.F. Petracchia Lucernoni, *Indices e delatores nell’antica Roma* (Milan, 2014).

⁵⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 6.570; note also the sound of *verbera* in 558.

⁵¹ E. Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis VI* (Leipzig, 1927³) 250; see also N.M. Horsfall, *Virgil, “Aeneid” 6*, 2 vols (Berlin and Boston, 2013) 2.143 (e); J.N. Bremmer, *Initiation into the Mysteries of the Ancient World* (Berlin, 2014) 191–92.

not yet known to Norden, also contains whipping Erinyes (*OF* 717.28).⁵² As Orphic influence on the tours of hell is clear, these whipping torturers, almost certainly, had a place in Orphic literature,⁵³ from which they were taken over by Jewish authors, on whom the author of the *Apoc. Pet.* was drawing.

Interestingly, we hear twice about intercession for those punished. The first time it regards Mary at the end of the Sibyl's enumeration of the punishments:

ἐπτά γὰρ αἰώνων μετανοίας ἡματ' ἔδωκεν
ἀνδράσι πλαζομένοις διὰ χειρὸς παρθένου ἀγνῆς.

For He has given seven days of ages of repentance
through the holy virgin's hand to men going astray. (311-12)

Although Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* 5:19) calls Mary Eve's *advocata*, she does not really function as an intercessor in that passage, as is, probably rightly, argued by Wassmuth.⁵⁴ In that respect, our passage is a unique early testimony of a more prominent place of Mary within the emerging Christian community than is often considered possible at such an early stage.⁵⁵ However, it is perhaps less improbable when we take the *Protevangeliium of James* into account, which was written

⁵² For this papyrus, see, most recently, M. Marinčič, 'Der "orphische" Bologna-Papyrus (*Pap. Bon.* 4), die Unterweltsbeschreibung im Culex und die lukrezische Allegorie des Hades', *ZPE* 122 (1998) 55–59; L. Arcari, 'Elementi giudaici (e/o proto-cristiani) in *Pap. Bon.* IV? Alcune osservazioni', in L. Arcari (ed.), *Acri Sanctori Investigatori. Miscellanea di studi in memoria di Gennaro Luongo* (Rome, 2019) 59–69; A.I. Jiménez San Cristóbal, 'El *P. Bon.* I 4 [*P. Bon.* inv. 24]: nuevas fotografías y nuevos problemas de lectura', in M.T. Martínez Manzano and F.G. Hernández Muñoz (eds), *Del manuscrito antiguo a la edición crítica de textos griegos* (Madrid, 2019) 141–56.

⁵³ See also Norden, *Aeneis VI*, 275 and Horsfall on Verg. *Aen.* 6.558. This has been overlooked by Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 515–16 and M. Scapini, 'Whipping in Myth, Ritual and Magic Practices: A Case of Convergence', in E. Suárez *et al.* (eds), *Los papiros mágicos griegos: entre lo sublime y lo cotidiano* (Madrid, 2015) 93–109.

⁵⁴ Wassmuth, *Sibyllinische Orakel I-2*, 425.

⁵⁵ J.B. Bauer, 'Die Messiasmutter in den Oracula Sibyllina', *Marianum* 18 (1956) 118–24; E. Dal Covolo, 'La "riparazione misericordiosa" di Maria in alcuni testi dell'età patristica', *Salesianum* 58 (1996) 63–80 = M.M. Pedico (ed.), *Maria presso la croce volto misericordioso di Dio per il nostro tempo* (Rovigo, 1996) 123–43.

about 180-190 in Egypt, plausibly in Alexandria.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, we cannot be certain about the place of composition of our Sibyl, but its usage of the *Apoc. Pet.* and it being in turn used by the, at least partially, Egyptian Sibylline Book VIII may support an Egyptian origin. An influence of Isis in the background of Mary would also fit Egypt,⁵⁷ but that is all we can say.

Mary's intercession has no background in the *Apoc. Pet.*, but there is a second intercession that does. After mentioning Mary's role, the Sibyl proceeds by revealing the fate of the just who are guided into a kind of paradise. Its description is more detailed than that of the place of the righteous as shown to Peter by Christ:

... a very large country outside this world, exceedingly bright with light, and the air there was lighted with the rays of the sun, and the earth itself blooming with unfading flowers and full of spices and plants, fair-flow-ering and incorruptible, and bearing blessed fruit. And so great was the perfume that it carried there even to us. (16:2-3G, tr. Kraus/Nicklas)

This Greek version is slightly more detailed than the Ethiopic one, which appears to have been abbreviated. The latter mentions a garden instead of a large country, which may well be an adaptation to Genesis, and lacks the light and the spices. Interestingly, in the Greek version, Paradise is not located very precisely, except that it is outside this world, but it is a very vast country, as in 2 *Baruch* (51:11, 59:8) – clearly a motif derived from the Jewish tradition because this characterisation is absent from the Greek material. The light, on the other hand, is already found in the Orphic underworld, like the wondrous smell.⁵⁸ Later in the second century AD, the apologist Theophilus of

⁵⁶ See J.N. Bremmer, 'Author, Date and Provenance of the *Protevangelium of James*', in J.N. Bremmer *et al.* (eds), *The Protevangelium of James* (Leuven, 2020) 49–70.

⁵⁷ Cf. S. Higgins, 'Divine Mothers: The Influence of Isis on the Virgin Mary in Egyptian Lactans-Iconography', *Journal of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies* 2–4 (2012) 71–90.

⁵⁸ Pind. fr. 129 Maehler; Ar. *Frogs*, 455; Ps.-Plato *Axioch*, 371d; Verg. *Aen.* 6.640–41; Val. Flacc. 1.842; Plutarch, fr. 178, 211 Sandbach; Luc. *VH* 21.12; *Visio Pauli* 21; Claudian, *De raptu Proserpinae* 2.283–4; Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 528. Helen Van Noorden (*per email* 2 May 2022) also wonders about a connection with *Sib. Or.* 4:190-91: πάντες δὲ τότε εἰσὸψονται ἑαυτοῦς / νήδυμον ἡελίου τερπνὸν φῶς εἰσορόωντες.

Antioch also characterises paradise as ‘marked out by light, illumined by shining air, with very beautiful plants’.⁵⁹ Yet the Orphic tradition is trumped here by a greater stress on both light and fragrance, of which especially light, *lux perpetua*, already early on (Rev 21:23–25) became the defining characteristic of heaven for the Christian faithful.⁶⁰ Fragrance occurs as an important motif in the other world of *I Enoch* (24:3–25:6, 29–32 *passim*), but, as the Harvard ancient historian Paul Kosmin has noted in a recent lecture,⁶¹ descriptions of fragrance also occur in Ptolemaic court-sponsored explorations, which made travellers offer detailed botanical descriptions of the incense lands of southern Arabia and beyond. Our author may well depend on *I Enoch* in this respect or has been influenced by descriptions from the current and, evidently popular, travel literature. In any case, because they were not cheap at all at the time, the spices single Paradise out as something special.⁶²

Compared to the description of Paradise in the *Apoc. Pet.*, the one by the Sibyl (2:313–29) is more detailed with many classical motifs. Yet it is striking that some of these do not seem to occur before the

⁵⁹ Theophilus 2.19: Μετὰ δὲ τὸ πλάσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁ θεὸς ἐξελέξατο αὐτῷ χωρίον ἐν τοῖς τόποις τοῖς ἀνατολικοῖς, διάφορον φωτὶ, διαυγὲς ἄερί λαμπρότερω, φυτοῖς παγκάλοις, ἐν ᾧ ἔθετο τὸν ἄνθρωπον, tr. R.M. Grant.

⁶⁰ G. Sanders, *Licht en duisternis in de Christelijke grafchriften*, 2 vols (Brussels, 1965) 2.826–59; for a slightly later mention of light in the afterlife in a pagan epigram, see E. Cairon, ‘Une vie bienheureuse dans l’au-delà. L’épigramme pour Prôtè, IGUR, 3, n° 1146’, *REG* 119 (2006) 776–81.

⁶¹ P. Kosmin, ‘Enoch the Explorer: 1 Enoch 17–36 in its Hellenistic Context’, during the ‘11th Enoch Seminar / LMU Munich Congress on Apocalypticism in Antiquity’, May 2021. I am most grateful to Paul Kosmin for putting his lecture at my disposal.

⁶² Cf. S. Mrozek, ‘Zum Handel von einigen Gewürzen und Wohlgerüchen in der spätrömischen Zeit’, *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 1/2 (1982) 15–22; A. Händel, ‘Der Handel mit Drogen und Spezereien im Rom der Prinzipatszeit in Auswertung der Inschriften (Salz und Honig, Gewürze, Medikamente, Duftstoffe, Toilettegegenstände, Farben’, *ibid.* 4/1 (1985) 30–48; L.R. LiDonnici, ‘Single-Stemmed Wormwood, Pinecones and Myrrh: Expense and Availability of Recipe Ingredients in the Greek Magical Papyri’, *Kernos* 14 (2001) 61–91; Ch. Marek, ‘Imperial Asia Minor: Economic Prosperity and Names’, in R. Parker (ed.), *Personal Names in Ancient Anatolia* (Oxford, 2013) 175–94 at 184–89.

Roman period. Even though the combination of wine, milk and honey (318) is well attested in ancient Greece, especially for the Dionysiac sphere, we do not find milk and honey springing from wells before Seneca's tragedy *Oedipus* (495). Similarly, the theme of the communal ownership of land and the absence of any walls or hedges (319-20) seems to be attested only in Roman literature where it enjoyed great esteem in descriptions of the Golden Age or the *Saturnina regna*. Its popularity from the second half of the first century BC onwards can hardly be dissociated from the traumatic experiences of the civil wars when property was anything but safe.⁶³ Did the Sibyl perhaps have access to Roman literature or are there Greek examples that have been lost in the course of time?⁶⁴

After the depiction of Paradise, the Sibyl again turns to the subject of intercession, now fairly closely appropriating the *Apoc. Pet.* The debt of the Sibyl is clear from a juxtaposition of the texts, in which I have printed the parallels in bold:

παρ]έξομαι τοῖς κλητοῖς μου καὶ ἐκ{κ}λεκτοῖς μου,
 ὃν ἔαν ἐτήσωνται με ἐκ τῆς κολάσεως καὶ δώσω
 αὐτοῖς καλὸν βάπτισμα ἐν **σωτηρίᾳ Ἀχερουσία[ς] λίμνης**
 ἣν καλοῦσιν ἐν τῷ | **Ἡλυσίῳ πεδίῳ**, μέρος δικαιοσύνης
 μετὰ τῶν **ἀγίων μου** (P.Vindob.G 39756)

and

τοῖς καὶ ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεὸς ἄφθιτος ἄλλο **παρέξει**
εὐσεβέσιν, ὁπόταν θεὸν ἄφθιτον **αἰτήσωνται**
ἐκ μαλεροῖο πυρὸς καὶ ἀθανάτων ἀπὸ βρυγμῶν
 ἀνθρώπους **σῶσαι δώσει**· καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσει·
 λεξάμενος γὰρ ἔσαυθις ἀπὸ φλογὸς ἀκαμάτοιο
 ἄλλος' ἀποστήσας πέμπει διὰ λαὸν ἑαυτοῦ
 εἰς ζωὴν **ἐτέραν καὶ αἰώνιον ἀθανάτοισιν**

⁶³ Cf. Lucr. 5.1108, 1440; Tib. 1.3.43–4, 1.10.9; Verg. *Ecl.* 4.31–3; Ovid *Am.* 3.8.42, *Met.* 1.97; Sen. *Phaed.* 538–39, *Ep.* 90.41; Juv. 6.2–3; Iustinus 43.1.3. For a possibly Varronian origin of this theme, see B. Reischl, *Reflexe griechischer Kulturentstehungslehren bei augusteischen Dichtern* (Munich, 1976) 136–37.

⁶⁴ For the Sibyl and influence of Roman literature, see Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 190–91; H. Van Noorden, “Vergil and Homer opened my Books”: The Sibylline Oracles and the non-Jewish canon’, *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 32 (2022) 167–86.

Ἡλυσίῳ πεδίῳ, ὅθι οἱ πέλε κύματα μακρά
λίμνης ἀενάου Ἀχερουσιάδος βαθυκόλπου (2:330-38)

It is clear that because of metrical reasons the Sibyl cannot reproduce the passage of *Apoc. Pet.* verbally, and in some cases she either abbreviates (κλητοῖς μου καὶ ἐκ{κ}λεκτοῖς ~ εὐσεβέσιν) or expands and clarifies (ἐκ τῆς κολάσεως ~ ἐκ μαλεροῖο πυρὸς καὶ ἁθανάτων ἀπὸ βρυγμῶν). In one case, she even rather daringly, it seems to me, uses epic language (ἁθανάτοισιν) to fit her model (μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων μου) into her text.⁶⁵ Evidently, then, the *Apoc. Pet.* is followed very closely.⁶⁶ It is therefore striking that one detail is lacking. The Sibyl does not attest the words μέρος δικαιοσύνης in the papyrus.⁶⁷

This omission, which has not been commented upon before, enables us to see better the views of the Sibyl. But to do so, we need a small excursus. Thomas Kraus has usefully collected the older Jewish passages, such as those of 4 *Ezra* and 2 *Baruch*, about the possibility of intercession for deceased sinners and has shown that they all presuppose the irrevocability of God's judgment at the end of time.⁶⁸ Their strongly worded opinions suggest debates about this judgment, but the alternative opinions have not survived, which probably says something about their lack of acceptability by later groups of believers. This makes the *Apoc. Pet.* particularly interesting.

It seems now to be the *communis opinio* that the Ethiopic translation, or its model, has been reworked in order to delete all references to the intercession for the sinners. This revision is clear from a comparison of the Sibyl, the Rainer fragment and the Ethiopic

⁶⁵ Is there an influence of *Od.* 4.563–64: ἀλλὰ σ' ἐς Ἡλύσιον πεδίον καὶ πείρατα γαίης ἁθάνῃνοι πέμψουσιν?

⁶⁶ For the vocabulary of these passages, see also Kraus, 'Die griechische Petrusapokalypse', 87–88.

⁶⁷ This omission has not been considered by Norelli, 'L'Apocalisse di Pietro come apocalisse cristiana', 138–70, in an otherwise illuminating discussion of the problem of intercession in the *Apoc. Pet.*, also with more attention to the Ethiopic translation.

⁶⁸ T.J. Kraus, 'Die griechische Petrus-Apokalypse', 94–98 and, more elaborately, 'Fürbitte für die Toten im frühen Christentum: "Ich werde ... den gewähren, den sie aus der Strafe erbitten"', in H. Klein et al. (eds), *Das Gebet im Neuen Testament* (Tübingen, 2009) 355–96.

translation.⁶⁹ Yet there is a subtle difference between the oldest Greek version of the *Apoc. Pet.* available to us, that is, the Rainer fragment, and the Sibyl. As can be easily seen from my comparison, the difference is that in the Rainer fragment the sinners will receive ‘a part of righteousness’. This must be the original, which we can still see in the Ethiopic version as ‘the part of the righteous’ (14:2E). In other words, although not elaborated, the sinners will be saved but they will not receive the full righteousness – presumably, they will be located at the edge of heaven or something like that.

The Sibyl has omitted this ‘part of righteousness’, which means that she is more generous to the sinners than the original *Apoc. Pet.* This generosity also appears from two other aspects of her reworking of the *Apoc. Pet.* As Lightfoot has noticed, she has none of the endless pits or the mud and lacks several discharges. Not that her hell is a pleasant place to be, but it is less detailed.⁷⁰ On the other hand, her Paradise is described in more pleasant colours than the one in the *Apoc. Pet.* Apparently, we must conclude that in the second century Christians could already have different ideas about the possibilities and results of intercession for sinners.

We have not many examples of intercession for deceased people around that time, but the Sibyl’s view can also be found in the *Acts of Paul*, which cannot have been later than a couple of decades.⁷¹ Here, Falconilla, the deceased daughter of Queen Tryphaina, appears to her mother in a dream and asks her to have in her place Thecla, a future martyr in the text, so that she may pray that ‘I may be translated to the place of the just’ (28: μετατεθῶ εἰς τὸν τῶν δικαίων τόπον). There is no mention of where Falconilla is at that moment, but she is clearly not in a kind of heaven. Thecla does as she is asked and prays that ‘she may live forever’ (29), which recalls the Sibyl’s εἰς

⁶⁹ Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 522–31, to be added to B. Ehrman, *Journeys to Heaven and Hell in the Early Christian Tradition* (New Haven and London, 2022) 194–203. I am grateful to Bart Ehrman for showing me his manuscript in advance.

⁷⁰ Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles*, 514–15.

⁷¹ For the latest discussion of date, unity and provenance of the *Acts of Paul*, see J.N. Bremmer, ‘The Onomastics and Provenance of the *Acts of Paul*’, in F. Barone et al. (eds), *Philologie, herméneutique et histoire des textes entre orient et occident* (Turnhout, 2017) 527–47.

ζωὴν ἐτέραν καὶ αἰώνιον (2. 336).⁷² Similarly, Perpetua prays that her prematurely deceased brother Dinocrates may leave a place of darkness, which is not specified, but which looks like a kind of hell. He is released after being baptised, just like the sinners in the *Apoc. Pet.*⁷³ Even though these early examples of intercession are not as detailed as the *Apoc. Pet.*, they show that our Apocalypse and the Sibyl were not the only Christians who had accepted the possibility of salvation for deceased sinners.

It is time to conclude. There are strong arguments to locate the composition of the *Apoc. Pet.* and 2 Peter in Alexandria,⁷⁴ and the location of our Sibyl in the same place is not implausible either, given her strong ties to both these writings.⁷⁵ This striking coincidence enables us to surmise that even in the same city contemporary Christians could arrive at very different solutions to highly important questions. If we take the *Apocalypse of Peter* as, plausibly, the oldest writing of these three, we should observe that it reacts against earlier Jewish writings, conceivably also circulating in Alexandria, with its pleading for the possibility of the salvation of sinners, even though not on the

⁷² Cf. W. Rordorf, *Liturgie, foi et vie des premiers chrétiens* (Paris, 1988²) 445–55.

⁷³ *Passio Perpetuae* 7–8, cf. Bremmer, *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs*, 373–77.

⁷⁴ Cf. Grünstäudl, *Petrus Alexandrinus*, 234–86; A. Mambelli, ‘The Second Epistle of Peter: A Different Approach to Lexical Analysis’, in R. Berardi *et al.* (eds), *Defining Authorship, Debating Authenticity* (Berlin and Boston, 2020) 235–56, which appeared too late to be taken into account by J. Frey, ‘Locating New Testament Writings in Alexandria: on method and the aporias of scholarship’, in Schliesser, *Alexandria*, 345–65 at 357–61; B. Schliesser, ‘Jewish Beginnings: Earliest Christianity in Alexandria’, *ibid.*, 367–97 at 376–79 and T. Nicklas, ‘Jews and Christians? Sketches from Second Century Alexandria’, in J. Schröter *et al.* (eds), *Jews and Christians – Parting Ways in the First Two Centuries CE?* (Berlin and Boston, 2021) 347–79 at 363–66 (*ApPt*), 368–70 (2 Peter); Schröter, ‘Evangelientraditionen’, 476. A. Jakab, ‘The Social History of the Alexandrian Church’, in R. Heine and K.J. Torjesen (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Origen* (Oxford, 2022) 1–18 is not wholly up to date, and neither is D. Frankfurter, ‘Christian Eschatology in Late Antique/Byzantine Egypt’, in H. Marlow *et al.* (eds), *Eschatology in Antiquity: forms and functions* (London and New York, 2021) 540–53.

⁷⁵ Cf. Schliesser, ‘Jewish Beginnings’, 379–80.

same level as the saints. This point of view is taken in different directions by 2 Peter and the Sibyl. Whereas the former totally rejects this possibility, the Sibyl takes a more generous view. The later textual history of *Apoc. Pet.* shows that the debate continued with the possibility of salvation completely eradicated from the text by the Ethiopic translation or its model. One would have loved to know what the theologically interested Alexandrian Christians thought of this debate and which side they took. Unfortunately, as with so much about this intriguing Apocalypse, that is probably something we will never know.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ I am most grateful to Alessandro Bausi for information, to the Zurich audience and Jeremiah Coogan for comments, and to Clare Rothschild for her thoughtful correction of my English.

IX. The Ethiopic Pseudo-Clementine Framework of the *Apocalypse of Peter*: Chances and Challenges in the African Transmission Context¹

DANIEL C. MAIER

1. *The Transmission Context of the Apocalypse of Peter in Ethiopia*

Since the identification of the Ethiopic text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* onward,² the scarce scholarly endeavours which set out on the journey to understand more about early Christian apocalypticism and its visions of what comes after this earthly life have done a tremendous job of analysing the Ethiopic version of the apocalypse, which many believe to be closer than any other known textual witness to the second-century *Apocalypse of Peter*.³

¹ This study was graciously supported by a “Forschungskredit” by the University of Zurich. I owe thanks to Emmanouela Grypeou, Ted Erho, and Jacob Cerone for reading earlier versions of this article and for their valuable feedback.

² For the circumstances of its discovery and its identification, see M.R. James, ‘A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter’, *JTS* 12 (1911) 36–54, 157, 362–83, 573–83.

³ See for example D. Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened. A Study of the Greek (Ethiopic) Apocalypse of Peter* (Atlanta, 1988) 429–30 and R. Bauckham, ‘The Apocalypse of Peter. An Account of Research’, in *ANRW* 2.25.6 (1988) 4712–50 at 4713–18. For a critical view of the supposed superiority of the Ethiopian text over the Greek, consult E. Beck, ‘The Apocalypse of Peter. The Relationship of the Versions’, in M.T. Gebreananaye, L. Williams, and F. Watson (eds), *Beyond Canon. Early Christianity and the Ethiopic Textual Tradition* (Edinburgh, 2021) 117–30.

Despite the valuable contributions of earlier scholarship which serve as a foundation upon which this volume gratefully builds, the Ethiopic text was often treated by previous researchers as if the manuscripts d'Abbadie 51 at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (P) and the later microfilms of the manuscript Tana 35 (T), photographed by Ernst Hammerschmidt, contain a text unmistakably titled “*Apocalypse of Peter*” with the second-century contents in it and nothing else. However, as the previous article by Thomas J. Kraus in this volume points out in more detail, this is far from true.⁴ For the *Apocalypse of Peter* comprises less than half of the material contained within the document which describes itself in its prologue⁵ as reporting about the *Second Coming*. More than 50% is a sermon by Peter to his disciple Clement. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that the first modern-western translator of the text, namely Sylvain Grébaut,⁶ considered the whole *Second Coming* to be part of the extant Arabic Pseudo-Clementine literature, which found its way into Ethiopia and was translated into Gəʿəz. For Grébaut, the text had to be understood as a whole, and he structured its contents and the relation between the individual parts accordingly.

⁴ See Kraus' article in this volume for an introduction to the various transmission carriers of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which will not be repeated here.

⁵ The authenticity of said prologue is debated. While Bauckham denies its authenticity (cf. R. Bauckham, ‘The Apocalypse of Peter. A Jewish Christian Apocalypse from the Time of Bar Kokhba’, in *id.* (ed.), *The Fate of the Dead. Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden, 1998) 168) and the influential German translation by Müller omits it from its translation of the Ethiopic text (see C.D. Müller, ‘Offenbarung des Petrus’, in W. Schneemelcher (ed.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen. Band 2: Apostolisches, Apokalypsen und Verwandtes* (Tübingen, 1999) 566), Eric Beck in his recently published dissertation argues for a genuine origin of the prologue within the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Cf. E. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter. A New Translation and Analysis of the Purpose of the Text* (Tübingen, 2019) 74–76.

⁶ See S. Grébaut, ‘Littérature Éthiopienne. Pseudo-Clémentine’, *ROC* 12 (1907) 139–51; *ROC* 13 (1908) 166–80, 314–20; *ROC* 15 (1910) 198–214, 307–23, 425–39.

However, since James announced in 1911 that one part of this Pseudo-Clementine treatise was the only fully extant version of the revelation by Jesus to one of his closest followers,⁷ the rest of the Ethiopic treatise fell into oblivion. For most later scholars aware of its existence, this Pseudo-Clementine framework remained a late addition by an Ethiopian scribe – despite its earlier proposed Arabic origin – with no real value for understanding the second-century text and no theological significance in itself.⁸

We can observe two common misconceptions in this procedure: First, the indifference regarding Ethiopian sources in biblical studies and patristics when they have no counterpart in other languages.⁹ Second, the neglect of the fact that the latter part within the *Second Coming* is among the most comprehensive witnesses to the *Nachleben* (“after life”) of the apocalypse we have at hand today, since these instructions from Peter to his disciple Clement function as a clarification of the main contents of the *Apocalypse of Peter*.¹⁰ The explanatory role of the latter part becomes evident when we take a closer look at the themes with which it engages; most of the *Second Coming*

⁷ Cf. M.R. James, ‘The Recovery of the Apocalypse of Peter’, *CQR* 80 (1915) 1–36.

⁸ Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened*, 376–98, for example, analysed the text to trace possible alternation of the Ethiopian scribe(s) within the text of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which is very beneficial for the present study, but he did not count it as a source for the understanding of the *Apoc. Pet.* nor did he grasp its relevance as a proof of its *Nachleben*.

⁹ For example, Attila Jakab does not mention the *Pseudo-Clementines* transmitting the *Apoc. Pet.* as a possible witness for its early reception. See A. Jakab, ‘The Reception of the Apocalypse of Peter in Ancient Christianity’, in J.N. Bremmer and I. Czachesz (eds), *The Apocalypse of Peter* (Leuven, 2003) 173–86. For a more general critic of this phenomenon of disregarding Ethiopic sources in biblical studies see the introduction in Gebreananaye, Williams, and Watson, *Beyond Canon*, 7.

¹⁰ M. Pesthy, ‘Thy Mercy, O Lord, Is in the Heavens and Thy Righteousness Reacheth unto the Clouds’, in Bremmer and Czachesz, *The Apocalypse of Peter*, 40–51 at 50, perceives the Pseudo-Clementine part as an addition to the *Apoc. Pet.* by one author who “probably found the ideas expressed in it too cruel, so he wrote a continuation to it”.

refers to contents and topics in the *Apocalypse of Peter*,¹¹ which can be observed in the following chart:¹²

<i>Ps.-Cl.</i>	<i>Apoc. Pet.</i>	<i>Ps.-Cl. annotations on the contents of the Apoc. Pet.</i>
20:1–4	16:8–9	The elect will inherit the place of the one tabernacle of the heavenly Father, and an interpretation of how “the hand of man has not made it” (<i>Apoc. Pet.</i> 16:9)
20:5–7	1:7; 15:2–7	The description of the just in the <i>Ps.-Cl.</i> relates heavily to the characteristics of Moses, Elijah, and Christ himself within the <i>Apoc. Pet.</i>
22:1–7	15:2–7	The glory of the angels is described as that of Moses and Elijah but with an additional reference to Mark 9:3

¹¹ As we have no other extant copy of a fairly complete *Apocalypse of Peter*, we first have to be sure where to draw the line between the assumed second-century Apocalypse and the later Pseudo-Clementine writing. The fact that we have at least two visibly separable texts, one in 1:1–17:7 and the other in 18:1–40:7, is evident for the following reasons: First, the texts are not seamlessly connected, as will be pointed out shortly. Second, the “we” often used in the *Apoc. Pet.* is almost absent in the *Pseudo-Clementines*. Third, the repeated description of the transfiguration account in ch. 22 would be hard to explain if it was composed by one author, who already concluded his narration of these events in *Apoc. Pet.* 17. Fourth, the text in 25:8 refers to the first revelation and thereby identifies itself as a second vision. Fifth, there is a significant difference in the narration between the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Pseudo-Clementines*; while there are always transitions between visions in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the Pseudo-Clementine portion of the *Second Coming* is more philosophical and instructive in a direct sense. Sixth, the use of vocabulary changes remarkably. As Buchholz points out, the term ስብሐት, for example, “which in the *Apocalypse of Peter* has always stood for eternal light-glory now also carries the meaning of the ceaseless heavenly praises and singing of the various orders of creation” (Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened*, 379). For further remarks regarding the relation of the *Pseudo-Clementines* to the contents of the *Apoc. Pet.*, see Beck, ‘The Apocalypse of Peter’, 119–20.

¹² The following table is an updated and enhanced version of the one found in Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened*, 383–85. Thereby, I am using the chapter and verse division from Eric Beck’s translation of the whole *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter*, including the Pseudo-Clementine Framework, at the end of the present volume in the chart and this article.

23:1–2	1:7; 6:1–2	The Father will not judge by himself but will turn judgment over to the son in loose connection to John 5:22–24
24:1–9	3:4–7	Peter reminds Jesus not to forget his earlier question about the mercy of God and repeats his claim that it would have been better for the sinners not to have been created
24:10; 30:11	6:7–9; 10:5–6	Forms of idolatry
24:11–12	1:8; 6; 13:6	The second death of the sinners; including the quote from the <i>Apoc. Pet.</i> : “because of their sin, they received recompense” in 24:11
25:1–7	4:1–4	God will raise the dead bodies for judgment, Ps.-Cl. interprets this as the second judgment for the second death
25:8–27:8	14:1–3 ¹³	God has mercy on the just and the unjust
28:1–7	2:8–10; 14:4	The liar who is the son of perdition and has said “I am Christ” and then made martyrs of those who refused to believe in him is followed by the sending of many evil spirits on the earth, which were previously locked away by Alexander the Great
29:2	4:3	The dead resurrect at Jesus’ word rather than by that of the Father
29:4	1:7; 6:1–2	The Father will place the crown on Jesus’ head in Jerusalem
29:5	2:12; 16:1	Moses/Enoch and Elijah will return after their appearance on Mount Tabor
29:7	6:1–2	Jesus’ throne will be in the middle of a river of fire
29:10–12	3:1–3	The heart of the just and the angels is troubled by the arrows of pain which shoot through the heart of sinners
31:9–10	14:1	At the word of those who have believed in Jesus, he will have pity
32:1–6	Ch. 6–12	Exhortation of sinners with the punishment by flames of fire so that they do not do injustice to one another
34:1–3	6:4	Those who believe in Jesus will not come to the fiery punishments

¹³ In the version of the *Apoc. Pet.* transmitted in the Rainer Fragment.

35:2	4:1–9	Judgment at the end of times will result in a second death for sinners
36:7	17:2–3	Physical abduction of the righteous into the clouds
36:9	4:5–6	Linking the creation and the destruction of the world through the will of God
37:3	Ch. 3–14	Summary of the visions Peter received through Jesus
40:5–6	1:1–3	How the revelation was revealed to Peter

The contents within the *Second Coming* are therefore connected, and the latter part heavily builds on the former. We encounter various comments on topics from the first part, such as God’s mercy and the characteristics of the just. Also, specific statements such as that Christ’s “Father will place a crown upon my head” (1:7; very similar in 6:2) are quoted quite directly (e.g., 29:4: “My Father will place a crown upon my head in Jerusalem”). Although the individual references would not conclusively prove a dependency of the *Pseudo-Clementines* on the contents of the *Apoc. Pet.* in each instance, the sheer number of such connections pointed out in the table above does so. Besides these direct allusions, many passages summarily refer to the punishments throughout the tour of hell and other aspects of the Petrine Visions throughout the *Apocalypse of Peter* (e.g., 30:10–11; 37:3). Consequently, this comparison of the contents of the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Pseudo-Clementines* shows the significance the first part of the *Second Coming* had for the latter. Therefore, we must perceive it as a source of information on the *Apocalypse of Peter* and ask the following questions:

- When and where were the Pseudo-Clementine passages composed and added to the text?
- What source material of the *Apocalypse of Peter* (compared to what we have today) did the author(s) have?
- Can we use these apocalyptic clarifications to achieve a better understanding of the *Apocalypse of Peter*?

To address these questions, this article is divided into three main parts: First, the contents we encounter in the *Second Coming* are introduced (§2). Subsequently, we will analyse central topics and passages of the text and examine if they could be utilized to narrow down

a possible timeframe in which the framework was composed (§ 3). For this task, an investigation of the Pseudo-Clementine author and his use of the figure of Clement proves helpful (§ 3.1). After that, we will put the references to the Alexander Romance of chapter 28 into a broader perspective (§ 3.2) and examine various thrones, such as the one of Enoch and Adam (cf. ch. 36), encountered in the *Second Coming* (§ 3.3) before a system of calendar conversion found in the text (cf. 39:1–18) is used to further approximate the time and place of its origin (§ 3.4). Finally, central conclusions will be presented, and future research questions shall be discussed (§ 4).

2. *The Contents of the Second Coming*

However, before we investigate the possible origins of the *Pseudo-Clementines*, let us take a step back and look at the whole of the *Second Coming* again. A possible outline of the treatise would be as follows:

- 1–3 Setting the Stage: Resurrected Jesus teaches disciples about end times on Mount of Olives

- 4–13 Terrifying Visions: Description of what Peter sees in the palm of the resurrected Jesus
 - 4:1–13 A detailed description of the resurrection of the dead
 - 5:1–6:9 Judgement of the sinners and the righteous within the conflagration
 - 7:1–13:6 The tour of hell

- 14–17 The Destiny of Peter, the Righteous, and Jesus: A glimpse into paradise
 - 14:1–6 The journey of the righteous to the eternal kingdom and Peter's destiny
 - 15:1–16:9 Revelation of paradise and the patriarchs inhabiting it to the disciples
 - 17:1–7 The glorious ascension of Jesus into the heavens

- 18–23 Peter's Instruction to Clement: God's glory at creation and the Day of Judgement
 - 18:1–21:5 Everything is created for the glory of God
 - 22:1–7 Re-narration of the canonical transfiguration with Peter, James, and John
 - 23:1–6 The life and fate of the righteous and the sinners

- 24–35 The Narrative Resumes: A dialogue between Jesus and Peter on mercy
- 24:1–26:3 A troubled Peter recaps the second death and begs Jesus for forgiveness
- 26:4–29:13 Jesus quotes the *Apoc. Pet.*: At second coming, all foes will be destroyed
- 30:1–32:6 Jesus explicates forgiveness but only because of Peter’s lament
- 33:1–34:11 Parables and exegesis of Adam’s life and Psalms (see Ps 36:6; 118:16–18)
- 35:1–7 Reminder: Sins of the unjust will be forgiven, but it should remain secret
- 36–40 Instructions to the Church: The narrative ends abruptly, and Peter speaks to Clement
- 36:1–15 Hierarchy in the hereafter and punishment of the devil and the demons
- 37:1–38:6 Summary of the whole of the previous *Second Coming*
- 39 Conversion from a Jewish lunar calendar to an Egyptian solar calendar
- 40 Last reminder: Clement must not reveal knowledge but hide it in a box

At the end of the well-known events of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which will not be summarized here, there is an abrupt change of characters and writing style between chapters 17 and 18. Despite these significant differences, manuscripts P and T show no sign of any separation between the two texts.¹⁴ In the Ethiopic text, the sentence does not even come to an end. In lieu, the word for heaven (ሰማያት) is simply followed by a conjugation and a verb (ወከሠተ) to introduce Peter’s teaching to Clement, whose name is *mentioned here for the first time*.¹⁵ This is the beginning of the lesser-known, latter portion of the *Second Coming*. The topics we encounter in the initial chapters of this Pseudo-Clementine text containing Peter’s lengthy instruction to Clement vary, but the passage overall treats the glory of God from the creation of the world to what happens to the righteous who glorify his name on the Day of Atonement. Thereby we learn that even the

¹⁴ See, for example, MS P, folio 137r.

¹⁵ According to James the material following *Apoc. Pet.* 17:7 is “very evidently of a later date”; see M.R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924) 520.

devil was created for the glory of God and that everything that ceases praising him revokes its purpose for existence. Moreover, Peter talks about himself in the third person while giving Clement a summary of the transfiguration account – an event which the readers just witnessed in the text of the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

Interestingly, this second transfiguration within the *Second Coming* resembles the one found in the canonical Gospels since only James, John, and Peter are present, while the account within the *Apoc. Pet.* talks about “his disciples” (15:1) who witness this event in a more general way. Afterward, the text shortly returns to the previous topic and points out the life and fate of the righteous and the sinners.

An entirely unintroduced conversation between Peter and Jesus follows suddenly in chapter 24, in which Peter paraphrases some of Jesus’ sayings from the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Thereby an emotionally agitated Peter emphasizes that it would have been better for the sinners not to have been created (see 3:4 and Mark 14:21) and apologizes in tears for his triple betrayal of Jesus.¹⁶ The risen Christ, on the other hand, repeatedly quotes himself from the Gospels and from the previous *Apocalypse* within the text. Such an exchange within the *Pseudo-Clementines* can be seen exemplarily in 26:4:

When I [Peter] had wept bitterly for many hours, the lover of repentance turned to me, saying to me, ‘It is not fitting that you should cause me distress, since you know and understand my words within the *Gospel*: He makes the sun rise for the righteous and sinners, and sends rain upon the good and the evil.’ (Matt 5:45)

After this conversation goes back and forth for some time in a similar manner with other self-referential quotes by Jesus, and Peter’s distress about the second death becomes more and more apparent, Jesus explicitly reveals to him that he died for the sins of the unrighteous and that God will also have mercy on sinners (see especially ch. 30). To fully grasp the mercy of God, the Pseudo-Clementine Jesus uses parables to describe the divine mercy (see ch. 33), and in a remarkable exegesis of the life of Adam and different Psalms (see Pss 36:6; 118:16–18), he points out that God also cares for the people who abandoned him (cf. ch. 34). However, some passages suggest that

¹⁶ See Matt 26:69–75; Mark 14:66–72; Luke 22:56–62; John 18:15–18, 25–27.

only “those who believe and have received my body and my blood” (34:9; see further 31:3; 34:3; 37:9) may count on this forgiveness.

In one more sharp twist of perspective, the dialogue between Peter and Jesus ends without any notice and another monologue from Peter to Clement and the church in general starts in chapter 36. The text describes the last day, the fate of the righteous and the demons, including the devil as their leader, whereas the focus is clearly on the supernatural adversaries that will be locked away (cf. 36:12).¹⁷

The text recapitulates its essential points concerning God’s glory and mercy for everyone. Before the concluding passage, a lengthy section with a detailed scheme of calendar conversion that specifies the transfer of feast days from a Jewish lunar calendar to an Egyptian solar calendar appears suddenly. Since this passage provides opportunities for determining the provenience and subsequently a possible date of the *Second Coming*, we will return to it later.

The text’s central theme, however, is God’s great mercy. It is for this reason that Jesus repeatedly urges Peter to keep his freshly attained knowledge about salvation hidden from the world (see 37:2; 38:4–6; 40:1–6) lest people sin in reliance on forgiveness. Fittingly the text ends with Peter’s request to Clement to hide the instructions in a locked box since Jesus only revealed this knowledge to him because of his continual lament.

Overall, Peter becomes an even more central character in this latter part of the *Second Coming*: While Jesus is mainly a teacher who quotes his own words from the Gospels or the *Apocalypse of Peter* and interprets the Hebrew Bible, Peter is worried for his sins and the sins of others and interprets the teachings of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Peter is predestined for the role of advocate for sinners since he says about himself in chapter 26: “Show compassion to me, O Lord, a sinner and a pauper, because I am the chief of sinners and fools in waywardness, having sworn when saying, ‘I do not know him,’ three times before the cock crowed”¹⁸ (26:1).

Peter is the one who transmits Jesus’ words to Clement and therefore vouches for their reliability. *He* advances the revelations through

¹⁷ The handling of the demons on the last day is strongly reminiscent of the description of the punishment of the watchers in *1 En.* 15–16 and *Jub.* 10.

¹⁸ See also Matt 26:69–75 and the connection to *Apoc. Pet.* 9:3, where the ones who betray Christ’s righteousness are severely punished.

his actions and distress, urging Jesus to reveal what should not be revealed to mortals.¹⁹ *He* is the one who gives concrete advice to the church and summarizes the central teachings. On the other hand, the main message of the Pseudo-Clementine Jesus and the whole treatise is the good news about God's mercy for sinners and that this knowledge should remain a secret. This aspect should be repeated at this point of our investigation, for the text likewise persistently stresses this point.

3. *Time and Place of the Pseudo-Clementine Framework*

The little scholarly attention the Pseudo-Clementine framework has received so far was surprisingly not interested in determining the time and place in which this text was written. Scholars who did refer to the *Second Coming* as a whole avoided going into much detail about the provenience of the *Pseudo-Clementines* and simply worked with the hypothesis of an Ethiopian origin without properly explaining their reasons for this conclusion or did not say anything about the background of this text at all.²⁰

¹⁹ Pesthy, 'Thy Mercy, O Lord', 48, even goes a step further and claims that each revelation inside the Pseudo-Clementine text is provoked by a question from Peter. Therefore, she divides the whole *Second Coming* into three main parts which become increasingly 'esoteric'. Her analysis of the three questions and remarks of Peter which prompt the revelations are technically correct, but her proposed structure makes the text appear more linear than it actually is, since the topic of the revelations changes significantly within the same revelation.

²⁰ Neither Eric Beck nor Dennis Buchholz give much information about the background of the author of the latter part of the *Second Coming* (see for example Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter*, 158). Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened*, 123, just remarks: "It is not clear when it was written ... [N]o research has been done on this Pseudo-Clementine work". Another striking example of this lack of interest in introductory questions related to the date and place of origin of the *Second Coming* is Monika Pesthy, who provides no information about where and when she locates the text, which she so profoundly analyses in her article. See Pesthy, 'Thy Mercy, O Lord', 40–51. Very rarely, these Pseudo-Clementine writings as a whole are treated in modern research on Early Christianity in their own right. One remarkable exception is their reception in G. Lusini, 'Tradizione

Since we have to try to understand the *Umwelt* of any piece of literature to gain a deeper understanding of its composition and meaning, it is necessary to use the second part of this article to carefully consider some clues which could help us to locate the text somewhere between the first half of the second century as our *terminus post quem*, since this is the time when the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which the framework constantly refers to, was composed, and the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century as our *terminus ante quem*,²¹ when the earliest of the two surviving manuscripts of the teachings which Peter allegedly transmitted to Clement were copied. This dating of the *Second Coming* will also influence where we most likely can detect its redaction into a unified text.

Toward this end, the reception history of the *Apocalypse of Peter* proves to be helpful: By analysing its *Nachleben*, we will find that the text was debated, copied, and integrated into several influential Christian texts in different branches of Christianity, such as the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Baruch*.²² The Pseudo-Clementine text within the *Second Coming* is thereby one of the most extant surviving witnesses of the *Nachleben* of the *Apocalypse of Peter*²³ from the time before the sixteenth century, regardless of whether we locate its provenience in Syria, Ethiopia, or Egypt.

origeniana in Etiopia', in P. Lorenzo (ed.), *Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition* (Leuven, 2003) 1177–84, where the author uses them to retrace one possible gateway of Origen ideas into the Horn of Africa.

²¹ Cf. A. Bausi, 'Towards a Re-Edition of the Ethiopic Dossier of the Apocalypse of Peter. A Few Remarks on the Ethiopic Manuscript Witnesses', *Apocrypha* 27 (2016) 179–96 at 181.

²² Regarding the relationship between the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* see Emiliano Fiori's article on the matter in this volume. On further possible traces of the reception of the *Apoc. Pet.* cf. Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened*, 412–24, T.J. Kraus, 'Die griechische Petrus-Apokalypse und ihre Relation zu ausgewählten Überlieferungsträgern apokalyptischer Stoffe', *Apocrypha* 14 (2003) 73–98, and Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter*, 32–53.

²³ Another text which engages heavily with the topics of the *Apoc. Pet.* is *The Mystery of the Judgement of Sinners* which immediately follows the *Second Coming* in MSS P and T.R. Cowley, 'The Ethiopic Work Which Is Believed to Contain the Material of the Ancient Greek Apocalypse of Peter', *JTS* 36/1 (1985) 151–53 claims that this text should be viewed together with the *Second Coming* as one Pseudo-Clementine treatise. However, since both

In this regard it is remarkable that the *Apoc. Pet.* apparently possessed enough authority that the author of the Pseudo-Clementine framework thought it worthwhile to spend considerable time and energy integrating this challenging text into a larger theological agenda by explaining the more controversial passages, such as the possibility of salvation for the deceased sinners in chapter 14.²⁴ Thereby the uncertain material evidence of the Apocalypse's influence and impact at the Horn of Africa after its translation from Arabic to Gə'əz²⁵ gives us little information about its authority in Ethiopia since the text is *only* attested in manuscripts P and T from the area around Lake Tana. Furthermore, as Ted Erho correctly details in his article within this volume, its influence on other Ethiopian authors has not been adequately researched so far, and the previously proposed connections by Robert Beylot²⁶ and Anton Baumstark²⁷ are not able to make a reception of the *Second Coming* or *The Mystery of the*

Ethiopic text witnesses specify *The Mystery of the Judgement of Sinners* as a separate work by the typical in-text separator that causes the following treatise to start in a new line and a marginal symbol indicating the start of a different composition (146v in MS P and 59r in MS T) and the relation of both Pseudo-Clementine treatises has not been the object of a throughout investigation so far (see Beck, 'The Apocalypse of Peter', 119–20), this article focuses only on the *Second Coming*, due to restrictions of time and space without negating the fact that a thorough analysis of *The Mystery of the Judgement of Sinners* might result in additional valuable results for the purpose of this study.

²⁴ For a longer argumentation that the salvation of sinners after their death was part of a more original version of the *Apoc. Pet.*, see Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter*, 155–69 and T. Kraus, 'Fürbitte für die Toten im frühen Christentum. Ich werde ... den gewähren, den sie aus der Strafe erbitten', in C. Karakolis et al. (eds), *Das Gebet im Neuen Testament* (Tübingen, 2009) 355–96.

²⁵ Cf. P. Marrassini, 'L'Apocalisse di Pietro', in Y. Beyene et al. (eds), *Etiopia e oltre. Studi in onore di Lanfranco Ricci* (Napoli, 1994) 171, 174, 178.

²⁶ R. Beylot (ed.), *Abbā Nabyud de Dabra Sihāt. Visions et conseils ascétiques – Traduits* (Louvain, 1976) X, 39, 43, 45 suggested some interdependency between the fifteenth-century Vision of Nabyud and the *Second Coming* as well as *The Mystery of the Judgement of Sinners*.

²⁷ A. Baumstark, 'Zitate und Spuren der Petrusapokalypse in einem äthiopischen Texte', *OrChr* 4 (1904) 398–405 tried to find traces of the *Apoc. Pet.* within Ethiopian literature based on the Akhmim-Fragment. But since

Judgement of Sinners necessary for the material proposed so far.²⁸ At the same time, the possible use of the *Second Coming* as a whole by Retu'a Hāymānot, which Erho points out in this volume, would suggest a familiarity with the Pseudo-Clementine composition in the second half of the fourteenth century, which means that if we assume a native Ethiopian authorship of the Second Coming, it must have been compiled before Retu'a Hāymānot's supposed tenure.²⁹ Therefore, depending on which interpretation of Erho's remarks one prefers, we either have no traceable reception of the text in Ethiopia at all or one so early that the Pseudo-Clementine composition would need to be among the earliest traceable evidence of native literary production in Ethiopia.³⁰

On the other hand, we know from Greek fragments and traceable references to and dependencies on the *Apocalypse of Peter* that the text still circulated in Egypt, where it presumably originated,³¹ at least

the Ethiopic version of the *Apoc. Pet.* was not identified at his time his results have to be updated.

²⁸ For a summary of the possible allusions of Ethiopic texts to the *Second Coming* see, Bausi, 'Towards a Re-Edition of the Ethiopic Dossier of the Apocalypse of Peter' 195.

²⁹ Cf. G. Haile, 'Religious Controversies and the Growth of Ethiopic Literature in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', *OrChr* 65 (1981) 102–136 at 112–13.

³⁰ For a list of Ethiopic apocrypha, see P. Piovanelli, 'The Adventures of the Apocrypha in Ethiopia', in A. Bausi (ed.), *Languages and Cultures of Eastern Christianity. Ethiopian* (Farnham, 2012) 87–110 at 103. Furthermore, on the same page Piovanelli classifies the "Apocalypse of Peter and the two eschatological tracts which follow it" into the category "apocryphal texts (or those containing apocryphal traditions) [...] translated from Arabic to Ge'ez (between about the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries)".

³¹ For a longer argumentation in favour of a composition of the *Apocalypse of Peter* in Egypt in the first half of the second century CE, see W. Grünstäudl, *Petrus Alexandrinus. Studien zum historischen und theologischen Ort des zweiten Petrusbriefes* (Tübingen, 2013) 97–144, 287–295, T. Nicklas, 'Insider und Outsider. Überlegungen zum historischen Kontext der Darstellung jenseitiger Orte in der Offenbarung des Petrus', in W. Ameling (ed.), *Topographie des Jenseits. Studien zur Geschichte des Todes in Kaiserzeit und Spätantike* (Stuttgart, 2011) 47–48 as well as J.N. Bremmer, 'The Apocalypse of Peter. Greek or Jewish?', in J.N. Bremmer and I. Czachesz (eds), *The Apocalypse of Peter* (Leuven, 2003) 1–14 and idem, 'Orphic, Roman,

until the late sixth century. Pieces of evidence for the apocalypse's early use are the canon lists in the Muratorian Fragment and Codex Claromontanus, as well as the authority it had for Egyptian authors such as Clement of Alexandria. An additional sign of the Apocalypse's later significance in Egypt is its collection with other texts regarding the afterlife in the Akhmim Codex.³²

Given these much richer – but still limited – available data on the reception of the text in *Northern Africa*, we can draw the following conclusion: in such an environment as we can assume in the second half of the first millennia in Egypt, the production of an explanatory framework on the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which made its way down to the Horn of Africa as a combined *Second Coming*, is more likely than the work of an Ethiopian scribe on a received text attributed to Peter with little to no authority in his tradition.

To provide substance to the claim that the text had an earlier provenience outside of Ethiopia, an investigation of some promising traditions regarding the dating of our Pseudo-Clementine framework is in order.

Jewish and Christian Tours of Hell. Observations on the Apocalypse of Peter', in T. Nicklas *et al.* (eds), *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World. Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions* (Leiden, 2010) 305–21, updated in J.N. Bremmer, *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 2017) 269–80, 281–93, respectively. The Alexandrian provenance was supported by Bremmer recently with other arguments in idem, 'The Apocalypse of Peter as the First Christian Martyr Text. Its Date, Provenance and Relationship with 2 Peter', in J. Frey, M. den Dulk, and J. van der Watt (eds), *2 Peter and the Apocalypse of Peter. Towards a New Perspective* (Leiden, 2019) 75–92.

³² Additional evidence for its later prominence outside of Egypt is its liturgical usage on Good Friday in Palestine, as Sozomen attests in the fifth century. However, active knowledge about its existence can be assumed in some branches of Christianity until the Middle Ages. See T. Kraus and T. Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrus-apokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* (Berlin, 2004) 87–103. Even a thirteenth-century Armenian canon list copied by Mekhitar of Ayrivank attests to the importance of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. However, there is no evidence that the apocalypse itself ever made it to Armenia. Cf. M. Stone, 'Armenian Canon Lists III. The Lists of Mechitar of Ayrivank (c. 1285 C.E.)', *HTR* 69/3–4 (1976) 289–300.

3.1. *The Authority of Clement Through the Centuries*

First, we have to look at the alleged author of the text. The end of the Apocalypse is – as already mentioned – rather poorly connected to the following apocalyptic extension written down by Clement. The older apocalypse presumably finishes with the conclusion of the vision of paradise and the sentence, “we prayed and descended from the mountain while praising God who has written the names of the righteous in the book of life in the heavens” (*Apoc. Pet.* 17:7), which is immediately followed by a sermon of Peter to Clement about creation and its meaning.

Where does Clement, a famous Roman religious leader from the second half of the first century, suddenly come from? What happened to Peter and the disciples in the weeks and years after the ascension of Christ? Moreover, why are we already *in medias res*, without a proper transition? All these questions remain unanswered. While the author of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, i.e., the first part of the *Second Coming*, managed to make relatively smooth transitions in a very intense tour from the Mount of Olives to hell and with a detour to the Elysian Fields to heaven and back to earth, here at the transition from the Apocalypse to the *Pseudo-Clementines* we have only a basic exposition. Without any reference to the descending disciples, the text only states that an unspecified *he* “opened his mouth and said” (18:1: ወከሠተ : አፋሁ : ወይቢለኝ) – an expression *never* used in the previous apocalypse.

Clement, to whom these words are directed and who apparently needs no introduction, is merely the recipient of and witness to the truthfulness of what has already been said. The function of the clarification to him regarding the harsh and terrifying contents of the apocalypse is to show God’s merciful masterplan behind all this. At *no point* in the *Second Coming* does Clement say *anything* or show *any personality*.³³ Instead, he functions as a counterpart for Peter’s monologues and only transmits the conversation between Jesus and Peter after the revelation of the events in the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

This conversation – retold by Peter – comes as a surprise; if we follow the itinerary of the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Peter*, Jesus has already ascended into heaven after his revelations and the vision of paradise. Only in the Akhmim-version of the apocalypse is it possible

³³ In contrast to the various questions he constantly asks in the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* to which we will come shortly in this chapter.

to assume that Jesus stayed in this world and can provide details about the topics of his revelation. However, due to the fact that the Akhmim Codex stops in the middle of the revelation of the punishments by Jesus in this Greek recension, this has to remain speculative.³⁴ At the same time, the Pseudo-Clementine author(s) could have imagined that the discussion between Jesus and Peter happened during a vision after Jesus' ascension.

Overall, the framework text of the *Apocalypse of Peter* uses an early Christian tradition according to which Clement was a disciple of Simon Peter. Besides other Pseudo-Clementine texts such as 2 *Clement* (here 2 *Clem.* 5:1–4), the *Recognitions* and the *Homilies*, also Tertullian's *Prescription Against Heretics* 32 and Epiphanius' *Panárion* 1.27.6 claim that Clement had a disciple-like connection to Peter and was declared bishop of Rome by the apostle. That this tradition of close proximity between Peter and Clement and the latter as the recipient of secret knowledge was still alive in early medieval Christianity can be seen in the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*, whose earliest layers were composed between the eighth and the tenth century,³⁵ and the seven Ethiopic books of *Qāleməntos*, whose first two books consist of a relatively accurate translation of the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* and therefore preserve its apocalyptic nature, while books III to VII seem to be a compilation by an Ethiopian author of other related texts concerning canon law translated to Gə'əz from Arabic around the fourteenth century.³⁶ These later Clementine works

³⁴ See also the supposed structure of the original *Apoc. Pet.* by Jan Dochhorn within his article in this volume, who proposes that the *Apoc. Pet.* may have ended with the possibility of the forgiveness of the deceased's sins through baptism in the Acherusian lake and the Great Commission ("Missionsbefehl"), similar to the one in ch. 14.

³⁵ For an overview of different proposed dates for the earliest stratum of text within the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* see the article by Emmanouela Grypeou in this volume. However, as Grypeou has mentioned before, a dating of the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* can only be tentative until a critical edition is available. Cf. E. Grypeou, 'The Re-written Bible in Arabic. The Paradise Story and Its Exegesis in the Arabic Apocalypse of Peter', in D. Thomas (ed.), *The Bible in Arab Christianity* (Leiden and Boston, 2006) 113–29 at 114.

³⁶ In addition to the article by Alessandro Bausi on the manuscript tradition of the Ethiopic *Qāleməntos* in this volume, see also A. Bausi, 'Qāleməntos', in *Encyclopedia Aethiopica* IV, 252.

from the Horn of Africa are therefore by no means proof of native Ethiopian Pseudo-Clementine literature production,³⁷ but bear witness to an Ethiopian manuscript creation process, wherein the scribe sees himself not only as a copyist but as a scholar,³⁸ who connects the similar teachings available to him.³⁹ Although no *direct* relation between the mentioned Pseudo-Clementine writings on the one side and the *Second Coming* on the other side has been found so far,⁴⁰ the discipleship of Clement was already well established from the third century onward. Thus, here Clement became the bearer of the apocalyptic knowledge revealed to Peter from *at least* the end of the first millennium onward. However, since several parts of the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* attest to older traditions, Clement's revelatory role could similarly attest to a significantly earlier tradition.

Our preliminary expedition into the reception of the figure of Clement makes apparent that using him as an authority for the transmission of revelations to Peter cannot be a decisive factor for determining the provenience of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. From the late antique Greek and Latin Pseudo-Clementine narratives and the knowledge about them by various patristic sources to the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* to the early medieval *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*

³⁷ Cf. M. Goff, 'The Apocalypse of Peter and its Nachleben in Ethiopia. Absorption, Expansion, and Transformation', in J. Dochhorn (ed.), *Parabiblica Aethiopica I. Traditions of Ethiopian Christianity* [forthcoming]. I thank Matthew Goff for sending me a version of this essay before publication.

³⁸ For more on the self-understanding of some Ethiopian scholars who were responsible for the transmission of ancient texts, see A. Brita, 'Genres of Ethiopian-Eritrean Christian Literature with a Focus on Hagiography', in S. Kelly (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval Ethiopia and Eritrea* (Leiden, 2020) 252–81 at 252–53.

³⁹ For an extensive introduction to the Ethiopic Qalēmentos tradition, on which this short summary relies, see A. Bausi, ቀለሙንጦስ፡ *Il Qalēmentos Etiopico. La rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente I Libri 3–7* (Napoli, 1992) 13–41.

⁴⁰ This is not saying much at all considering the meager scholarship this text has received to date. For a variety of remarkable common themes between the Pseudo-Clementine *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* found at the beginning of the *Second Coming* analyzed here, such as the revelatory visions in the palm of Jesus, similar torments in hell in both texts, or the coming of Enoch and Elijah, see the extensive list in Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened*, 10–19.

until the Ethiopic Clement compilation attested in books III to VII in *Qalementōs*, the whole imaginable timeframe and all the settings from Syria, to Egypt, down to Ethiopia seem plausible to varying degrees as locations for the composition of the Pseudo-Clementine text surrounding the *Apocalypse of Peter*.⁴¹ The only take away from this short investigation is that the central time and place where Clement was evidently decisive for being the bearer and transmitter of apocalyptic knowledge seems to be the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* from Egypt, whose lengthy process of formation started between the eighth and tenth century⁴² through the addition of other Pseudo-Clementine texts in the following centuries. However, while Clement in this tradition already has a developed personality and poses questions to Peter, the Clement of the *Second Coming* is only the recipient of the Petrine monologue without any characteristics besides his discipleship with Peter. Furthermore, as a result of this investigation, it has to be emphasized that native Ethiopian literary production under the authority of Clement *has not been securely attested* so far.

⁴¹ Therefore, Goff's argument has to be questioned. Writing about Clement traditions in Ethiopia he claims: "There is also an indigenous Ethiopian tradition of presenting knowledge Jesus revealed to Peter as in turn transmitted by Peter to Clement. In addition to the *Second Coming* itself, this is the case in the document that follows it in T and P, the *Mystery of the Judgment*. Similarly, *Qalēmentōs* (Clement), a significant text in Ethiopian Christianity, is presented as instruction Peter gives to Clement", in Goff, 'The Apocalypse of Peter and its Nachleben in Ethiopia' [forthcoming]. Since only parts of *Qalēmentōs* might be an original Ethiopian composition, which in turn heavily relies on other material of Arabic-Coptic origin, Goff's arguments on the provenience of the Pseudo-Clementine framework are circular.

⁴² For this dating by Mingana, see the still regularly quoted statement: "As the work stands in these MSS. it appears to me to be a genuine but composite Arabic lucubration with different layers of antiquity, a true *mixum compositum* [sic!]. The first and the most ancient of these Arabic layers I am tempted to ascribe to about A.D. 800. To this ancient layer many authors or copyists have at various times added here and there passages likely to render the original composition more interesting to their readers or hearers", in A. Mingana, *Woodbrook Studies – Christian Documents in Syriac, Arabic, and Garshuni, Edited and Translated with a Critical Apparatus. Volume III – Vision of Theophilus, Apocalypse of Peter* (Cambridge, 1931) 98.

3.2. *The Alexander Romance within the Pseudo-Clementines*

Another striking aspect that might help determine the date of the *Second Coming* is the allusion to the Alexander Romance. This reference to Alexander the Great has been completely overlooked in the literature on the *Second Coming* so far and was only unearthed in the process of translating and commenting on the text by Eric Beck and myself with the help of Ted Erho in the summer of 2021.⁴³ In 28:5–7, we read of the martyrs killed by the liar, whom we already know from *Apoc. Pet.* 2:

⁵ After the killing of the martyrs, God will send onto the Earth many evil demonic spirits [...] ⁷ And their king is named Gog.⁴⁴ Those who King Alexander harmed will be sent away by my will.⁴⁵

We encounter Gog (and Magog) from Ezek 38–39 and Rev 20:7–10⁴⁶ as the patriarch(s) of a Nordic barbaric people group from the Roman period onward. According to these legends, the Scythians are descendants of Magog, son of Japhet. Such ethnographic genealogies for these inhabitants at the edges of the known world are transmitted by ancient Jewish and early Christian authors such as Flavius Josephus (cf. *A.J.* 1.122–123) and Jerome.⁴⁷ As we learn in other passages of Josephus, Alexander expelled these Scythian tribes to the Caspian mountains,

⁴³ The separated name of the Macedonian ruler (Ἀλῆξᾱνδρῶς) spelled “ἈΛΗ : ፯፻፸” in MS P on folio 141r became “ἈΛΗ : ጸ፬፻፸” in Sylvain Grébaut’s 1910 transcription of the text (cf. Grébaut, ‘Littérature Éthiopienne’, 316) and has to my knowledge not been corrected since.

⁴⁴ For identifying ፯፻፸ as Gog here see the arguments in the footnote to this passage in Eric Beck’s translation at the end of this volume.

⁴⁵ Luigi Moraldi’s translation reads similarly to Grébaut’s by not identifying Alexander in this passage: “Quelli che egli avrà imprigionato fino alla mia discesa, saranno posti sotto la mia volontà.” See L. Moraldi (ed.), *Apocriphi del Nuovo Testamento. Volume Secundo* (Turin, 1971) 1834.

⁴⁶ For an in-depth analysis of the relationship between Ezek 38–39 and Rev 19:17–20:10, see S. Bøe, *Gog and Magog. Ezekiel 38–39 as Pre-text for Revelation 19,17–21 and 20,7–10* (Tübingen, 2001) 371–88.

⁴⁷ Cf. W. Kinzig, ‘Jewish and Judaizing Eschatologies in Jerome’, in R. Kalmin and S. Schwartz (eds), *Jewish Culture and Society under the Christian Roman Empire* (Leuven, 2003) 409–29 at 415, 419.

also known as the Caucasus mountains.⁴⁸ At a valley in these mountains, Alexander allegedly erected a wall with “iron gates” to keep these barbarians from entering and devastating the more civilised people groups in the south (cf. *A.J.* 18.97; *B.J.* 7.244–45).⁴⁹ Although we do not have Alexander the Great as part of an eschatological battle in the sober account of Josephus, we already see the foundation for a fight between good and evil with the Macedonian on the one side and Gog on the other.⁵⁰

An enhanced version of this tale, composed in Alexandria around the beginning of the Christian era in Egypt by Jewish authors seems to have added extensive details to this narrative. The text itself did not come down to us but seems, according to Peter Bietenholz, “to have inspired both Pseudo-Callisthenes, whose text became seminal for the further migrations of the legend in the Orient, and Pseudo-Methodius, the source of the medieval tradition in the West. From the Greek version of the Alexander legend authored by Pseudo-Callisthenes, the tale of Gog and Magog traveled to Syria, and from a Syrian version it found its way into the Koran. Suras 18 and 21 state that the unlocking of Alexander’s gates and the onslaught of Gog and Magog will be accomplished to the sound of the doomsday trumpet.”⁵¹

⁴⁸ This localisation, however, is disputed. Cf. E. van Donzel and A. Schmidt, *Gog and Magog in Early Syriac and Islamic Sources. Sallam’s Quest for Alexander’s Wall* (Leiden, 2010) 10–11.

⁴⁹ See *B.J.* 7.244–5: “²⁴⁴ The Alani – a race of Scythians, as we have somewhere previously remarked, inhabiting the banks of the river Tanais and the lake Maeotis – ²⁴⁵ contemplating at this period a predatory incursion into Media and beyond, entered into negotiations with the king of the Hyrcanians, who was master of the pass which king Alexander had closed with iron gates.” For this translation see H. Thackeray (ed.), *Josephus – The Jewish War. Volume III: Books IV–VII* (Cambridge, 1928) 575.

⁵⁰ For a more in-depth analysis of the various steps of the development of the Alexander Romance and related narratives see L. Greisiger, ‘Opening the Gates of the North in 627. War, Anti-Byzantine Sentiment and Apocalyptic Expectancy in the Near East Prior to the Arab Invasion’, in W. Brandes, F. Schmieder, and R. Voß (eds), *Peoples of the Apocalypse. Eschatological Beliefs and Political Scenarios* (Berlin and Boston, 2016) 63–79.

⁵¹ P. Bietenholz, *Historia and Fabula. Myths and Legends in Historical Thought from Antiquity to the Modern Age* (Leiden, 1994) 123.

This legend regarding Alexander's gate at the last judgement was, therefore, considerably famous in Egyptian Jewish, Christian, and later Muslim circles after the mid-first millennium. One prominent example of this theme from the time of a possible compilation of the *Second Coming* is the already mentioned *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, probably composed in Syriac during the second half of the seventh century. The Apocalypse copes with the successful conquest of the Islamic Expansion. It explains that the Christians did not lose against the Muslims because God was on the side of the new faith, but instead, the Islamic conquerors were sent by God because the Christians neglected their rightful practices.⁵² In chapter 8 of this Apocalypse, we find a longer but similar account of the deeds of Alexander compared to the *Second Coming*, who not only imprisoned the people of Gog and Magog but twenty different kingdoms in the north during his conquest in the east. Later in this text, those warriors will be released on the civilised world in a time of peace (cf. *ApcMeth* 13:17–21), which is precisely the time in which the author of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* sees himself living. Remarkably, we learn in the following passage that by the time of their coming, the Antichrist or Satan will be revealed (cf. *ApcMeth* 13:21–14:14) as described in the *Second Coming* in 28:1–5.

Lastly, fragments of a Coptic version of the Alexander Romance, written in the Sahidic dialect, exist. The Jewish-Christian additions to the life of Alexander fell on fruitful ground in Egypt since, in pre-Christian Egypt, Alexander was the subject of various popular and mythological stories of priestly propaganda. He was even “identified with the son of the magician-priest Nektabenos [sic!], the last Egyptian pharaoh, who supposedly disguised himself as the horned God Ammon and seduced Alexander's mother Olympia to produce a child,

⁵² See *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* 11:5 in the German translation of the Syriac text by Reinink: “Denn er sagte durch Mose zu den Söhnen Israels: ‘Nicht weil der Herr, euer Gott, euch liebt, führt er euch ins Land der Völker hinein, um es zu erben, sondern wegen der Ungerechtigkeit seiner Einwohner.’ Auch diesen Söhnen Ismaels erlaubte Gott, hineinzugehen und sich des Königreichs der Christen zu bemächtigen, nicht weil er sie liebt, sondern wegen der Ungerechtigkeit und der Sünde, die durch die Christen begangen werden, solche, die nie begangen wurden in einem der früheren Geschlechter”, in G. Reinink, *Die syrische Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius* (Leuven, 1993) 43.

Alexander, who was thus known as ‘the two-horned one.’”⁵³ Therefore the Egyptian Christians were receptive to incorporating the famous Macedonian emperor in their view of the end of the world and their possible salvation. The extant fragments of the Coptic Alexander traditions were presumably composed during the first period of the Arab conquest in Egypt (ca. 640) in the White Monastery, which was a well-known intellectual hub for Egyptian Christianity.⁵⁴ Consequently, the Alexander Legend was evidently known in an elaborate form in the centres of late antique literature production in Egypt.⁵⁵

Since the Ethiopian Alexander Romance,⁵⁶ on the other hand, was only translated into Gəʿəz between the fourteenth and sixteenth century⁵⁷ and, therefore, around the time when the *Second Coming* was already copied within a larger collection of Pseudo-Clementine texts, an Ethiopian background is less likely. This, again, is by no means indisputable proof that the genuine new apocalyptic elements within the Pseudo-Clementine passages, which are combined with the topics

⁵³ Donzel and Schmidt, *Gog and Magog in Early Syriac and Islamic Sources*, 33–34.

⁵⁴ Cf. M. Cramer, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten einst und heute. Eine Orientierung* (Wiesbaden, 1959) 53 and G. Lusini, ‘Origine e significato della presenza di Alessandro Magno nella letteratura etiopica’, *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 38 (1994) 96–118 at 98.

⁵⁵ Although “the fragments make no mention of Alexander’s barricade against Gog and Magog, it is likely that the motif featured in the original text” of the Coptic Alexander Romance according to Donzel and Schmidt, *Gog and Magog in Early Syriac and Islamic Sources*, 34.

⁵⁶ For the connection between the Syriac Alexander Legend and the Ethiopian Alexander Romance, see E.A.T.W. Budge, *The Alexander Book in Ethiopia. The Ethiopic Versions of Pseudo-Callisthenes, the Chronicle of Almakīn, the Narrative of Joseph Ben Gorion, and a Christian Romance of Alexander* (London, 1933) 142–44. For the use of the Ethiopian Alexander Romance in interpreting the Revelation of John, see R. Cowley, *The Traditional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of St. John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church* (Cambridge, 1983) 258–70.

⁵⁷ For more information regarding the transmission of the tradition surrounding Alexander to Ethiopia see G. Lusini, ‘Alexander the Great’, in *Encyclopedia Aethiopica* I, 195. Regarding the Arabic Alexander Romance from which the Ethiopian text is derived cf. F. Doufikar-Aerts, ‘Alexander the Flexible Friend. Some Reflections on the Representation of Alexander the Great in the Arabic Alexander Romance’, *JEastCS* 55/3 (2003) 195–210.

from the *Apocalypse of Peter*, such as the liar and the martyrs, originated in Egypt in the time between the sixth to the tenth century, but it shows that similar traditions regarding the origin of evil forces would have been around precisely at that time and place.⁵⁸

3.3. *Heavenly Hierarchies and Adam Traditions: A Game of Thrones*

Another hint helpful in our endeavours to date the text may be found in chapter 36. This passage indicates an elaborate hierarchy inside the church, including patriarchs, archbishops, archpriests, and many more who will sit on thrones of different classes of angels.⁵⁹ Even kings and princes are mentioned who “will sit on the thrones of Enoch, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob” (36:3). This strong connection of Enoch with a throne, which is the throne of God for most of the time, is known from *1* and *2 Enoch*. However, it is only in *3 Enoch* – a text which to our knowledge never reached Ethiopia – that Enoch is finally enthroned as Metatron himself.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ On the other hand, the lack of all allusions to the Islamic conquest in the *Second Coming*, which frequently occur in Christian apocalypses composed after the mid seventh century, would hint at a prior composition. Only a few of those Christian apocalypses from the time after the early Muslim conquest survived to this day, but they often incorporated the experiences from these events, or they were added later to already existing apocalyptic texts. See for example *The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ephrem*, *The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, *The Edessene Apocalypse*, *The Apocalypse of Shenute*, *The Gospel of the twelve Apostles*, *The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Ezra*, *The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Athanasius*, *The Proto-Fourteenth Vision of Daniel*, *The Prophecy of the Nineteen Muslim Kings*, and *The Greek Apocalypse of Daniel*. For a short introduction to their time, place, and content, see D. Thomas and B. Ruggema (eds), *Christian Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History – Volume 1 (600–900)* (Leiden, 2009) 160–75, 182–85, 222–25, 239–41, 274–80, 309–13, 411–18.

⁵⁹ Interestingly, their hierarchy is not entirely fitting with the influential order of the Pseudo-Dionysian *De Coelesti Hierarchia* (Περὶ τῆς Οὐρανίας Ἱεραρχίας) from the fifth century.

⁶⁰ For the thrones of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob see the *Testament of Isaac* 2:1, 5–9: “It came to pass, when the time drew near for our father Isaac, the father of fathers, to depart from this world and to go out from his body, that the Compassionate, the Merciful One sent to him the chief of the angels, Michael, the one whom he had sent to his father Abraham, on the morning of the twenty-eighth day of the month Misri. The angel said

The already mentioned relatively complex church structure we encounter in the Ethiopic manuscripts today (in addition to 36:2–3 see also 40:2) indicates the late fifth century as a *terminus post quem* for the text,⁶¹ a time when these titles seem to become more widely used in different documents in the eastern Roman Empire.⁶²

Additionally, 36:10–12 introduces us to an Adam tradition where the first man and his decedents will sit on the throne of the devil and his army:

And the offspring of Adam, who will be raised to life, will indeed receive the position and throne of the devil. And all the offspring will become the armies of angels instead of the armies of the devil.¹¹ But

to him, [...] ‘O my beloved Isaac, I have been sent to you from the presence of the living God to take you up to heaven to be with your father Abraham and all the saints. For your father Abraham is awaiting you; he himself is about to come for you, but now he is resting. There has been prepared for you the throne beside your father Abraham; likewise for your beloved son Jacob. And all of you shall be above everyone else in the kingdom of heaven in the glory of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit’; for the translation see W. Stinespring, ‘Testament of Isaac’, in J. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Volume 1* (New York, 1983) 903–911 at 905. Although *1 En.* 45:3; 51:3; 55:4; 61:8; 62:2–3 mention that the son of man will be seated on God’s throne, it is never called the “Throne of Enoch”. For other related thrones cf. M. Hengel, ‘Setze dich zu meiner Rechten. Die Inthronisation Christi zur Rechten Gottes und Psalm 110,1’, in id. (ed.), *Studien zur Christologie. Kleine Schriften IV* (Tübingen, 2006) 334–58. I was only able to find the Throne of Enoch in *3 Enoch*, where the transformed Enoch is enthroned in heaven (cf. *3 En.* 10:1–3 and 15:1). On the throne traditions regarding Enoch, see also A. Toepel, *Die Adam- und Seth-Legenden im syrischen Buch der Schatzhöhle. Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung* (Leuven, 2006) 74–86 and A. Orlov, *The Greatest Mirror. Heavenly Counterparts in the Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (Albany, 2018) 8–36.

⁶¹ If we assume that the majority of the Pseudo-Clementine passages originated in the same period.

⁶² The title “patriarch” appears as a key designation within the church for the first time at the Council of Chalcedon but is not found in imperial legislative texts before 477 (cf. Codex Iustinianus 1.2.16). See further J.N. Bremmer, ‘Timothy, John and Ephesus in the Acts of Timothy’, in T. Nicklas, J.E. Spittler, and J.N. Bremmer (eds), *The Apostles Peter, Paul, John, Thomas and Philip with their Companions in Late Antiquity* (Leuven, 2021) 215–39 at 219–22. I am grateful to Jan Bremmer for this important observation.

God will seal the demons in Gehenna, which trembles, with their lord, the devil, (and) with all who have been their dwelling.¹² Each of their families with them will be sealed in the abyss of Sheol, because they were enemies of Adam. (36:10–12)⁶³

Monika Pesthy rightly points out that early Jewish and Christian traditions stand behind this concept, according to which “the thrones of the devil and his demons remained empty in the heavens after their fall, and these seats will be occupied by the blessed after the resurrection.”⁶⁴ We can find this, for example, in the Latin *Life of Adam and Eve*, where Adam “will sit on the throne of him who overcame him” (*LAE* 47:3), that is, Satan. Also, Timothy of Alexandria, a Patriarch of the See of St. Mark in Egypt from the late fourth century, reports in his *Discourse on Abbaton* that God enthroned Adam on a great throne, was given a crown of glory and a royal sceptre, and was worshiped by angels at God’s comand.⁶⁵

⁶³ The eschatological problem which arises from this passage of the *Second Coming* is that apparently everyone who was possessed by a demon is also sent into Gehenna/Sheol. Therefore, if we take Peter’s teaching to Clement seriously, we have to distinguish between God’s mercy for all (Christian) sinners who did this without being possessed by a servant of the devil and the punishment for everyone – and maybe even their families – who functioned as a host for his armies. Furthermore, there must have been a sudden change in speakers again from Jesus to Peter somewhere in the course of ch. 36 – probably at the very beginning in 36:2 – since in 36:5 it becomes apparent that we are now listening again to Peter. Therein, Peter instructs Clement on how to imagine the *Second Coming* and says about Jesus: “There are many dwellings, and he will establish a flock of angels and people.” (36:5). But again, this abrupt change of the narrator is not at all indicated in the Ethiopic manuscripts.

⁶⁴ Pesthy, ‘Thy Mercy, O Lord’, 47.

⁶⁵ See for a short introduction and the text E.A.T.W. Budge (ed.), *Coptic Martyrdoms in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (Oxford, 1914) X–XII, LXVIII–LXXII, 474–496. However, the authenticity of this piece and its provenance in the fourth century is disputed. It could likewise be composed by Timothy II Aelurus in the second half of the fifth century or be a later Egyptian pseudepigraphical work altogether. Therefore, the value of this witness should not be overestimated. I owe thanks to Emmanouela Grypeou for bringing this disputed provenience to my attention.

In the *Apocalypse of Moses*, presumably the Greek predecessor of the various recensions of the *Life of Adam and Eve*,⁶⁶ we already encounter a very similar ‘Adam against the devil’ tradition like the one attested in the *Second Coming*. In *Apoc. Mos.* 39:1–3, God gives an eulogy at the corpse of the freshly deceased Adam. Thereby he expresses sadness for the wrongdoings Adam did in his life but also mentions the evil forces behind his transgression. What follows is the promise that God, in a not specified future, will reinstall Adam on his rightful throne, which is currently occupied by the devil. In this eschatological passage, God elaborates that the current occupant of the throne will be cast down with all his subordinates. They will have to look up to the reinstated Adam on his throne and be sad, while those who were formerly miserable will rejoice. According to Jan Dochhorn, this *Substitutionsschema* where only *either Adam or the devil* can have the favorable position in paradise or on a heavenly throne, while the other is suffering, which we also experience in the *Second Coming*, can be identified in various Jewish and Christian sources around the turn of the era (cf. *Apoc. Mos.* 16:3; 39:1–3; 1 QM XVII 5–7; Rev 12).⁶⁷

Moreover, in chapter 11 in both recensions of the *Testament of Abraham*, composed within the first two centuries CE – probably in Egypt,⁶⁸ where it later was “particularly popular among Coptic Christians”⁶⁹ – Adam sits *on a throne* between two gates and judges the dead. When a soul finds its way through the narrow gate to life, he ecstatically rejoices. Correspondingly, he weeps when one goes through the other gate, which leads to destruction.⁷⁰ Like in the *Second Coming*, the damnation of the souls and the compassion of central religious figures play a significant role in this appearance of the throne

⁶⁶ Cf. J. Dochhorn, *Die Apokalypse des Mose. Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar* (Tübingen, 2005) 3–14, idem, *Der Adammythos bei Paulus und im hellenistischen Judentum Jerusalems. Eine theologische und religionsgeschichtliche Studie zu Römer 7,7–25* (Tübingen, 2021) 247–48, as well as Dochhorn’s contribution to this volume.

⁶⁷ Cf. Dochhorn, *Die Apokalypse des Mose*, 514–21.

⁶⁸ Cf. E. Janssen, *Testament Abrahams* (Gütersloh, 1975) 198–201.

⁶⁹ D.C. Allison, *Testament of Abraham* (Berlin, 2003), 33. See pp. 32–33 for Allison’s arguments in favour of an Egyptian origin.

⁷⁰ This dichotomy of *the wide path* and *the narrow door* (cf. also Matt 7:13) likewise appears in the *Second Coming* 23:3–5.

of Adam, while his adversaries are not mentioned in both recensions of the Apocalypse of Abraham.⁷¹

Taking these observations into account, it becomes evident that the throne of Adam was not a very prominent theme in ancient Jewish and early Christian texts. At the same time, most of the (late) antique instances where we encounter this topic are connected with Egypt.⁷² Therefore, the particular Adam traditions within the *Second Coming* would fit smoothly in a context where these texts examined here and the traditions they founded were well-known, coinciding with our proposed origin in Egypt between the sixth and tenth centuries.

3.4. *Conversions of Calendars*

Nearly at the end of the *Second Coming*, we are confronted with chapter 39, which is, in many aspects, the most confusing chapter in the entire treatise but may provide clues to the date of the composition of the text. Here we encounter a comparison between a Hebrew and

⁷¹ For more information on this fascinating appearance of Adam on his throne and many other examples of (golden) thrones from antiquity, see Allison, *Testament of Abraham*, 244–45.

⁷² Even more remarkable is the fact that these early instances and their famous later reception in the Syriac *Cave of Treasures* seem to have influenced the North-African apocalyptic literature from the middle of the first millennium onward such that we find Adam traditions similar to those in the *Second Coming*, such as the envy of Satan and his followers and their subsequent punishment, which for example is also present in the Arabic *Book of the Rolls*, as part of the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*. On the *Book of the Rolls* see M.D. Gibson, *Apocrypha Arabica* (London, 1901) 1–58, Mingana, *Woodbrook Studies*, 93, Grypeou, ‘The Re-written Bible in Arabic’, 116–17 as well as Grypeou’s contribution to the present volume. Again, this may hint at a Coptic-Arabic origin of these passages and thus to an Egyptian origin of the *Second Coming*. However, while Adam plays a crucial role in the *Book of the Rolls* and similar tropes as in the *Second Coming* are incorporated according to Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened*, 10–19, the throne traditions analysed in this chapter (including the one connected with Adam) is not attested here. At the same time, the supposed *Vorlage* of the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*, namely the *Cave of Treasures*, has an enthronement of Adam in *Cav. Tr.* 2:18, which suggests that the *Second Coming* transmits an Adam tradition closer to the earlier Egyptian texts and the *Cave of Treasures*. For an analysis of the figure of Adam within the *Cave of Treasures* see Toepel, *Die Adam- und Seth-Legenden im syrischen Buch der Schatzhöhle*.

a Coptic calendar, which remains rather accurate for today's celebrations within the Coptic Church and betrays an Egyptian provenance for the following reasons:

First, the Jewish lunar calendar was not well known in Ethiopia. It seems to have been foreign even to the *Beta Israel*, so the comparison here is unusual. In Egypt (maybe even in Alexandria itself), however, there was significant intermingling between Jews and Christians, so the comparison would seem more natural within that setting. For example, an Alexandrian World Chronicle, composed between the fifth and late seventh century, gives similar dates for the events, which the end of the *Second Coming* prescribes to be celebrated with a day of rest, and this Chronicle is equally concerned with ordering and keeping the feasts at the correct time.⁷³

Second, the text uses Coptic names for the allegedly Hebrew months and Gəʿəz names for the Egyptian months, which seems to be a decision by a Gəʿəz translator since the text repeatedly refers to Coptic and not Ethiopian events during the year.

Third, the names of the months 𐩈𐩢, “Tobi” and 𐩈𐩣𐩪𐩬 “Phimenot” in 39:8 hint at a composition of the text in Greek (Τυβί/Φαμενώθ) or Coptic (𐩈𐩣𐩪𐩬/𐩈𐩣𐩪𐩬𐩈𐩣𐩪𐩬) and not an Arabic (طوبه, spelled Tubah/برمهات, spelled Baramhat) origin and could be a strong sign for the extra-Ethiopian origin of the *Second Coming* as a whole.⁷⁴

Fourth and lastly: There are only three feast days for the angel Michael (cf. 39:13–14) and not twelve, as has been customary since the earliest traceable veneration practices of this particular archangel in Ethiopia.⁷⁵ Additionally, there is no proof that the feast of the forty soldiers (see 39:12), the four animals (39:15), and the priests of

⁷³ On this tendency in Jewish circles in the second century BCE see the *Book of Jubilees*, which was apparently one of the sources for the Alexandrian World Chronicle. For an introduction to the Chronicle itself, see B. Garstad, *Apocalypse Pseudo-Methodius. An Alexandrian World Chronicle* (Cambridge, 2012) XVIII–XXXV at XXIII.

⁷⁴ Furthermore, it should be noted that many names in the Ethiopic text retain Greek endings, such as Clement (𐩈𐩣𐩪𐩬𐩈𐩣𐩪𐩬; 18:1), Peter (𐩈𐩣𐩪𐩬; 22:4; 26:1; 30:8; 34:9; 39:16; 40:5), and Elijah (𐩈𐩣𐩪𐩬; 17:2).

⁷⁵ See O. Raineri, ‘Angels’, in *Encyclopedia Aethiopica* I, 265.

heaven (39:15) were celebrated at any time in Ethiopia.⁷⁶ Therefore if an Ethiopian author was behind this order of festivities, more festivities particular to Ethiopia as opposed to those which are unknown would be expected.⁷⁷

So, the preponderance of evidence points again to an Egyptian-Coptic origin of the *Second Coming*.⁷⁸ There are additional shreds of evidence

⁷⁶ Cf. S. Kaplan, 'Feasts', in *Encyclopedia Aethiopica* II, 510–14 as well as K. Merten, *Das äthiopisch-orthodoxe Christentum. Ein Versuch zu verstehen* (Berlin, 2012) 154–71.

⁷⁷ There are undoubtedly several chronological systems found in Ethiopia, some of Egyptian origin, but it is nearly unknown for them to be referred to in such a fashion.

⁷⁸ On the other hand, 39:16–18 is one – maybe the only – strong argument for a provenance (at least for this passage) at the Horn of Africa. Here we read the following command to the reader: “¹⁶ As our fathers instituted, celebrate both the days of the Sabbath and Sunday accurately. Peter and Paul commanded us and instructed the children of the church: in the week, there are two, the Sabbath day and the first day. ¹⁷ Let them do no work. Let that man die when he has violated it. Let him be destroyed. ¹⁸ We have commanded in this way for the obedience of the Scriptures with regard to the conduct of the church. Observe this thing (that) I have told you.” Note the close proximity to the orders in the *Synodicon*, which also attests that Peter and Paul gave the command to rest on the Sabbath and on Sunday. For a translation of the relevant passages of the *Synodicon* see G. Haile, 'The Forty-Nine Hour Sabbath of the Ethiopian Church', *JSS* 33/2 (1988) 234–38. Especially 39:16–17 is closely connected to the closing passages of *Jubilees* (see *Jub.* 50:6–13), where the revelations regarding the division of times told by the Angel of Presence to Moses ends with a lengthy passage on what happens to the man, woman, child, or servant that does any work on the Sabbath. Repeatedly we read that “the man who does any work on it is to die” (*Jub.* 50:8). This passage in *Jubilees* together with the already mentioned teachings in the *Synodicon* as well as in an Ethiopian version of the fourth century Syrian Christian text *Didascalia of the Apostles* (for the relevant passages see idem, 'The Forty-Nine Hour Sabbath of the Ethiopian Church', 238–39) were among the reasons for the controversies surrounding the monk Ewostatewos (1273–1352 CE) and his followers in the early reign of the so-called Solomonic dynasty in Ethiopia to claim that both Sabbaths – the Sabbath of the Old Testament and the Sunday as the celebration of the resurrection of Christ – should be kept strictly. This practice was finally declared law by the famous emperor Zara Yaqob, who reigned over Ethiopia from 1434 until 1468. Cf. L. Stuckenbruck, 'Die heiligen Schriften in der

that might speak for the providence of the text in Egypt that could be further elaborated in future research, such as the close proximity between the topics of the Pseudo-Clementine apocalypse and *2 Enoch*, which was presumably also composed in Egypt in the first century⁷⁹ and which never made it – as far as we know – down to Ethiopia. Likewise, we can observe the reminiscence of conflicts with Arianism and Docetism in some passages (e.g., 31:5; 37:4), which might hint at a contextualization of the *Second Coming* in Egypt between the sixth and the tenth century where these ideas were still entertained actively.

Correspondingly, the salvation of (Christian) sinners after their death is the main topic of the treatise, as has been discussed already. Similarly, we find this topic vehemently advocated for – as the consequent reconciliation of God with his entire creation – by the famous Egyptian theologian Origen (185–253). This controversial concept of *Apocatastasis*⁸⁰ was an important topic throughout the second

äthiopisch-orthodoxen Kirche. Ohne das Henochbuch kannst du kein Christ oder Jude sein', in H. Kaiser and B. Leicht (eds), *Christen in Äthiopien. Hüter der Bundeslade* (Stuttgart, 2015) 34. Because of the magnitude of this teaching for the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church – in stark contrast to its Coptic mother church, who condemned this practice of holding two Sabbaths – this passage in 39:16–17 may be viewed as an Ethiopic interpolation, since this theme of the celebration of two festal days does not appear anywhere else in this rather repetitive text. Also, Lusini, 'Tradizione origeniana in Etiopia', 1183, entertains the possibility that passages like this could be the product of the Ethiopic transmission. Additionally, the overall structure speaks for such an interpolation. In this passage we witness Peter's instruction to Clement. Although the author fiction in the *Second Coming* is not too strong (on the matter of author fiction see also the article by Jörg Frey in this volume as well as 22:4), it is still particularly odd that in 39:16 we encounter the sentence "*Peter and Paul* commanded us and instructed the children of the church: in the week, there are two, the Sabbath day and the first day".

⁷⁹ See, for example, the enthronization of Adam in *2 En.* 30:12 compared to chapter 36 of the *Second Coming* or the strong similarities between the righteous in chapter 20 and *2 En.* 66:7. For more information on *2 Enoch* itself and its Egyptian origin, consult C. Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch* (Gütersloh, 1996) 810–13.

⁸⁰ For a comprehensive study of this doctrine see I. Ramelli, *The Christian Doctrine of Apokatastasis. A Critical Assessment from the New Testament to Eriugena* (Leiden, 2013).

Origenist crisis during the sixth century.⁸¹ As a result, Origen's teachings were widely condemned, leading to the destruction of most of his works. In contrast, as Ted Erho points out in his article within this volume, "[t]he idea of penance is uncommon in medieval Ethiopia, and there are few known sources from which it might be derived." Hence, a composition of the Clementine elements of the *Second Coming*, which most likely treat Origenist ideas, would make sense before, during, or in the years following the second Origenist crisis,⁸² thus, long before the transmission of the text in Ethiopia.⁸³ This alone deserves its own in-depth analysis in a future investigation dedicated to this specific topic.

4. *Conclusion: A New Egyptian Apocalypse and Its Impact on the Study of the Apocalypse of Peter in Its Context*

As we have seen in this chapter, there are no indications about the provenance of the Pseudo-Clementine framework which would give us a definite *terminus ante quem* before the fifteenth century and a composition outside of Ethiopia. Nevertheless, as it became clear, there are good reasons in favour of an earlier composition of the text. The Clementine tradition within the text itself is closer to the one we encounter in Egyptian-Coptic literature than anything else, and a genuine Ethiopian literary production under the supposed authority of Clement has not been proven so far. Moreover, the specific form of traditions behind the allusion to the Alexander Romance and the thrones of Adam, Enoch, and the different hierarchies of angels make a composition in Egypt more likely. Finally, the conversion of feasts

⁸¹ On the first Origenist crisis in whose context the *Apocalypse of Paul* was possibly composed as an anti-Origenist compromise to some ideas within the *Apocalypse of Peter*, see the article by Emiliano Fiori in this volume.

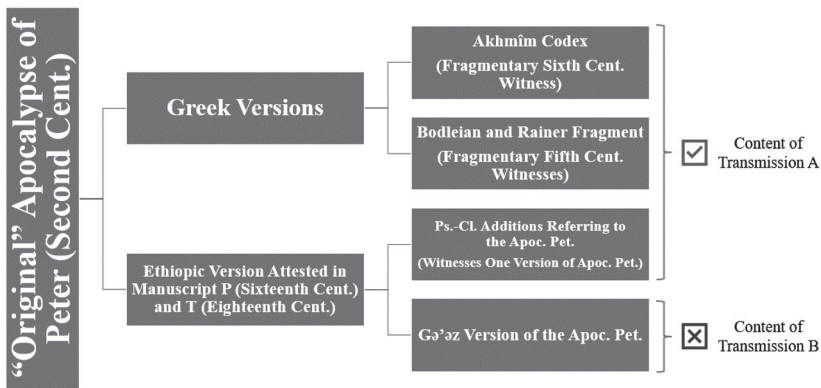
⁸² Cf. E. Harding, 'Origenist Crises', in J.A. McGuckin (ed.), *The Westminster Handbook to Origen* (Louisville, 2004) 162–67.

⁸³ Based on such Origenistic ideas, Lusini, 'Tradizione origeniana in Etiopia', 1183 concludes about the date of the *Pseudo-Clementines* "Le posizioni moderate in tema di apocatastasi, con la condanna eterna del diavolo e dei demoni, denotano un rapporto con riformulazioni del pensiero origeniano posteriori al IV secolo. Il fatto che in alcune comunità pacomiane dell'Egitto tardoantico siano circolate dottrine di osservanza origeniana ben oltre l'editto del 543 è più di un'ipotesi suggestiva."

from a Hebrew calendar into a Coptic one, which are attested in the Coptic-Orthodox rite but not or differently celebrated in the recorded history of Ethiopia, suggests an origin outside the Horn of Africa as well as a date of composition in the first millennium.

This conclusion prompts the question: if the text surrounding the *Apocalypse of Peter* turns out to be an Egyptian apocalyptic addition from the first millennium that comments on, specifies, and advances the themes found within the *Apocalypse of Peter* before the collective translation into Gəʿəz, what would be the consequences for the contents it transmits?

The Pseudo-Clementine text would unquestionably be a witness to an earlier state of the *Apocalypse of Peter* before its translation into Gəʿəz. When, consequently, the Greek fragments of the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the Pseudo-Clementine remarks on this very Apocalypse transmit the same contents *against* the Ethiopic text of the revelation to the Prince of the Apostles, we have an additional witness to the earlier state of the Apocalypse, by utilizing the whole of the *Second Coming*. The following chart illustrates this:



Let us suppose that the Greek version(s) of the *Apoc. Pet.*, together with the Pseudo-Clementine part of the *Second Coming*,⁸⁴ stand thematically (Content of Transmission A) against a reading of the work

⁸⁴ Possibly *The Mystery of the Judgement of Sinners* can also be used as an additional transmission carrier if further research confirms its close connection and its shared provenance with the Pseudo-Clementine part of the *Second Coming*.

in the Ethiopic text (Content of Transmission B). In that case, it would be a strong indicator of the originality of a reading more similar to the Greek text at this particular point – as can be seen in the chart above.

Furthermore, the latter part of the *Second Coming* can give us at least some clarity regarding the contents of the former, which is not consistent in the Ethiopic version we have today – regardless of whether the corresponding passages survived in the Greek fragments. A prominent example where the Ethiopic and the Greek version of the *Apocalypse of Peter* transmit different messages is surely the possible corruption of the Ethiopic version of *Apoc. Pet.* 14. Here, the Ethiopic version only speaks about the baptism and the salvation of the righteous, while the Rainer Fragment clearly communicates the fact that the elect can save “whomever they ask [...] out of punishment” (*Apoc. Pet.* 14:1), which corresponds with the overall message of mercy for the sinners within the *Pseudo-Clementines*.⁸⁵

Another remarkable difference is that the Ethiopic account of paradise in the *Apocalypse of Peter* does not describe the inhabitants of this heavenly place, whereas the Akhmim Codex does so at great lengths.⁸⁶ Since we find extensive descriptions of this otherworldly location in the latter parts of the *Second Coming* (e.g., 20:1–21:5; 29:1–9; 36:1–5) and since the Ethiopic version of this entire paradise passage of the *Apocalypse of Peter* is, according to Eric Beck, “poorly written and often requires some degree of emendation in order to make it comprehensible”,⁸⁷ it is not unreasonable to entertain the

⁸⁵ On the role of mercy within the *Apoc. Pet.* see Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter*, 85–88, 155–167. For a translation of the whole Rainer Fragment with remarks on its relation to the Bodleian Fragment, which presumably originates from the same manuscript, see Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 121–30.

⁸⁶ This is especially striking since Jesus’ disciples are interested in very different aspects of paradise in the two versions. In the Ethiopic version this place is characterised by the fathers such as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and Elijah who dwell there (16:4: “You have seen the nation of the fathers, and thus is their rest”), while the Akhmim Codex seems to be more concerned with the place where “your righteous brethren, whose forms you desired to see” (Akh *Apoc. Pet.* 13) are spending their life after death.

⁸⁷ Beck, ‘The Apocalypse of Peter’, 126–7. On page 125, Beck points out that the proper name of Jesus only appears four times in the entire Ethiopic

possibility that the Ethiopic account of paradise, which only consists of roughly a third of the one in the Akhmim Codex, was shortened at some point during the extensive transmission process.⁸⁸ Therefore, we must read the Pseudo-Clementine additions and the Greek and Ethiopic versions together to get as close as possible to an “original” version of the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

If we accept this “early” dating of the composition of the *Second Coming* proposed here, we have a new Christian apocalypse in front of us, which has many features of more traditional “apocalypses” such as the ones attributed to John or Peter, but simultaneously illustrates distinct structures of later Christian texts – for instance, the interest in the correct chronology of Christian festivities or the use of the Alexander Romance in its apocalyptic visions. This apocalypse deserves its own analysis and gives us new material on how Christian communities negotiated pressing topics of their time through divine revelations to important figures such as Clement and Peter.⁸⁹

One such process, which we can observe in the present form of the *Second Coming*, is how a group of Christians coped with the

version of the *Apoc. Pet.* and each time in chs. 15 and 16. Moreover, these chapters introduce new titles for Jesus such as king (ጸገሥ) and God (እግዚአብሔር). This is another argument for a later interpolation of the Ethiopic passage. Already James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 521, wrote about this passage: “My impression is that the maker of the Ethiopic version (or of its Arabic parent, or of another ancestor) has designedly omitted or slurred over some clauses in the passage beginning: ‘Then will I give unto mine elect’, and that in his very diffuse and obscure appendix to the Apocalypse, he has tried to break the dangerous doctrine of the ultimate salvation of sinners gently to his readers”.

⁸⁸ Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened*, 386, assumes that in this description of paradise in the Ethiopic text of the *Apoc. Pet.* the title of Jesus has been changed in three instances (cf. *Apoc. Pet.* 15:1; 16:1, 4) “to bolster the divinity of Jesus, which may not have been evident in the Apocalypse of Peter”. This additionally supports the notion of editorial work in chs. 14–17 in the Ethiopic version.

⁸⁹ For this process of “Apocryphication”, see J. Frey, ‘From Canonical to Apocryphal Texts. The Quest for Processes of Apocryphication in Early Jewish and Early Christian Literature’, in J. Frey, C. Clivaz, and T. Nicklas (eds), *Between Canonical and Apocryphal Texts. Processes of Reception, Rewriting, and Interpretation in Early Judaism and Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 2019) 1–43.

tension between the necessity of divine justice and the concept of an all-loving and merciful God who gave his own Son for sinners. We witnessed how the message of possible *salvation for deceased sinners* inside the *Apocalypse of Peter* was received by the Egyptian author of the Pseudo-Clementine framework.⁹⁰ Interestingly, the teaching about *postmortem salvation* was not condemned but was simultaneously perceived as a dangerous and destabilizing truth for any community. The author is obviously afraid that such merciful forgiveness would lead to a drastic increase in sins were the general population to learn of it. Hence, it must be only revealed to chosen individuals and be hidden from the rest. Thus, our so-far unjustified neglected Pseudo-Clementine framework provides us – along with the precious data on an earlier version of the *Apocalypse of Peter* with which he worked – fascinating insights into the author’s anthropology and theology. By accepting the necessity of the “false” teaching of a just and vengeful God, while standing firm behind the concept of penance after the death of the individual, the *Second Coming* is a prime example of a fine psychological and theological sensitivity within Christian apocalypticism which deserves more attention in future research.

⁹⁰ Ramelli, *The Christian Doctrine of Apokatastasis*, 36, even claims that in the *Second Coming* along with Acts 3, “the announcement of Christ’s descent to hell in 1Peter and in the Gospel of Peter” we find a Petrine tradition that supports the expectation of the *Apokatastasis*.

X. “I Have Given You the Keys of Heaven and Earth”: The Arabic *Apocalypse of Peter* and the History of Christian Apocalyptic Literature

EMMANOUELA GRYPEOU

The Arabic *Apocalypse of Peter* (alternatively known as the *Book of the Rolls*) is a revelation dialogue between the resurrected Christ and Peter, narrated by Peter to Clement of Rome, which Clement writes down in rolls. According to the literary classification of pseudepigraphical literature, the text belongs roughly to the Pseudo-Clementine literature on account of its general narrative frame.¹ Significantly, it is said to be the sixth book of Clement of Rome. It is probably one of the earliest – if not even the earliest text preserved – which was originally composed in Christian Arabic. Moreover, it is one of the most emblematic texts to have been composed after the emergence of Islam. Notably, it relates to a variety of established pseudepigraphical, para-biblical, apocalyptic, and eschatological traditions.

Previous scholarship dated the work as early as the mid-eighth century on account of alleged cryptic references to political events in Byzantine and early Islamic history. However, more recent studies

¹ According to G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* I (Città del Vaticano, 1944) 283: „Als jüngster Ausläufer pseudo-klementinischer Literatur gelangt in einem Teil der östlichen Christenheit ein in seiner Komposition und Redaktion original-arabisches Sammelwerk apokalyptischer Stoffe zu einem großen Ansehen” and further: “Sein Bestand blieb nicht immer derselbe”; cf. also F. Nau, ‘Clémentins (Apocryphes) II. L’apocalypse de Pierre ou Clément’, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* III (Paris, 1908) 216–19.

suggested a later date.² Still, it is highly probable that the work contains parts that originally were composed in different time periods, the earliest of which dates to the tenth century at the earliest, according to the palaeographic evidence.

The translations, numerous recensions, as well as the reception of this work in later literature attest to its popularity and significance.³ In particular, it was translated into Ge'ez under the brief title Qālementos ('Clement').⁴

² According to R. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It* (Princeton, 1997) 294, the text relates to events in Seljuk-Fatimid Egypt and suggests the second half of the 11th cent., the date of the earliest attestation of manuscript Paris Ar 76. Other suggestions place the text in early Fatimid Egypt (mid or late 10th cent.): R. Griveau, 'Notes sur la lettre de Pisuntios', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 19 (1914) 441–44 at 443. According to Assemani, some manuscripts contain information about the Muslim conquest of Tripoli (1289) and Acre (1290): see E. Bratke, 'Handschriftliche Überlieferung und Bruchstücke der arabisch-äthiop. Petrus-Apokalypse', *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 36.1 (1893) 454–93 at 461. Similarly, A. Mingana mentions additions that can be dated up to the 14th cent. (*apud* Graf, GCAL I, 287). However, G. Dillmann, 'Bericht über das äthiopische Buch Clemen-tinischer Schriften', *Nachrichten von der Georg-August-Universität und der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 17–19 (1858) 185–226, describes the text as "ein Denkmal aus der Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts, das uns einen Einblick gewährt in den Zustand der damaligen Christenheit und in die Gefühle und Anschauungen, welche sie bewegten."

³ On the reception of the text in Latin literature esp. in the context of the fifth Crusade, see K. Brewer, *Prester John. The Legend and Its Sources* (Farnham, 2015) 126–39; in the early 14th cent., Shams al-Ri'āsa Abū l-Barakāt also refers to a book by Clement, the disciple of Peter, which is known as 'The Book of Secrets'. C.C. Rossini, 'Il libro dello Pseudo-Clemente e la crociata di Damietta', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 9 (1921) 32–35; B. Weber, 'Damiette, 1220. La cinquième croisade et l'Apocalypse arabe de Pierre dans leur contexte nilotique', *Médiévales* 79 (2020) 69–90; M. Lewy, *Der apokalyptische Abessinier und die Kreuzzüge: Wandel eines frühislamischen Motivs in der Literatur und Kartografie des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 2018) 131–50.

⁴ See A. Bausi, *Il Qalēmentos etiopico. La rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente. I libri 3–7* (Naples, 1992); C. Bezold, 'Das arabisch-äthiopische Testamentum Adami', in id. (ed.), *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag* (Giessen, 1906) 839–912; S. Grébaut, *Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. Le Qalēmentos. Version éthiopienne en sept*

The text is transmitted in Arabic and in Garshuni manuscripts and demonstrates a complicated manuscript and editorial history.⁵ It is a remarkably long and exceptionally complex, rich and at times even almost rambling text, for which we do not yet have a critical edition. As I have previously remarked: “Until a critical edition of this compelling and monumental work of Eastern Christianity becomes available, the interpretation of its apocalyptic symbols and ideas, as well as suggestions about dating and provenance, must remain tentative”.⁶ This observation sadly remains true.

Certain familiarity with Coptic customs, a positive attitude towards circumcision, as well as a conspicuous interest in the fate of Egypt suggest an Egyptian provenance. Thus, Egypt can be considered as the most probable place of composition, although the evidence of the Garshuni manuscript witnesses and perhaps more importantly, the engagement of the text with Syriac textual traditions attest to the popularity and dissemination of the text in Syria as well.⁷

livres traduite en français. Livres premier et deuxième (Paris, 1913); Dillmann, ‘Bericht’, 185–226; cf. P. Marrassini, ‘Peter, Apocalypse of’, *Encyclopedia Aethiopica* IV (Wiesbaden, 2010) 135–37, who draws attention to a certain convergence, albeit very cautiously because of the lack of a critical edition of the Arabic text.

⁵ The text is extant in three main recension groups; on the manuscript evidence see Bratke, ‘Handschriftliche Überlieferung’; and the updated catalogue compiled by P. La Spisa, ‘À propos de l’Apocalypse de Pierre arabe ou Livre des Révélation (Kitab al-Magall)’, in A. Bausi *et al.* (eds), *Linguistic, Oriental and Ethiopian Studies in Memory of Paolo Marrassini* (Wiesbaden, 2015) 511–26; La Spisa notes that there are at least 42 manuscripts, grouped in three recensions (23 mss.), along with two groups of summarised texts from miscellaneous collections and fragmentary texts (19 mss.) (op. cit. 520).

⁶ E. Grypeou, ‘Kitāb al-majāl; Jalayān Buṭrus’, in D. Thomas (ed.), *Christian-Muslim Relations 600–1500. A Bibliographical History* (Leiden, 2012) 636–37.

⁷ Dillmann, ‘Bericht’, 185–226, argued for an Egyptian origin of a definitely Monophysite text, which was composed originally in Arabic in the middle of the 8th cent. Bratke follows Dillmann and points out that Egypt was the main location for the production of apocalypses (‘Handschriftliche Überlieferung’, 491). Significantly, *Secreta Petri* were read in Egypt during church services; on the importance of the apostle Peter in Egypt, see K. Berger, ‘Unfehlbare Offenbarung. Petrus in der gnostischen und

The work may be viewed as a compilation of older and contemporary literary traditions. It often reads like an apocalyptic patchwork that uses the literary framework of the *erotapokriseis*, a quite common literary form for pseudepigraphical Christian literature in Late Antiquity.⁸ Thus, it is mainly structured as a series of questions and answers, in which certain topics, such as paradise or the heavenly Jerusalem are recurring, and their descriptions may even vary.⁹

The work is divided into three major sections. The first part, under the title *Kitāb al-majāll* or the Book of the Rolls, one of the Books of Clement, was originally edited and translated by Margaret Dunlop Gibson from a Sinai manuscript which dates to no later than the tenth century (Sinai Ar. 508).¹⁰ This section includes an Arabic version of the Syriac *Cave of Treasures*, together with a compendium of major biblical stories, mainly from the Old Testament, which focus on genealogies.¹¹ Furthermore, this part includes an Arabic version of

apokalyptischen Offenbarungsliteratur', in P.-G. Müller and W. Stenger (eds), *Kontinuität und Einheit. Festschrift für Franz Mußner zum 65. Geburtstag* (Freiburg, 1981) 261–326; A. Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. III (Cambridge, 1931) 214–15, suggests that the style, grammar, and vocabulary of the text denotes an Arabic speaking Syrian 'living in or near Egypt', and as the same author finally maintains: "There is hardly any need here to emphasise the fact that the country in which the present Apocalypse of Peter was first written is Egypt. It is also certain that the work itself is thoroughly Coptic in origin."

⁸ See P. Tóth, 'New Wine in Old Wineskin. Byzantine Reuses of the Apocryphal Revelation Dialogue', in A. Cameron and N. Gaul (eds), *Dialogues and Debates from Late Antiquity to Late Byzantium* (New York, 2017) 77–93; On the use and popularity of the question/answer structure in later Christian apocalypses, see J.N. Bremmer, 'Descents to Hell and Ascents to Heaven in Apocalyptic Literature', in J.J. Collins (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature* (Oxford, 2015) 340–57 at 347, reprinted in his *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 2017) 329–45 at 336.

⁹ See Grypeou, 'Kitāb al-majāll, 632–37; E. Grypeou, 'The Re-Written Bible in Arabic. The Paradise Story and Its Exegesis in the Arabic Apocalypse of Peter', in D. Thomas (ed.), *The Bible in Arab Christianity* (Leiden, 2006) 113–30 at 120–23.

¹⁰ M.D. Gibson, *Apocrypha Arabica* (London, 1901) 1–58.

¹¹ On the *Cave of Treasures* see S.-M. Ri, *La Caverne des trésors* (Louvain, 1987); C. Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle* (Leipzig, 1883).

the *Testament of Adam*, which is also attested in Syriac (among other languages).¹²

The second and third parts of the work were published by Alphonse Mingana in 1931.¹³ Mingana omitted the first part since it was already edited by M.D. Gibson, whereas he used several Arabic and Garshuni manuscripts for his own edition and translation into English. However, as Mingana concedes: “To edit all the above MSS. in a single publication is almost an impossibility” and so he has focused on the edition of one manuscript, which according to his opinion preserves the most ancient version of the work.¹⁴ This discussion uses Mingana’s text conscious of its limitations.

Mingana dubbed the parts of the text that he edited the *Apocalypse of Peter*, and this is the title I use here as well.¹⁵

The text itself testifies to the title *The Book of the Rolls*, as we read:

And I, Clement, did not cease to beseech the teacher Peter and to implore him to favour me with what I had asked of him until he granted my request and said: ‘Prepare the rolls and write down on them what I shall dictate to you. Make the present writing follow what we have already told you concerning the genealogy of Mary, the mother of light, and make one book of the whole’. This is the reason why I, Clement, have entitled this book *The Book of the Rolls*. And I began to write on the rolls what the holy teacher dictated to me, while my eyes were shedding tears and my hands were trembling.¹⁶

The first part of the work largely focuses on biblical history and genealogy. It appears to provide a general background for the more esoteric teachings that are to be revealed later in the apocalyptic narrative

¹² On the Syriac *Testament of Adam* see S.E. Robinson, *The Testament of Adam. An Examination of the Syriac and Greek Traditions* (Chico, CA, 1982); on the Arabic transmission of the same work, see C. Bezold, ‘Das arabisch-äthiopische Testamentum Adami’, in id., *Orientalische Studien: Theodor Nöldeke zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag*, 893–912 at 898–909; G. Troupeau, ‘Une version arabe du ‘Testament d’Adam’, in R.-G. Coquin (ed.), *Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont. Contributions à l’étude des christianismes orientaux* (Geneva, 1988) 3–14.

¹³ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*.

¹⁴ Cf. Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 95.

¹⁵ On alternative attested titles, see Grypeou, ‘Kitab al-majall’, 632.

¹⁶ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 103.

that follows. This part concentrates on Clement's efforts to refute the Jews who challenge him about Mary's genealogy, Adam's creation, and the correct interpretation of the Torah. It concludes with the genealogy of Mary and a defence of her virginity. Significantly, the work indicates a strong interest in the veneration of Mary in general.

The second part, with which Mingana's text begins, contains an extensive account of heavenly and eschatological secrets, while the third part primarily consists of a historical-political apocalypse that narrates at length and in cryptic language the history of Islamic rule. This work is one of the very rare texts in apocalyptic literature that include visions of the afterlife as well as a political/historical apocalyptic prophecy. A final section begins with a description of the advent of the Antichrist but continues with a historical account of the apostolic mission with a special emphasis on Peter.

In the context of a consideration of the relationship of the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* with the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter*, I am focusing here on the second part of the Arabic text, which includes visions of the afterlife and is also explicitly introduced as the revelation of hidden heavenly secrets that are not disclosed in Scripture, as Christ says to Peter: "Know that I have not imparted to Moses in the matter of the history of creation what I am imparting to you."¹⁷

This section begins with Clement telling Peter that he is now able to refute the Jews, but he still needs to know the heavenly secrets as revealed to him by Christ.¹⁸ The revelation of esoteric teachings bears a significant theological implication. The text deals extensively with fundamental questions of the Christian faith. These cover a description of the creation, basic information about the nature of the Godhead, including trinitarian explanations, cosmological and morphological details about the nature of angels according to their various ranks, the creation of Adam and Eve and their transgression, as well as descriptions of the afterlife. The interest in the afterlife specifically is reflected in Clement's questions about the meaning of life and death or the reason why God promised resurrection.

Peter takes Clement up to the Mount of Olives to the spot from which Jesus ascended to the heavens. There Peter prays to Jesus so he can confide to Clement these secrets. Peter's revelation, which is

¹⁷ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 128.

¹⁸ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 100.

described as divinely inspired and spoken through the Holy Spirit, requires cultic preparation. Peter prostrates himself to the ground and worships forty times. At the end of the forty genuflections, his face becomes illuminated and “something like a flame of a burning fire” radiates through him such that he undergoes a physical transformation before the revelation.¹⁹

Peter asks Clement to write down these words because afterwards there will be some who will not believe them. Peter begins with his narrative on the same spot Jesus also answered Peter’s questions regarding protological secrets about the abode of the Godhead and the throne before the creation of the world.

Thus, the setting of Jesus’ revelation, following common pseud-epigraphical motifs, also takes place on the Mount of Olives where Jesus gathers the apostles and Mary, his mother. However, the narrative develops into an exclusive conversation between Jesus and Peter. This revelatory discourse takes place post-resurrection but before Jesus’ ascension to which Peter is an eyewitness.

Peter’s importance and revelatory authority are stressed throughout the text, as Jesus explains: “The mysteries of my mercy are not known, and not comprehended, and no tongue is able to speak of them. I shall, however, reveal to you those of them that I know your mind and intelligence can comprehend, because I have given you the keys of heaven and earth, and have shown you their doors so that you might open them and close them at your will.”²⁰

The narrative shifts into a new sort of bracket narrative or perhaps even a meta-narrative, since Jesus is now the narrator who speaks to Peter, addressed here as the “foundation of his [Jesus’] church.” Jesus’ revelation starts with an exposition on the Trinity and the internal relation of three persons of the Trinity: “The Father is grace, I am wisdom and the Spirit is life”, whereby Jesus always speaks in the first person singular or plural: “We are not three but we are one”. And furthermore, as Jesus declares: “we are there without ceasing, without changing and without moving from one

¹⁹ Cf. Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 104. The physical transformation of the visionary refers to common motifs in Jewish and Christian apocalyptic writings, i.e., 2 En. 28:11; T. Levi 4:2; 2 Bar. 51:12.

²⁰ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 125.

thing to another, because all things move towards us, and everything is in our hand”.²¹

In the context of this lengthy – and almost poetic – explanation about the Trinity, Jesus also describes creation as an act of the Trinity (“let us create divinely”) and does so in some detail. Thus, the work develops into a personal narration of the creation story, as when Jesus states: “and no one can number the heavens and the firmaments except ourselves, and no one can comprehend them besides us. We placed the waters in a vessel which surrounds the world.”²²

Jesus explains about the creation of everything material and immaterial, spiritual and corporeal. There is a special focus on the theological explanation of the creation of Adam as an angelic being, his transgression and fall. Similarly, the text also narrates and expands upon the creation of the “Archon” and his rebellion. Furthermore, he refers to the creation of the waters, the seven firmaments, and an extensive angelological part on the glorifying orders, the time, and even the days of their creation, their numbers and place, “all of them are divided into orders in three churches of light and fire”. In this context it also provides cosmological information including an explanation about weather phenomena, such as the formation of ice and snow.

Following the *Horarium of Adam*, which lists and elaborates upon the daily prayers and their appropriate time, the text includes instructions about the numbers and hours of the prayers with a special focus on ascetic practice. The timing of the prayers has a theological dimension related to the episodes from the biblical creation and paradise story. Moreover, it includes community and ritual rules, delineating the boundaries with other faith communities. It commands tolerance towards circumcision but intolerance towards the sacrifices of the sons of Kedar (the Muslims), the pagans, the Jews and an explicit and strict forbiddance of Sabbath observance, stressing at the same time the importance of the observance of the canons relating to Sunday with an emphasis on continuous prayer. The observance of these commands guarantees rewards for the faithful.

The description of the heavenly world and the divine throne unfolds in several visions with impressive vivid imagery, making eclectic use of material from the Rev 4:7, Dan 7:8–10, and Ezek 1.

²¹ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 105–7.

²² Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 108.

Jesus urges Peter to look up and see “a pavilion of light. Around the pavilion hung curtains of light immersed in light”. Significantly, as Jesus explains, the Archon was initially near to the pavilion of light holding the cords of the veils of the divine grace. In contrast to the world of light above, Peter is then prompted to look at what is under him. “And I looked and saw a bottomless pit, dark and awful”.²³

Peter can observe almost simultaneously, albeit briefly, the heavenly throne and the abyss. In places, the narrative appears staged like a theatrical performance. So, we read: “He stretched His hand and lengthened His arm to the height of heaven, and He folded the heaven and the earth as parchment is folded, and as one folds the roll of a book (cf. Rev 6:14).²⁴ He collected them and placed them in the palm of His hand. Any one of the baptised Christians who does not believe in this and confesses that our Lord is able to do it may the curse of God be on him”.²⁵

1. *Visions of Afterlife in the Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*

This text includes remarkably extensive, detailed, and vivid descriptions of the places of heavenly reward, which are identified as paradise, Eden, the kingdom of heaven and the heavenly Jerusalem. The promise of rewards in the afterlife fulfilled important pastoral purposes as encouragement and support for the communities to persevere and follow the commandments of the faith.

Starting with Eden, we read that it is located in the land of Tigris.²⁶ It is the dwelling place of the angels and was created at the same time with the angels. It is the house of God’s mercy, where there

²³ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 124.

²⁴ A similar motif is mentioned by the anonymous pagan interlocutor of Macarius Magnes, *Apoc. IV.7*; Macarius understands this motif as a citation from an *Apocalypse of Peter*, see T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* (Berlin, 2004) 93. I owe this reference to Daniel Maier.

²⁵ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 124.

²⁶ This motif reflects common biblically inspired speculations about an earthly location of Eden, see A. Scafi, *Mapping Paradise. A History of Heaven and Earth* (Chicago, 2006).

is no darkness. Eden has together with paradise three doors. From this door, God hears and answers prayers. The first door, which is also the highest one, is located on the door of the sepulchre that is identified with Golgotha in the text. The second door overshadows the Mount of Olives, and the third door looks upon Mount Sinai. According to the text, all doors of paradise are related to biblical sacred geography. Personal worship practices are directly connected to sacred sites of revelation and to the heavenly realm. As Jesus explains here: "I did not become incarnate except to hear the prayers of those who are in need and to satisfy their wants."²⁷

Paradise is full of places of delight, exquisite perfumes, and rivers of light. It is sanctified by the glorifications of the spiritual beings. As we read: "It contains neither winter nor summer nor the perishable concupiscence of this world. It has neither food nor drink because its breeze satisfies the souls. The dwellers therein have no sinful thought, nor do they delight in sin. There is in it no hunger and no thirst, and its inmates are in no need of garments since there is in it no shame of nudity".²⁸

Paradise is placed below the kingdom and the divine throne and is created after the image of the church, prepared in heaven before the eons for the so-called 'marked faithful virgins' (Rev 14:4). This heavenly church is created as a dwelling for the believers and is located near the door of the pavilion of light.

The description of the heavenly Jerusalem which is located above the third heaven and overshadows the earthly Jerusalem is largely inspired by Rev 21. The work demonstrates a pronounced interest in liturgical life in general. Characteristically, the heavenly Jerusalem – which is also prepared for the children of baptism – is presented as the altar and the sanctuary of life, where liturgy never ends. On the day of the resurrection, the souls of the believers will go to the church of the heavenly Jerusalem that is established by the Father in the name of Christ.

The kingdom of heaven is located near the divine abode and is envisioned as even greater than paradise. Anyone who is worthy of the kingdom of heaven first experiences the pleasures of the gardens of paradise before they are taken up to the kingdom of heaven. The kingdom of heaven refers to descriptions of the apocalyptic heavenly

²⁷ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 135.

²⁸ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 137.

city. It is infused with divine grace; it possesses many doors, beautiful mansions, and delightful places, “pure, holy, sublime, arrayed in light”, as separate dwellings for the prophets and the righteous ones. Peter is the keyholder of all these heavenly abodes.

The rewards in the afterlife are categorised according to various ranks of believers depending on their merits. After the apostles, these ranks include the righteous and pure priests, who sanctify Jesus’ body and blood, offer their prayer at the appointed hour, are compassionate and pure in heart, and follow the laws and canons. For them, who will be “like the angels in heaven”, Jesus has prepared “marvellous garments and diadems and they will be placed in the mansions of heaven that overlook the sufferings of the abyss, in order to be rewarded with double joy and pleasures.”²⁹ The construction of paradise and hell as contrasting realities is accentuated by the ingenious placement of the abyss in full view of the inhabitants of the places of heavenly rewards.

After Jesus makes a sign to two angels, Peter is offered a brief tour of hell guided by angels who take Peter away and show him the place of punishments. As with paradise, hell has doors – partly, resembling large mountains. The angels open these doors to Peter to see “an accumulation of cold, blood and fire”. “Peter sees fires that burned, bodies that shook, sighs that mounted, and an uproar that kept alternately diminishing and increasing”.³⁰

The opening of respective doors by angels reveals a series of apocalyptic cosmological *tableaux vivants*, inspired by the book of Revelation – including images of parts of the sea turning into blood, the darkening of the sun, etc. Peter is presented as a seer here, resembling John of Patmos. As Mingana also remarks, “the author borrows freely from the Book of Revelation, but curiously enough with many modifications”.³¹ Characteristically, the opening of a red door in heaven reveals a red dragon (cf. Rev 12:3) with seven heads and twenty horns (cf. Rev 13:1).

Descriptions of hell, its torments and the sinners dwelling there can be found in the third part of the work. Tartarus is a place “full of the wrath, anger, and vengeance of God, and abundantly supplied

²⁹ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 141.

³⁰ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 142.

³¹ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 100.

with the worms of the earth, which devour, sting and bite with various kinds of poisons".³²

Hell contains various compartments that are organised according to horizontal topography so as to accommodate various categories of sinners based on the perceived severity of their transgressions. An interesting feature here is that the most grievous sins listed, which also deserve a more elaborate treatment in this text, are transgressions related to the true faith, such as the unbelievers, the magicians, and the idolaters who knew about the creator God but nevertheless worshipped and offered sacrifices to the stars, stones, images, cows, and other animals.

Other similar categories include those who acted like Pharaoh, that is, people who compelled others to worship them, and made themselves gods. The most severe torments are reserved for those 'lawgivers', who knew their Lord with certainty but rejected him. "They will continually bite their tongues as their only answer to the benefits showered on them by the Father while they swore allegiance to the Rebel and rejected the services of their God who provides, vivifies, kills, and promises good things, and threatens with the torments of the abyss those who deny Him."³³

As the angel explains to Peter, the worm of those who disown Jesus will not die from their bodies. But their flesh will be eternally rejuvenated and the worms that are in it will increase and multiply.

Punishments include thick darkness that contains the smoke coming out of the torments of the abyss. It causes difficulty of breathing and gives rise to coughs and constriction in the chest. Other images describe cold that penetrates the bones so that "the teeth begin to gnash and grind, and the sufferers to shiver".³⁴

Thus, certain torments are described as essentially physical in a very realistic, almost trivial way. Compared to descriptions of the torments of hell common in other apocalyptic writings, these punishments seem to refer to common illnesses or severe physical discomfort. They are said to diminish the brightness of the colours, harden the hearts, increase the sorrows, and mar the beauty of the face.

³² Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 218.

³³ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 217–18.

³⁴ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 218.

In a way, eternal corporeality is perceived as the actual eternal punishment. The torments of the flesh and physical pain and discomfort are contrasted with the spiritual bliss of the pure souls.

The text adds a long list of worldly sins, common in Christian apocalyptic literature (envy, slander, false witness, fornication, robbery, murder, etc.). These sins will be punished with torments of hell as transgressions against the “praiseworthy commandments” of God.³⁵

Although the text mentions that “those localities are frequented by demons who are of different forces and bewilder the minds”,³⁶ these do not seem to have a specific punitive function here. However, the text also informs us that there are angels made of fire entrusted to take charge of the fire and of those sinners in the “lowest extremity” of the torments.³⁷

The envisioning of hell and of its punishments in the text is quite idiosyncratic and contains aspects which are unique or unusual in the context of the late antique Christian apocalyptic literature. However, it should be reiterated that the presentation and analysis of this material is fragmented and incomplete. Visions of hell are scattered in different parts of the work, and Mingana omitted folios in the third part of the work which “are followed by another version of the different kinds of torments inflicted on different types of sinners” (ff. 135b–137a), as well as folios 137–145b “on the end of the world and on the punishment of sinners, somewhat similar to those already reported”.³⁸

2. *The Arabic Apocalypse of Peter and the Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter: A Case of Lost Relatives?*

The *Arabic Apocalypse* (*Ar. Apoc. Pet.*) shares certain formal characteristics with the text commonly known as the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter* (*Eth. Apoc. Pet.*).³⁹ Both texts present revelatory discourses

³⁵ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 219.

³⁶ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 218.

³⁷ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 219.

³⁸ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 360.

³⁹ See D.D. Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened. A Study of the Greek (Ethiopic) Apocalypse of Peter* (Atlanta, 1988); E.J. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter. A New Translation and Analysis of the Purpose of the Text* (Tübingen, 2019). All quotations are from Beck’s translation of the text, 66–73.

framed as *erotapokriseis* between Jesus and his disciples on the Mount of Olives, where Peter becomes the only interlocutor with Jesus and the only recipient of the revelation. The exclusivity as well as the secrecy of the revelation is stressed by both textual traditions. In the Arabic text, Jesus commands Peter to “keep the secrets which I have disclosed to you, because their knowledge will be required at the end of the time, and it will only be found with few people”.⁴⁰ In the Ethiopic text, Peter is instructed not to reveal these secrets to anyone but only to the wise and learned, such as patriarchs and priests (Eth. Apoc. Pet. 40).

Generally, there is a certain overlap in the “list of revealed things”.⁴¹ The *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* shares with the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter* an interest in the eschatological realities, in paradise and hell in general, although not necessarily in the details of the description. Accordingly, a direct interdependency between these two textual traditions cannot be established, but they form part of a corpus of pseudepigraphical apocalyptic Petrine tradition or library.

Interestingly, both texts share some common moral exhortations and perceptions (such as lists of sins or of laudable behaviour to respectively be punished or rewarded in the afterlife). The rewards for the righteous are also distributed according to their rank of merits and both texts express the common belief that paradise has many dwellings. Descriptions of the divine throne demonstrate some commonalities, which are, however, ultimately, inspired by biblical prototypes (Eth. Apoc. Pet. 29:7–8).

Furthermore, there is a shared interest in angelology, protology, and in the secrets of the creation story. Both texts provide an elaborate narrative of the creation story, Adam’s transgression and fall, and the creation and rebellion of the devil.

Certain fundamental theological tenets about the nature of the Godhead are shared as well. Significantly, Jesus declares in the *Eth. Apoc. Pet.* 26:8: “There is no place that can contain us, but we perceive every place through the power of our divinity”; this statement is repeated in several places in the Arabic text such as, for example, in: “We contain everything, and nothing contains us”.⁴²

⁴⁰ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 248.

⁴¹ See Buchholz, *Their Eyes Will Be Opened*, 10–16.

⁴² Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 106.

Interestingly, in both texts the revelation of the heavenly secrets and of the afterlife takes place as a “live” spectacle in the palm of Jesus’ hand, where protology, eschatology, and cosmology co-exist as parallel realities outside and beyond time and earthly history (*Eth. Apoc. Pet.* 3:1).

A pit as the locus of punishment is mentioned in the *Eth. Apoc. Pet.* 7:3 as well, employing well-known motifs such as venomous animals and castigating angels lighting the fire of punishment (*Eth. Apoc. Pet.* 7:4). However, the Ethiopic text famously offers more detailed descriptions of sins and tortures. More importantly, perhaps, it is also more concerned with questions of mercy and theodicy. The *Ar. Apoc. Pet.* develops a more comprehensive exposition of popularized Christian theology, and its main focus is the exhortation to persevere in the right faith. Accordingly, the Arabic text appears like a *vade mecum* to support and defend Christian theology and practice.

We may conclude that both texts provided their respective communities with alternative visions of the afterlife relevant to their specific pastoral needs.

The commonalities observed here remain peripheral and do not provide evidence for direct contact or communication between the two textual traditions. However, they testify to the dynamic and broad circulation of apocalyptic motifs and their eclectic use for the composition of new writings. Scholarship has established that the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter* is a translation from an Arabic text, which apparently remains lost.⁴³ The missing Arabic link for a text which has been so fundamental and important to the history of Christian eschatology is remarkable. A possible reason could be an “inflation” of apocalyptic and eschatological literature in Arabic at the time. It has long been argued that the *Greek Apocalypse of Peter* became obsolete in Christian Late Antiquity and was gradually replaced by the *Apocalypse of*

⁴³ See A. Bausi, ‘Towards a Re-Edition of the Ethiopic Dossier of the Apocalypse of Peter. A Few Remarks on the Ethiopic Manuscript Witnesses’, *Apocrypha* 27 (2016) 179–96; Buchholz remarks: “Yet while we are justified to retain the possibility that the Arabic Book of the Rolls could be our Apocalypse of Peter, in a greatly expanded and altered form, it certainly does not contain the better text of the ancient apocalypse for which some scholars have been searching” (Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened*, 15).

Paul (Visio Pauli) and later texts influenced by it.⁴⁴ As Georg Graf remarks in his monumental work on the history of Christian Arabic literature, there were several new writings composed in Arabic of a testamentary character, which imitated the apocryphal Jesus' revelation before his ascension on the Mount of Olives, including moral exhortations, apocalyptic revelations, and canonical/legal commandments.⁴⁵ Notably, popular apocalyptic texts, like the *Apocryphal Apocalypse of John*, the so-called *Apocalypse of (Ps.-)Gregory of Edessa*⁴⁶, and perhaps more importantly, the *Apocalypse of Paul* were also translated into Arabic from Syriac; latter witnessed in numerous – mostly Garshuni – manuscripts.⁴⁷ Additional Arabic apocalyptic writings recorded by Graf that focus on the fate of the souls remain unedited and possibly there exist other still undiscovered writings. The present evidence testifies to a strong interest in texts of an eschatological character, as well as to intense translation activity and dialogue between Eastern Christian communities.

⁴⁴ M. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell* (Philadelphia, 1983) 19 classifies these texts as the “Apocalypse of Paul family”.

⁴⁵ Graf, *GCAL* I, 241–42.

⁴⁶ See A. Croq, *Les représentations de l'au-delà chez les chrétiens de Syrie-Mésopotamie durant les premiers siècles de l'Islam, à partir de l'édition critique de l'Apocalypse de Grégoire d'Édesse* (Paris, 2021) (unpublished PhD thesis); cf. I. Perczel, ‘The Revelation of the Seraphic Gregory Found in Two Indian Manuscripts’, *Adamantius* 19 (2013) 337–58.

⁴⁷ See A. Bausi, ‘A First Evaluation of “The Arabic Version of the Apocalypse of Paul”’, *Parole de l'Orient* 24 (1999) 131–64 at 137, who lists 36 mss. Emiliano Fiori recently noted that about 20 new mss. have appeared since the publication of Bausi's inventory (‘Les deux versions syriaques de l'Apocalypse de Paul et leur place dans la transmission de cet apocryphe dans l'Orient chrétien’, *Apocrypha* 31 (2020) 129–53 at 142); cf. Graf, *GCAL* I, 271–72, who had significantly only noted 13 mss.; cf. also P. La Spisa, ‘La recensione araba antica dell'Apocalisse di Paolo secondo il codice Sinaitico Arabo 461 (IX sec.)’, *Apocrypha* 31 (2020) 155–85, who argues for a direct Arabic translation from an original Greek text without a Syriac intermediary.

3. *The Arabic Apocalypse of Peter and the Multifaceted History of Christian Apocalypticism*

The *Book of the Rolls/Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* is probably the first Christian pseudepigraphon originally composed in Arabic and represents an important witness to the continuation and adaptation of Christian pseudepigraphical literature in the context of new political, historical, and cultural conditions.

In many ways, this monumental work is representative of the development of Christian apocryphal literature in Late Antiquity, especially when examined in the context of its transition into the Middle Ages. It showcases how particular literary genres and streams of thought are developed and transformed parallel with the historical and confessional developments in Eastern Christianity and how they also reflect cultural, local, linguistic, and other peculiarities. Characteristically, this work testifies to the emergence of a Christian Arabic literary culture, which develops out of a dialogue between various Christian traditions and denominations as well as out of a dialogue or controversy with Judaism and Islam. Thus, apocalyptic writing becomes increasingly concerned with issues of orthodoxy and often also reflects the confessional affiliations of their authors.⁴⁸ In many cases, these texts may even read as a kind of theological propaganda polemising against the enemies of the right faith. The *Arabic Apocalypse* is a case in point for this tendency.

Furthermore, developments in Christian apocalyptic literature bear witness to the flexibility and mobility of apocalyptic writings in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Apocalyptic textual units can be found dispersed in a variety of literary forms and are often integrated in different heterogeneous works. Apocalyptic visions might be included in works that are composed as hagiographies and martyrologies but include several anecdotal episodes from the lives of celebrated real or fictional saints and martyrs and tend to deal with

⁴⁸ J.N. Bremmer, 'Christian Hell. From the *Apocalypse of Peter* to the *Apocalypse of Paul*,' *Numen* 56 (2009) 298–325, at 314, repr. in his *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs*, 295–312, has also noticed the importance of matters of religious concerns in the apocalyptic texts of Late Antiquity. He writes: "Moreover, there is no longer a border drawn against the pagans outside the Church but against those who do not profess the orthodox doctrines"

a variety of subjects, including visions of the afterlife and apocalyptic prophecies.

At a time when florilegia, catenae collections, and in general encyclopaedic works become increasingly popular, apocalyptic literature seems to follow this trend. Accordingly, Christian visionary literature is largely constructed as an encyclopaedic compilation of sorts. These writings present collections of revelations of divine secrets and ultimately aim at a systematisation of knowledge about the cosmos, the beginning and the end of the creation, and the fate of souls after death.

The *Book of the Rolls/Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* largely demonstrates this compilatory, encyclopaedic character indeed. The work appears as a series of – at times even seemingly unconnected – apocalyptic visions and prophecies, but which also integrates a certain variety of topics of an encyclopaedic character, such as questions and elaborations concerning angelology, protology, and cosmology or theological, ecclesiological, liturgical, and doctrinal issues.⁴⁹

In addition, later Christian apocalyptic literature testifies to a particular reception history in its treatment of earlier apocalyptic texts, and most notably the canonical apocalypses, the book of Daniel or Revelation, including re-writing parts of these books or their use as sources of inspiration for the composition of these “new” writings. In some respects, this body of literature builds a closed self-referential literary system, which is largely characterised by its commentary character. Thus, pseudepigraphical apocalyptic narratives partly function as ingenious exegetical approaches to these canonical books which they adapt to contemporary theological concerns and historical circumstances. Apocalyptic texts of a younger date intentionally use basic motifs from the older texts that have been authoritative or even canonical as a means of acquiring authority and trustworthiness for their own prophetic revelation.

⁴⁹ As P. Magdalino, ‘Byzantine Encyclopaedism of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries’, in J. König and G. Woolf (eds), *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 2013) 219–31 at 219 remarks: “Byzantine culture was permanently encyclopaedic in the sense that it was continually collecting, summarising, excerpting and synthesising earlier texts. Most of this activity was religious and geared to theological controversy and ascetic devotion”.

Accordingly, I am tentatively arguing that texts like the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter* suggest the latent existence or emergence of an apocalyptic “canon” in Late Antiquity. It is hardly possible to imagine any texts (and at least hardly any texts I am aware of) which are composed after the fifth century and do not contain implicit references to and influences from the book of Daniel and/or Revelation, or the *Apocalypse of Paul* (*Visio Pauli*). And of course, after the late seventh century, the Syriac *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* becomes part of the “canon” – at least for all political/historical apocalyptic writing.

In conclusion, later apocalyptic texts, such as the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*, demonstrate a strong intertextuality by borrowing, integrating, and re-using established apocalyptic images and motifs. As an apocalyptic bricolage, the reception of older literature aims to enhance the prophetic credibility of the new writing for the intended audience since the re-cycled visions must persuade as parts of a shared authoritative revelatory knowledge. In a way, apocalyptic writing is produced in a continuum between infinite interplay and the redefinition of stability, or perhaps, canonicity.

Apocalyptic literature and visions may juggle with different literary genres, reflect contemporary literary and theological developments, demonstrate different aspects and degrees of intertextuality, establish trajectories of communication between faith and confessional communities, but ultimately they always strive to create and re-create alternative realities, almost like windows opening into the world of the divine, transcending mundane perceptions of heaven and earth – as Peter proclaims:

“And I opened my eyes and saw heaven and earth in His (Jesus’) hand, together with the sun and the moon. The rivers flowed in it, and the winds were also assembled there. All these, O my son Clement, I saw in the palm of the hand of my Lord, and all of them glorified and sanctified openly. I saw all this not in my dream and not as it was a jugglery but in true reality”.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, 124–25.

XI. ‘Close and yet so faraway’: The *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Paul*

EMILIANO B. FIORI

An exhaustive comparative assessment of the relationship between the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Paul* would require an extensive and thick literary analysis that transcends the limits of the present article.¹ Here I shall especially try and raise some general questions on how we should think about the relationship between the

¹ I owe the warmest thanks to Alessandro Bausi for his careful reading and revision of the present paper. Quotations in Latin from the *Apocalypse of Paul* throughout the paper are drawn from the Paris manuscript Paris, MS Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouv. acq. Lat. 1631 as printed in T. Silverstein and A. Hilhorst (= Silverstein-Hilhorst), *Apocalypse of Paul. A New Critical Edition of Three Long Latin Versions* (Genève, 1997); the English translation is taken from J.K. Elliott (= Elliott), *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1993). Quotations in Gə‘əz from the *Apocalypse of Peter* are drawn from P. Marrassini, ‘L’Apocalisse di Pietro’, in Y. Beyene *et al.* (eds), *Etiopia e oltre. Studi in onore di Lanfranco Ricci* (Napoli, 1994) 171–232 (= Marrassini). The English translation comes from D.D. Buchholz (= Buchholz), *Your Eyes Will Be Opened. A Study of the Greek (Ethiopic) Apocalypse of Peter* (Atlanta, 1988). The most recent state of the art concerning the manuscript tradition of the *Apocalypse of Peter* is provided by A. Bausi, ‘Towards a Re-edition of the Ethiopic Dossier of the Apocalypse of Peter. A Few Remarks on the Ethiopic Manuscript Witnesses’, *Apocrypha* 27 (2016) 179–96; see also the relevant articles in this volume.

Among the rich bibliography on the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the main reference works (if we exclude the Medieval traditions of the text) are P. Piovanelli, ‘Les origines de l’Apocalypse de Paul reconsidérées’, *Apocrypha* 4 (1993) 25–64, reprinted in his *Apocryphités* (Turnhout, 2016) 367–404 and J.N. Bremmer and I. Czachesz (eds), *The Visio Pauli and the Gnostic Apocalypse of Paul* (Leuven, 2007).

two texts and thus on the meaning of this relationship for our understanding of early Christian apocalypticism.

1. *The Apocalypse of Paul: A Brief Overview of the Plot and of Some Remarkable Motifs*

Firstly, it is worth reminding the reader of the plot and main motifs of the *Apocalypse of Paul*,² and of the rough parallels between the two apocalypses. The *Apocalypse of Paul* displays, as is well known, the tour of the apostle Paul in the realm of the dead, elaborating upon 2 Cor 12:2–4. After some preliminary material, Paul is shown the departing of the soul of one righteous person and of two sinners from the body, and their respective judgment at God's tribunal, which is structured as an actual court trial. He is then brought to the third heaven, where he meets Enoch and Elijah. Then he is led to the east of the ocean and visits the places of the blessed, who are divided into two categories: the righteous, who live in a miraculously fertile land of promise, and the perfect, who are recognisable as monks and live in the City of Christ, which is reminiscent of the heavenly Jerusalem of the Book of Revelation.³ Before entering this city, the blessed are washed and purified in the Acherusian lake. The perfect ones in the city have different rewards according to their main merits and enjoy the company of the biblical patriarchs. In the following section, Paul visits the place of the damned to the west of the ocean. There he is shown many different torments, and the angel who accompanies him explains them all in detail, illustrating their connection with the respective sins. A certain number of these sins are doctrinal in nature

² The clearest overview of the plot and structure of the *Apocalypse of Paul* remains that of J.-M. Rosenstiehl, 'L'itinéraire de Paul dans l'au-delà. Contribution à l'étude de l'Apocalypse apocryphe de Paul', in P. Nagel (ed.), *Carl-Schmidt-Kolloquium an der Martin-Luther-Universität* (Halle-Wittenberg, 1990) 197–212; see also J.N. Bremmer, 'The Apocalypse of Paul', in J.Ch. Edwards (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha* = Vol. 10 of *Ancient Literature for New Testament Studies* (Grand Rapids, 2022) 427–45.

³ For a detailed treatment of this relation see T. Nicklas, 'From Heavenly Jerusalem to the City of Christ. Revelation and the *Visio Pauli*', in N. Betz (ed.), *Revelation's New Jerusalem and its Receptions* (Tübingen, 2023) [forthcoming].

or committed by monks and members of the clergy. Paul repeatedly weeps over the fate of the damned, who, in seeing him do so, beg God for mercy: here the archangel Michael engages in a dialogue with them, rebukes them for having wasted the time they had to repent, but promises that he, together with Paul, will beseech God to give the damned some rest. Thereupon the voice of Christ is heard and he famously grants the damned a day of respite on Sunday (or on Easter Sunday). The last section, where Paul journeys to Eden, is of the utmost importance to understand the original historical context of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, but it needs not retain us here.

A crucial characteristic feature of the text is that everything Paul sees, except for the short visit to the third heaven, is located on this earth. The tour of this Apocalypse – just as Dante’s divine comedy – is not properly “otherworldly”.⁴ For the purpose of the present paper, however, one motif is particularly noteworthy. Recent research has persuasively shown that many key aspects of the *Apocalypse of Paul* are dictated by a marked anti-Origenism.⁵ Indeed, the text was written in Egypt at the end of the fourth century, in the heyday of the first Origenist controversy.⁶ In fact, one of the main doctrinal sins it envisages is the denial of bodily resurrection, which was among the main anti-Origenist charges during the controversy.⁷ In an anti-Origenist

⁴ As remarked by K. Copeland, *Mapping the Apocalypse of Paul. Geography, Genre and History*, PhD Dissertation (Princeton, 2001) 53–55: “Rare is the cosmic tour apocalypse that, like the Apocalypse of Paul, tours not only the heavens, but also the distant edges of this world” (54).

⁵ Cf. Copeland, *Mapping the Apocalypse of Paul*, 104–20.

⁶ On this controversy, the obligatory reference is E. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy: The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate* (Princeton, 1992). The journal *Adamantius* featured a monographic section on the first Origenist controversy in vol. 19, 2013 (“La controversia origenista. Un affare mediterraneo”).

⁷ For the denial of bodily resurrection as a major imputation against Origen and the Origenists between the fourth and the fifth century, see Epiphanius, *Panarion* 64, where it is the first and main allegation in the pinax of the chapter titles: “Origenists, the disciples of the Origen who is called Adamantius the Author. They reject the resurrection of the dead...” (English translation from F. Williams, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis Books II and III. De Fide* [Leiden, 2013] 3). And indeed, the chapter itself is almost entirely devoted to the refutation of Origen’s alleged denial of bodily resurrection, especially from 10,1 on, with a lengthy quotation from Methodius of Olympus’s

perspective, then, it is highly significant that, for almost every described punishment, the angel reminds Paul of the eternity of the torment.⁸ In the same line, the idea of granting the damned a temporary pause, which does not revoke the eternal duration of their punishment, should be regarded as a compromise with the doctrine of apokatastasis, whose subversive potential would thus be partially deactivated.⁹ Upon seeing

Aglaophon, or, on the Resurrection (third century) occupying the greatest part of the text. Jerome, *Letter* 96 is in fact a translation of Theophilus of Alexandria's Sixteenth Festal Letter of 401; in paragraphs 13 and 15 (*Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae Pars II. Epistulae LXXXI-CXX*, rec. I. Hilberg [Vienna and Leipzig, 1912] 172 and 174–75; Engl transl. in N. Russell, *Theophilus of Alexandria* [London and New York, 2007] 110–11 and 112–13), Theophilus's accusation is more subtle: according to him, Origen and his followers affirm that bodies do rise but they remain corruptible even after the resurrection, so that they will vanish completely: in a word they do not rise incorruptible and immortal. See also Shenute, *Contra Origenistas*, 11 (in H.-J. Cristea, *Schenute von Atripe. Contra Origenistas*, [Tübingen, 2011] Coptic text 155, German transl. 250); an English translation in D. Brakke and A. Crislip, *Selected Discourses of Shenute the Great. Community, Theology, and Social Conflict in Late Antique Egypt* (Cambridge, 2015) 61–62, and a new German translation of both Theophilus/Jerome and Shenute in A. Fürst (ed.), *Origenes im koptischen Ägypten. Der Traktat des Shenute von Atripe gegen die Origenisten* (Münster, 2022) 166–70, and 213.

⁸ The phrase (*indeficientes/indeficienter/incessabiliter persolvunt/persolvit penas*, “they/he unceasingly pay[s] the proper penalties”) is repeated nine times (once in par. 36, referring to a deacon who ate the oblation and fornicated; once in par. 37, referring to those who “in church disparage the Word of God”; once in par. 38, referring to lay fornicators and adulterers; five times in par. 39, referring to the virgins who broke their virginity unknown to their parents; to those who harmed orphans, widows, and the poor; to those who broke the fast before the appointed time; to the clients of whores; to the sodomites; and once in par 40, referring to “heathens who gave alms”).

⁹ This motif in the *Apocalypse of Paul* may or may not derive from the apocalypse of the Virgin in the *Book of Mary's Repose*, entirely preserved only in Gə'əz. The original redaction of this work would seem to be earlier than the *Apocalypse of Paul* itself, and it may have originally contained Mary's successful intercession for the damned and their consequent intermittent refreshment. This, however, does not have major consequences for the present research: the focus of the present paper lies in the specific anti-Origenist meaning that this motif takes up in the *Apocalypse of Paul*. To be sure, it cannot be excluded that the motif also had an anti-Origenist tinge in the apocalypse of the *Book of Mary's Repose*, which in its current form

the first few punishments, Paul weeps and mourns the human fate. This is a traditional and pivotal element in apocalyptic literature, to which I will return shortly. The angel's response to Paul's laments, which is traditional, too, is also highly significant: "Why do you weep? Are you more merciful than God?" This traditional exchange takes on a new meaning: the desire for apokatastasis is a human construct but does not correspond to God's plan.

2. Literary 'Parallels'

In 1892, Montague Rhodes James drafted a famous list of parallels between the *Apocalypses of Peter and Paul*, which he deemed to be signs of a direct literary influence of the former on the latter.¹⁰ More than ninety years later, in 1983, Martha Himmelfarb devoted some pages of her famous monograph, *Tours of Hell*, to a close reading of James's suggestions, reaching the conclusion that most of them had to be dismissed.¹¹ It is worth re-examining quickly those cases that Himmelfarb considers as pointing to a possibly direct influence.

1. People wearing rags or dark clothing in the Gə'əz *Apocalypse of Peter* 9:6–7, are those who trusted in riches (this phrase is also used for usurers in *Apocalypse of Paul* 37¹²) and were cruel towards

probably first appeared in Palestine in the fourth century at the latest (see R. Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead* [Leiden, 1998] 344–46; S.J. Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption* [Oxford, 2002] 42–46; E. Norelli, *Marie des apocryphes. Enquête sur la mère de Jésus dans le christianisme antique* [Geneva, 2009] 115 and 133–36) – thus, in the throes of the first Origenist controversy, and in the region that, together with Egypt, was a major stage of the controversy. In such a case, it would not be surprising that the author, or final redactor, of the *Apocalypse of Paul* may have found the motif (if he really found it in the *Book of Mary's Repose* and borrowed from it) useful for his purpose, so that the *Apocalypse of Paul* applied it to the same goal.

¹⁰ J.A. Robinson and M.R. James, *The Gospel according to Peter and the Revelation of Peter* (London, 1892) 66–67.

¹¹ M. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell* (Philadelphia, 1983) 140–47.

¹² *Contententes in diuiciis suis* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 144). This is probably reminiscent of Ps 51:9 (numbering of the Vulgate), especially because it is associated with the usurers' lack of trust in God: the same lack is also mentioned in Ps 51:9.

widows and orphans.¹³ In the *Apocalypse of Paul*, precisely the same clothing is destined to those who seemed to lead a monastic life but showed no charity and had no pity on widows and orphans, so that the punishment is “monasticized”, according to specificity of this Apocalypse. Here, the lack of compassion for the widows is also a fault of bishops (*Apocalypse of Paul* 35¹⁴), and even more specific to them – which is explained by decades of reflection of the charitable duties of bishops in the fourth century. Also concerning the usurers, in both texts (in the *Apocalypse of Peter* only in the Akhmim text¹⁵) they are described as “claiming interests upon interests”,¹⁶ and both of their punishments involve immersion.

2. The punishment of people who committed infanticide in *Apocalypse of Paul* 40 is, according to Himmelfarb, “not unlike” the second punishment for infanticide in the *Apocalypse of Peter* 8;¹⁷ Paul has generic devouring beasts, Peter the more iconic devouring beasts coming out from the women’s breasts.¹⁸ The presence in both texts of the murdered children, who accuse their mothers and are entrusted to the angel Ṭamlakos or the angel of Tartarus,¹⁹ is particularly meaningful in terms of their reciprocal influence.
3. In *Apocalypse of Peter* 9:3, people who chew on their tongues are blasphemers and have doubted God’s righteousness;²⁰ in *Apoca-*

¹³ ዕድ፡ ወአንስት፡ እለ፡ ያለብሱ፡ መሳሕግታተ፡ ወአፅርቅተ፡ ርሱሐ፡ [...] እለ፡ እሙንቱ፡ እለ፡ ይትዌከሉ፡ በብዕሎሙ፡ ወእቤር፡ ወበእሲተ፡ እንለ፡ ማውታ፡ ተዐወፋ፡ ላዕለ፡ እግዚአብሔር። (Marrassini, 227).

¹⁴ *Uidae et orfanos [sic] non est misertus* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 140).

¹⁵ T.J. Kraus and T. Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse. Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung* (Berlin and New York, 2004) 114–15.

¹⁶ *Usuras usurarum exigentes* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 144).

¹⁷ Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 141.

¹⁸ *Uidi ... bestias diserpentes eos* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 148).

¹⁹ *Apoc. Pet.* 8:10 (ጥምላኮስ፡ Marrassini, 227); *Apocalypse of Paul* 40 (angelis tartari/angelo tartaruchol/angelo tartareo, Silverstein-Hilhorst, 150–51). On this angel(s) see J.-M. Rosenstiehl, ‘Tartarouchos-Temeloukos. Contribution à l’étude de l’Apocalypse apocryphe de Paul’, in *Deuxième journée d’études coptes* (Louvain, 1986), 29–56, somewhat corrected and supplemented by J.N. Bremmer, *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 2017) 275–76.

²⁰ ወኅቤሆሙ፡ ለእለ፡ ህየ፡ ካልኣነ፡ [Buchholz፡ ካልኣነ፡] ዕድ፡ ወአንስት፡ ወየሐይኩ፡ ልሳኖሙ፡ [...] እሉ፡ እሙንቱ፡ ፅፋፋነ፡ ወመያጥያነ፡ ለጽድቅየ፡ (Marrassini, 227).

lypse of Paul 37, as Himmelfarb rightly points out, as “the sin” has remained but it has become ecclesiastical: “mocking the work of God in church”.²¹

4. Although in different contexts (hell in *Apocalypse of Peter*, 7:10, the divine tribunal in *Apocalypse of Paul* 18), murderers are obliged to confront their victims.
5. A significant parallel: sins concerning almsgiving are punished with blindness in both *Apocalypse of Peter* 12:1–2 and *Apocalypse of Paul* 40, although the sin is slightly different in the two cases.²²
6. The idea of a pit where all runs down (the “abomination and excrement” of the tortured in *Apocalypse of Peter* 8:1,²³ the punishments in *Apocalypse of Paul* 38²⁴) is a motif common to both texts: it should be perhaps regarded as an actual parallel.

To the contrary, the following similarities are more tenuous in terms of a possible direct influence:

7. In both apocalypses, adulterers hang by some part of their body: in *Apocalypse of Peter* 7:5–7, women hang by their neck and hair, men by their loins (their feet in the Akhmim text);²⁵ in *Apocalypse of Paul* 39, men and women both hang by hair and eyebrows for adultery.²⁶
8. In *Apocalypse of Paul* 37 and 39 worms devour usurers and oppressors of widows and orphans and poor; in *Apocalypse of Paul* 42, the “worm that does not sleep” eats at the deniers of resurrection.²⁷ In *Apocalypse of Peter* 7:10 and 9:2, worms also eat murderers and the worm that does not sleep devours the persecutors and betrayers of the righteous.²⁸

²¹ Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 146.

²² ዕድ፡ ወአንስት፡ ዕዉራን፡ [...] እሉ፡ እሙንቱ፡ እለ፡ ይገብሩ፡ ምጽዋተ፡ ወይብሉ፡ ጻድቃን፡ ንሐነ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ጽድቀ፡ ኢጎሠሥዎ፡ (Marrassini, 229).

²³ [ወ]ሰቆራር፡ ጽብ፡ [P፡ ወሰቆራር፡ and T፡ ወሰቆራረ፡] (Marrassini, 226).

²⁴ *In istam foueam influunt/transfluunt omnes pene* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 144).

²⁵ አንስት፡ ይሰቅልዎን፡ በክሳዶን፡ ወሥዕርቶን፡ [...] ወዕደውሂ፡ እለ፡ ይሰክቡ፡ ምስሌሆሙ፡ በዝሙት፡ ይሰቅልዎሙ፡ ውስተ፡ መንቃዕቶሙ፡ (Marrassini, 225).

²⁶ *Et uidi alios uiros ac mulieres suspensos a superciliis et capillis suis* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 146).

²⁷ *Et uidi illic uermem inquietem* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 156).

²⁸ Marrassini, 225 (murderers): ወይበዝኅ፡ ዕዲሆሙ፡ ከመ፡ እንተ፡ ደመና፡ ጽልመት፡ Marrassini, 227 (persecutors and betrayers): ወዘኢይነውም፡ ዕዲ፡ ይበልዎሙ፡ አማባቶሙ፡ እሙንቱ፡ ሰዳድያኒሆሙ፡ ወምግብአኒሆሙ፡ ለጻድቃንየ፡

A rather obvious, although partial pattern already emerges from these few parallels, that is, a tendency towards a clericalisation of the imagery of sin coming from the *Apocalypse of Peter* in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, which is easy to explain in historical perspective. Himmelfarb's discussion and questioning of James's parallels has the advantage of being much more punctual than I can be here and of showing that, indeed, the majority of the parallels singled out by James are too generic to be considered decisive elements to argue for a direct literary influence of the earlier text on the later. However, Himmelfarb's analysis has quite a limited scope, and it simply demonstrates that the hells of the two Apocalypses are not quite the same, although they occasionally bear some significant resemblance.

At first sight, moreover, the differences between the two Apocalypses seem to be much more relevant. A first difference is that the *Apocalypse of Peter* is not an otherworldly journey, and we cannot even classify it as a 'tour of hell' as Himmelfarb did: the apostles do not move from the Mount of Olives and they see everything in the hand of Christ. A second, even more relevant difference is that the two Apocalypses have little in common as far as the judgment of the souls is concerned. In the *Apocalypse of Peter*, after the first vision of the damned, Christ narrates the events of the eschatological resurrection of the dead. After a cosmic turmoil, Christ comes on a cloud with his angels and sits on his throne to the right of his Father to judge the nations who are proved by fire and confronted with their own actions. The judgment scene, then, is not very specific, as it mostly borrows from Matt 16:27 or 24:30 and rather concentrates on the condemnation of the sinners: it has nothing to do with the full-fledged tribunal with a threefold case system we have in the *Apocalypse of Paul*.

3. *A Deeper Relationship: The Conflict of Justice and Mercy*

3.1. *The Apocalypse of Peter as a 'Scenario' for the Apocalypse of Paul*

The punishments of hell in the *Apocalypse of Paul* discussed by James and Himmelfarb, however, are not the only elements that remind one of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. As many have noticed over the last

century, and Thomas Kraus has more recently investigated,²⁹ at least another relevant detail of the *Apocalypse of Peter* seems to have directly inspired the *Apocalypse of Paul*: the purifying washing of the blessed in the Acherusian lake. This so-called baptism, which occurs in an Acherusian “field” in the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Peter* (but it is a lake in the Greek Vienna Rainer fragment: the field, being also called “Aneslas[a]leya”³⁰ in Gə‘əz, must rather be identified with the Elysian fields, as is clear from the Greek), is paralleled by the immersion in the Acherusian lake of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, where the blessed are immersed before entering the City of Christ. In the Vienna fragment, Christ says that after the baptism in the Acherusian Lake he and his elect ones will enter his Kingdom, where they will live with the patriarchs. This brief sentence seems to be a germinal outline of what would later be described as the City of Christ in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, where the blessed are rewarded with the company of the patriarchs, the city itself being modelled on the heavenly Jerusalem of *Revelation*. In the Greek fragment of Akhmim, no mention of the Acherusian lake or field can be found, but the blessed are seen in a shining world where the earth gives blessed fruits spontaneously and is rich in plants and spices.³¹ This parallels the land of promise of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, which may otherwise have something to do with the Elysian fields of the Vienna fragment and the Ethiopic version. Whereas we can reasonably argue that the City of Christ is an original invention of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, just as the related division between it and the miraculously fertile land of promise, the idea of this blessed land, of a life with the patriarchs in the Kingdom of Christ, and of an Acherusian Lake close to it is found in the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Martha Himmelfarb intended to show that we have no ‘smoking gun’ for a direct dependence of the *Apocalypse of Paul* on the *Apocalypse of Peter*, and that we must conceive the possibility

²⁹ Cf. T.J. Kraus, ‘Acherousia und Elysion. Anmerkungen im Hinblick auf deren Verwendung auch im christlichen Kontext’, *Mnemosyne* IV 56 (2003) 145–63. The classical study of E. Peterson, ‘Die Taufe im acherusischen See’, *VigChris* 9 (1955) 1–20, remains an indispensable reference for this motif.

³⁰ See Buchholz, 229 in note 2: ἈΝΕΣΛΑΣ[Α]ΛΕΥΑ / ἈΝΕΣΛΑΣ[Α]ΛΕΥΑ.

³¹ Cf. Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 106–8.

that between them there were many lost pieces of a now unrecoverable literary puzzle.³² This is certainly a possibility but, as Kraus has observed,³³ the impression remains that the *Apocalypse of Paul* did incorporate single motifs of hell and paradise directly from the *Apocalypse of Peter* and reworked them into a whole to which other sources must have contributed, too: see, for example, the motif of the heavenly Jerusalem. I would further elaborate on this by saying that at the macro-structural level the *Apocalypse of Peter* does contain many elements that we find again in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, but in a very embryonic form: the judgment, a detailed description by categories of sinners of the punishments in hell, the depiction of the place of the blessed as a fertile land with a purifying washing in the Acherusian Lake, and the idea of a realized Kingdom of Christ where the blessed will enjoy the company of the patriarchs. Thus, if the later apocalypse has elements of the earlier one but the two are not perfectly parallel, we are not obliged to argue from this that there have been many intermediary stages between them, as Himmelfarb argued. There is another possible explanation. One may think that the *Apocalypse of Paul* took up the *Apocalypse of Peter* as a direct model indeed, but only as a plot outline, as a generic scenario or as a theme, as we would call it in the language of music, to graft its own ideas into it. The *Apocalypse of Paul* can be regarded as an intentional expanded variation on the *Apocalypse of Peter*, and I will now try to suggest why it is so.

3.2. *The Apocalypse of Paul as an Anti-Origenist Compromise*

If Himmelfarb's way of interrogating the two texts clears up old mistakes and provides us with precious information, it does not help us explain what the relationship between the two Apocalypses *means* or, in other terms, the reason why the author of the *Apocalypse of Paul* deemed it worthy to relate in one way or another to the *Apocalypse of Peter*. The information we draw from James's *Quellenforschung* and from Himmelfarb's welcome verifications must lead us to a deeper hermeneutical level of analysis. To understand the relationship of the two texts more precisely, one should also consider the broader

³² Cf. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 143.

³³ Cf. Kraus, 'Acherousia und Elysion', 160–61.

picture and the very logic of bliss and punishment in both Apocalypses, without limiting oneself to the single torments of hell. Are the macro-structures and aims, not only some discrete episodes or phrases, of the two texts rather unrelated or do they seem to be in dialogue? I think we can answer in the positive. Indeed, there is one much more substantial reason why we cannot deny that the *Apocalypse of Peter* is a reference text for the *Apocalypse of Paul*. This reason is the core question itself of the *Apocalypse of Paul*: the question of the “conflict of justice and mercy”, as Bauckham puts it,³⁴ and the fact that this question is asked within a vision of punishments and rewards in the hereafter – with, at the heart of this, the crucial conundrum, recently studied by Thomas Kraus and Enrico Norelli,³⁵ of the compassion for the damned and of the possibility for them to obtain a cessation of their torments. In this conceptual domain, too, and not by chance, we find literal parallels between the two Apocalypses that have not yet been noticed or valorized. The most relevant motif shared by the two texts in this regard is an almost identical re-use of the lamentation of Ezra in 4 *Ezra* 4,12: “It would be better for us not to be here”.³⁶ In the *Apocalypse of Peter* 3:4–5, upon seeing the damned crying, and before any detailed description of them, Peter exclaims: “it would have been better for them if they had never been created”.³⁷ Thereupon, Christ replies: “You are rebelling against God! You have not had more mercy on them, his formation, than he has had. For he created them and brought them fourth where they had not been”.³⁸ These words clearly echo those of Uriel in 4 *Ezra* 5,33: “do you think

³⁴ Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead*, 132–48 – the phrase “the conflict of justice and mercy” is the title of the chapter. The important monograph of E.J. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter* (Tübingen, 2019), is entirely devoted to this topic.

³⁵ T.J. Kraus, ‘Fürbitte für die Toten im frühen Christentum. Ich werde ... den gewähren, den sie aus der Strafe erbitten’, in H. Klein *et al.* (eds), *Gebet im Neuen Testament* (Tübingen, 2009) 355–96; E. Norelli, ‘L’«Apocalisse di Pietro» come apocalisse cristiana’, *Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo* 17 (2020) 111–83.

³⁶ Engl. transl. by Michael Stone, from M.E. Stone and M. Henze, *4 Ezra and 2 Baruch* (Minneapolis, 2013) 24.

³⁷ ጎዩሶሙ፡ ሶበ፡ ኢተፈጥሩ፡ (Marrassini, 223; Buchholz, 179).

³⁸ አንተ፡ ዘትተቃወሞ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ወኢኮነ፡ አንተ፡ ዘትምሕሮሙ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ልሕዡተ፡ ዚአሁ፡ እስሙ፡ ውእቱ፡ ፈጠሮሙ፡ ወእምጽአሙ፡ ኀበ፡ ኢሀለዉ፡

you love [Israel] more than He who created her?”;³⁹ and in 8,47, in God’s name: “You are far from loving my creation more than me”.⁴⁰ In both cases, Ezra had besought God to pity the weakness of human beings. This whole motif surfaces again in the *Apocalypse of Paul*. At the end of his tour of hell, Paul uses almost the same words as Ezra and Peter: “it were better for us if we had not been born, all of us who are sinners”.⁴¹ When, after seeing the first punishments in hell, Paul bursts out crying, the angel rebukes him with words that echo those of Uriel in 4 *Ezra*:

(33) “Why do you weep? Are you more merciful than God? For though God is good, he knows that there are punishments, and he patiently bears with the human race, allowing each one to do his own will in the time in which he dwells on the earth⁴² ... (And again later on in c. 40) Why do you lament? Are you more merciful than the Lord God who is blessed forever, who established judgement and sent forth every man to choose good and evil in his own will and do what pleases him?”⁴³

This sentence, which I had anticipated in the first paragraph of the present contribution, is a most evident declaration of the reciprocal borders of justice and mercy. “You cannot be more merciful than God, who established judgment on the basis of free will” means: God is merciful within the limits of what human beings choose in their lives characterized by time; beyond these limits, there is only judgment and there exists no time; hence, the eternity of rewards or

(Marrassini, 223; Buchholz, 179; I am mixing his “literal” and “free” translations here).

³⁹ Stone and Henze, 4 *Ezra* and 2 *Baruch*, 31.

⁴⁰ Stone and Henze, 4 *Ezra* and 2 *Baruch*, 56.

⁴¹ *Apocalypse of Paul* 42: *Melius erat nobis si non fuisset [sic] nati nos omnes qui sumus peccatores* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 156; transl. Elliott, 638).

⁴² *Apocalypse of Paul* 33: *Quare ploras? Numquid tu magis misericors es quam Deus? Cum enim sit bo[nus] deus et scit quoniam sunt pene pac[ien]ter fert genus homin[um], dimittens unumquemque [pro]pria uoluntate facere in tempore quo habitat super [t]erram* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 140; transl. Elliott, 634).

⁴³ *Apocalypse of Paul* 40: *Quare ploras? Numquid tu magis misericors es quam dominus deus qui benedictus est in secula, qui constituit iudicium et dimisit unumquemque in propria uoluntate eligere bonum et malum et facere quod ei placet?* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 152; transl. Elliott, 637).

punishments. As I also anticipated above, in the *Apocalypse of Paul* this theme becomes an anti-Origenist *Leitmotiv*: humans cannot be more merciful than God; God's justice cannot be overcome by the human desire of forgiveness, to which any apokatastasis amounts. The thematic parallel is further confirmed by the lamentations and supplications of the damned themselves, and by the speeches of the angels. In *Apocalypse of Peter* 13:5, the angel Taṭirokos (ታጢሮኮስ:) addresses the damned with the following words: "Now you repent when there is no time for repentance, and life did not remain".⁴⁴ As a result, the damned acknowledge God's justice and their own fault: "Righteous is the judgement of God, for we heard and knew that his judgement is good. For we have been paid back each one according to our deed".⁴⁵ This confession is paralleled by a similar one (but of the victims of murder who see the punishments of their murderers) in 7:11: "Justice and righteousness are the judgement of God. For we heard and did not believe that we would come into this eternal place of punishment".⁴⁶

In fact, however, this torment is undoubtedly characterised as eternal in the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Peter*, but not in its Greek versions. This divergence in the *Apocalypse of Peter* is a matter of debate. Thomas J. Kraus has convincingly argued that the Greek text of *Apocalypse of Peter* 14:1–3 as we read it in the Vienna Rainer fragment⁴⁷ (and in its elaboration in the Sibylline Oracles, as we will shortly see) envisages a chance for the damned to be saved.⁴⁸ Enrico Norelli has recently shown that, wherever we have passages in Greek of the *Apocalypse of Peter* (thus also in the Akhmîm text), one can

⁴⁴ ይእከ፡ ትኔስሑ፡ አመ፡ አልቦ፡ ጊዜ፡ ለንስሓ፡ ወኢተረፈ፡ [T has ወኢተረፈ፡] ሕይወት፡ (Marrassini, 229; Buchholz, 227).

⁴⁵ ርቱዕ፡ ኩነኔሁ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ እስመ፡ ሰማዕነ፡ ወአእመርነ፡ ከመ፡ ሠናይ፡ ኩነኔሁ፡ እስመ፡ ተፈደደነ፡ ፩፻፬ከመ፡ ምግባሪነ፡ (Marrassini, 229–30; Buchholz, 227).

⁴⁶ ጽድቅ፡ ወርትዕ፡ ኩነኔሁ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ እስመ፡ ሰማዕነ፡ ወኢአምነ፡ ከመ፡ ንመጽእ፡ ውስተ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ምኩናን፡ ዘለዓለም፡ (Marrassini, 226; Buchholz, 203).

⁴⁷ Published by C. Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments du Christianisme écrits sur papyrus. Textes édités, traduits et annotés II* (Paris, 1924) 6b, 482–83, and identified by M.R. James, 'The Rainer Fragment of the Apocalypse of Peter', *JTS* 32 (1931) 70–79.

⁴⁸ Cf. Kraus, 'Fürbitte', 374–76.

observe that any reference to an eternal duration of the punishments is absent.⁴⁹ The Rainer fragment famously reads:

I will give to my called and my chosen whomsoever they will ask me for, out of punishment, and I will give them a fine baptism in the salvation of what is called the Acherusian Lake, in the Elysian Field, apart of the justice with my holy ones. And I will depart, I and my rejoicing chosen together with the patriarchs to my eternal kingdom. And I will fulfil for them (or: “with them”) my promises that I have promised them, I and my Father in heaven.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Cf. Norelli, ‘L’«Apocalisse di Pietro»’, 138–55, with a detailed comparative textual analysis; see especially 148: “è quindi doveroso chiedersi se le menzioni dell’eternità delle pene non possano essere state aggiunte in una forma testuale modificata, quella poi tradotta in etiopico, o anche all’interno della trasmissione della traduzione etiopica”.

⁵⁰ T.J. Kraus, ‘P.Vindob.G 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]: Fragmente eines Codex der griechischen Petrus-Apokalypse’, *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 40 (2003) 45–61, here 51–55; Kraus and Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse*, 126–27:]έξομαι τοῖς κλητοῖς μου καὶ εκ{κ}λητοῖς μου ὃν ἐὰν ἐτήσονται με ἐκ τῆς κολάσεως, καὶ δώσω αὐτοῖς καλὸν βάπτισμα ἐν σωτηρίᾳ Ἀχερουσία[ς] λίμνης ἣν καλοῦσιν ἐν τῷ Ἡλυσίῳ πεδίῳ, μέρος δικαιοσύνην μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων μου· καὶ ἀπελεύσομαι ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ ἐκλεκτοί μου ἀγαλλιώντες μετὰ τῶν πατριαρχῶν εἰς τῇ(ν) [α]λιωνίαν μου [β]ασιλείαν καὶ ποιήσω μετ’αὐτῶν τὰς ἐπα[γ]γελίας μου, ἃς ἐπαγγελιάμην αὐτοῖς ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ π(ατὴρ) μου ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐ(ρα)νοῖς. English translation *ibid.* 128. Compare with the Ethiopic: “And then I will give my elect, my righteous ones, the baptism and the salvation which they ask of me in the field of Akeroseya which is called Aneslasleya. [And] I will give the portion of the righteous ones and I will go now [and] rejoice with them, the crowd of the patriarchs [see Marrassini 214–15 and note 1 to p. 215], into my eternal kingdom. And I will do for them what I have promised them, I and my heavenly Father **ወአሚሃ፡ እሁቦሙ፡ ለኅሩያንዮ፡ ለጳድቃንዮ፡ ጥምቀተ፡ ወመድኅኒተ፡ ዘሰአሉኒ፡ በኅበ፡ ሐቅለ፡ አክሮስዮ፡ እንተ፡ ይብልዋ፡ አኔስለስልያ፡ እጼጉ፡** [or **ወእጼጉ፡** Buchholz: it is a conjecture to make sense of the MSS’ reading **ጳገዩ፡ መክፈልተ፡ ጳድቃን፡ ወአሐውር፡ {ይእዜ፡} እትፌግሕ፡ ምስሌሆሙ፡ አበው፡ አሕዛብ፡ ውስተ፡ መንግሥትዮ፡ ዘለዓለም፡ ወእገብር፡ ሎሙ፡ ዘአስፈውካምሙ፡ አነ፡ ወአቡዮ፡ ሰማያዊ፡** (Marrassini, 230; Buchholz, 227–30, with corrections). An alternative rendering of the second sentence is: “In the field of Akeroseya which is called Anslasleya I will give the portion of the righteous ones, etc.”.

The Ethiopic text, however, is relatively uncertain here: in fact (I thank Alessandro Bausi for calling my attention to this fact), MS P, on fol. 136r,

Sibylline Oracles 2, 330–338 is even more clearly and thus evidently elaborating on a similar Greek text:

The omnipotent and incorruptible God will grant still another thing to those pious ones, when they beseech the incorruptible God – he will give salvation to human beings from the violent fire and from the immortal gnashing of teeth. Also this he will do: after gathering them again from the unceasing flame and placing them elsewhere, he sends them, thanks to [the supplications of] his people, to a different and eternal life, among the immortal in the Elysian field, where the long waves of the eternal Acheron are, the deep-bosomed lake.⁵¹

From Kraus through Eric Beck⁵² to Enrico Norelli, there is recently general consensus that the Rainer fragment reflects the original doctrine of the *Apocalypse of Peter* more faithfully. Norelli tried to elaborate further on this and to argue by deduction that, according to the Greek *Apocalypse of Peter*, all the damned will be saved.⁵³ I do not

bears the phrase “the baptism and the salvation” above the line. This is probably due to a simple oversight of the scribe, who then corrected his slip. But this may be a sign of contamination, although it is less likely, also because the scribe had corrected himself in like manner just two lines earlier. Moreover, considering that T, which also bears this reading, might be a copy of P, there can be no definitive certainty that the phrase was present in the branch of the manuscript tradition to which P (and possibly also T) belonged.

⁵¹ J. Geffcken, *Die Oracula Sibyllina* (Leipzig, 1902) 44:

τοῖς καὶ ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεὸς ἄφθιτος ἄλλο παρέξει
εὐσεβέσιν, ὁπότεν θεὸν ἄφθιτον αἰτήσωνται,
ἐκ μαλεροῦ πυρὸς καὶ ἀθανάτων ἀπὸ βρυγμῶν
ἀνθρώπους σῶσαι δώσει· καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσει·
λεξάμενος γὰρ ἐσαυθὶς ἀπὸ φλογὸς ἀκαμάτοιο
ἄλλος· ἀποστήσας πέμψει διὰ λαὸν ἑαυτοῦ
εἰς ζωὴν ἐτέραν καὶ αἰώνιον ἀθανάτοισιν
Ἥλυσι πεδίῳ, ὅθι οἱ πέλε κύματα μακρά
Λίμνης ἀενάου Ἀχερουσιάδος βαθυκόλπου.

On the relationship between the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Sibylline Oracles* see furthermore the contribution by Bremmer in the present volume as well as Maier’s article concerning Origenist ideas in the Pseudo-Clementine Ethiopic framework of the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

⁵² See Beck, *Justice and Mercy*, 85–88, esp. 88: “the Apoc Pet likely originally contained the post-mortem salvation of the wicked as contained in the Rainer fragment and referenced in *Sibylline Oracles* 2.330–338”.

⁵³ Cf. Norelli, ‘L’ «Apocalisse di Pietro», 167–70.

know whether this intriguing hypothesis on a universal salvation is acceptable, since it has no definitive support in the text.⁵⁴ However, I fully agree with Norelli and Kraus that the Vienna fragment of paragraph 14, together with the Sibylline oracles, points to the possibility that the fate of at least some of the damned in the *Apocalypse of Peter* changes after the judgment, with the underlying assumption that, once divine justice has been firmly established the judgment, mercy can still prevail, at least in some exceptional cases.

Apocalypse of Paul 43 presents an exchange analogous to that between the damned and Taṭirokos (Ἰακώβη:) in the *Apocalypse of Peter* 13:5, but the interlocutor of the damned is the archangel Michael. “Michael the archangel, have pity on us and on the human race”, they say, acknowledging their mistakes but still trying to justify themselves:

We now see the judgement and acknowledge the Son of God! It was impossible for us before these things to pray for this, before we entered this place (note the correspondence with the above mentioned *Apocalypse of Peter* 7:11: “we heard and did not believe that we would come into this place”); for we heard that there was a judgement before we went out of the world, but impediments and the life of the world did not allow us to repent.⁵⁵

Michael’s harsh reprimand is similar to that of Taṭirokos: “Where are your prayers? Where are your penances? You have lost your time contemptibly”.⁵⁶ The final result of this conversation, however, is the refreshment of the damned on Easter (or, more unlikely, every Sunday), thanks to Michael’s and Paul’s intercession: “But now weep”, Michael

⁵⁴ See also T. Nicklas, ‘Petrusoffenbarung, Christusoffenbarung und ihre Funktion. Autoritätskonstruktion in der Petrusapokalypse’, in J. Frey *et al.* (eds), *Autorschaft und Autorisierungsstrategien in apokalyptischen Texten* (Tübingen, 2019) 319–35.

⁵⁵ *Apocalypse of Paul* 43: *Vidimus nunc iudicium et cognouimus filium dei. Impossibile nobis fuit ante aec pro hoc orare quam incederimus in hoc loco. Audiuius enim quia esset iudicium priusquam exiremus de mundo, sed impedimenta et uita secularis nos penitere non sinuerunt* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 156–58; transl. Elliott, 638).

⁵⁶ *Apocalypse of Paul* 43: *Et uos contempsistis tempus in uanitate in quo debuistis penitere ... Ubi sunt ergo oracionis [sic] uestre, ubi penitenciae uestre?* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 158; transl. Elliott, 638): compare *Apocalypse of Peter* 13:5.

says, “and I will weep with you and the angels who are with me with the well-beloved Paul, if by chance the merciful God will have pity and give you refreshment”.⁵⁷ After this comparison, and considering the other parallels we saw earlier, we have enough material to state with confidence that the relationship between the two Apocalypses of Peter and of Paul is intentional and direct. To be sure, one can imagine that the occurrence of these motifs in the *Apocalypse of Paul* derives from other sources unknown to us or directly from 4 *Ezra*. However, the similarity of the context would rather point to a direct inspiration of the *Apocalypse of Paul* by the *Apocalypse of Peter*, or to a simultaneous inspiration by both the *Apocalypse of Peter* and 4 *Ezra*. Indeed, one cannot avoid thinking that the *Apocalypse of Paul* turned to none other than its most illustrious Christian predecessor when it came to discussing justice and mercy in the hereafter: the *Apocalypse of Peter*.⁵⁸ However, we still have to understand more precisely why it did so.

The author of the *Apocalypse of Paul* is clearly aware of the dialectical line, concerning the possibility of forgiveness for the damned especially through the intercession of others, that starts from 4 *Ezra* and reaches the *Apocalypse of Peter*, a line Thomas Kraus has brilliantly sketched. The *Apocalypse of Mary* in the *Book of Mary's Repose* may also have played a role.⁵⁹ Much of what the angel Uriel

⁵⁷ *Apocalypse of Paul* 43: *Nunc autem flete, et ego fleuo uobiscum et qui mecum sunt angeli sancti cum dilectissimum Paulum [sic], si forte misereator [sic] misericors Deus ut det uobis refrigerium* (Silverstein-Hilhorst, 158; transl. Elliott, 638). 4 *Ezra* 7:102–105 also discussed the possibility of a refrigerating intercession for the damned, but excluded it altogether, like 2 *Baruch* and Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities*. See the detailed discussion in Kraus, ‘Fürbitte’, 363–69.

⁵⁸ We should not forget, in this regard, that the fifth-century historian Sozomen (*Ecclesiastical History* VII, 19), in informing his readership that the *Apocalypse of Paul* was enjoying success among Palestinian monks, also felt the need to specify that it was replacing the *Apocalypse of Peter* in their preferences. This replacement is a likely hint to the fact that the similarity between the two texts was clear to their earliest readers, and that, when their preference shifted, it did so towards a text (the *Apocalypse of Paul*) that was similar to their former favorite but had a marked monastic background.

⁵⁹ On the possible dependence of the *Apocalypse of Paul* on the apocalypse in the *Book of Mary's Repose*, especially in terms of the seer's intercession for the damned, see Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead*, 340–46, and Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions*, 43–45, 284–85. See note 9 above.

says in 4 *Ezra* 7,102–105.115 is repeated by the *angelus interpretis* and the damned in the *Apocalypse of Paul* (the damned knew about the judgment, but they consciously ignored it – now they bear the full responsibility of their punishment – time is finished, so that there is no time left to repent), but it is mediated by a re-invention of the narrative of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which in its turn had recreated the 4 *Ezra* material in Christian garb in paragraph 13. This is the main reason why the *Apocalypse of Paul* takes up and creatively expands the ‘scenario’ of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. The author or final redactor of the *Apocalypse of Paul* felt it was time to reset the whole problem, because in the meantime there had been Origen and the first Origenist controversy. The slight (or, according to Norelli, complete) preponderance of mercy over justice suggested by the *Apocalypse of Peter* is untenable after Origen and Origenism. This is patently demonstrated by the anti-Origenist antirrhesis to the above-mentioned passage of the *Sibylline Oracles*, referred to v. 330 and added in the margins in the manuscripts of the ψ -branch of the *Oracles*, to refute the passage that elaborates upon the apokatastatic conclusion of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Indeed, where the text of the *Oracles* gets close to the Rainer fragment, as we saw above, the marginal note writes:

[These are] evidently lies: for the fire that punishes the damned will never stop. Indeed, I would also pray that things be thus, if I were marked by the greatest wounds, which need a greater mercy. But let the chattering Origen be ashamed, who states that punishment have an end.⁶⁰

The relationship of the *Apocalypse of Paul* with the *Apocalypse of Peter* is identical to the relationship of this anti-Origenist antirrhesis with the text of the *Oracles*.

⁶⁰ Geffcken, *Die Oracula Sibyllina*, 45:
 ψεύδη προφανῶς· οὐδὲ γὰρ λήξει ποτὲ
 τὸ πῦρ κολάζον τοὺς κατακεκριμένους.
 Κἀγὼ γὰρ ἂν εὖξαιμι τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν
 οὐλαῖς μεγίσταις σφαλμάτων ἐστιγμένους,
 αἱ μείζονος χρήζουσι φιλανθρωπίας.
 ἄλλ' αἰσχυνέσθω φληναφῶν Ὀριγένης
 πέρας γενέσθαι τῶν κολάσεων λέγων.

4. *Conclusion*

The well-known macroscopic difference between the two *Apocalypses*, i.e., the fact that the *Apocalypse of Paul* displays no interest in the eschaton and focuses on the interim status of the souls, whereas the *Apocalypse of Peter* is entirely concerned with the eschaton, is also part of this set of problems. *Apocalypse of Peter* 14, as both Kraus and Norelli note,⁶¹ alludes to an eschaton outside of time: its perspective is completely uchronic although, of course, it happens in the future with regard to us, which explains the future [παρ]έξομαι in the Vienna fragment. Thus, there will be no more time to repent, as Taṭirokos says, and yet someone will be saved. The *Apocalypse of Paul* also states that there is no more time. However, because of its anti-Origenist orientation, in the *Apocalypse of Paul* there is no time to repent, not because it depicts an eschaton where time does not exist, but because judgment happens immediately after death in the time of this world. Time still exists, but for the dead there is no time spared. Thus, in the later *Apocalypse* the exhaustive tour of the here-after is the focus and the axis of the text because what Paul must see is the divine distributive justice acting just now, in this world and on this earth, where time exists, although beyond the ocean. This is the reason why the tour of the *Apocalypse of Paul* is not *stricto sensu* otherworldly but occurs on this earth. An accurate, somewhat casuistic description of punishments and rewards is the ideal way to represent this justice, as it conveys by itself the anti-Origenist message around which the whole text revolves: there is no progression from punishment to bliss in the other life, as Origen and his followers assumed. Everything is already fixed and organised now, once and for all, from the moment of one's death; only an evolution from the land of promise to the City of Christ is considered in some cases. This is also the reason why the *Apocalypse of Paul* elaborates on the plot of the *Apocalypse of Peter* by making the judgment become a precisely

⁶¹ Cf. Kraus, 'Fürbitte', 389–90; Norelli, 'L'«Apocalisse di Pietro», 166: "Fondamentale ... è tener conto del fatto che l'intercessione non ha qui luogo nel quadro di una visita dell'inferno che si svolge durante il tempo di questo mondo, ma in occasione del giudizio finale, cioè quando tutti i giochi sono stati fatti, quando tutto il tempo di tutte le vite è finito e il tempo stesso di questo mondo è scomparso".

described tribunal, and by assigning two structurally balanced sections to rewards and punishments, with a further sub-categorization of the rewards. Contrariwise, in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, a balanced description of torture and bliss is not itself the main point of interest. This is already made evident by their reciprocal disproportion: reward is little more than a promising perspective, with a small handful of details in par. 14. Why are punishments, on the contrary, described in detail? Since its final message is the (partial or total) preponderance of mercy, the *Apocalypse of Peter* must insist on the fact that divine justice continues to exist.⁶² We could even say that the two texts pursue an opposite goal: the author or final redactor of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, after highlighting distributive justice so strongly, had the problem of safeguarding and re-introducing mercy after all, even if without making concessions to the Origenists. The author of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, on the contrary, had to keep divine justice on track despite the prominence of mercy.

Thus, we may affirm that the *Apocalypse of Paul* is a post-Origenist form of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, being the post-Origenist re-modulation of the motif of mercy prevailing over justice. Therefore, it enters into dialogue with this motif by prospecting what is by all means a compromise solution: the possibility of an intercession that does set the damned free from punishment, but recurrently and for a short time. This solution is a further limitation of the space, which was probably already limited, given to divine mercy in the *Apocalypse of Peter*. In this sense, I would not define this compromise as a “hardly credible solution” of the problem of justice and mercy,⁶³ as it is seriously grounded in the attitude of the *Apocalypse of Paul* towards Origenist eschatology: not of complete rebuttal, but of minimal concessions – probably because the monastic milieu that produced it was not so unanimously and compactly hostile to Origenism.

⁶² In order to ‘integrate justice and mercy’, as Beck, *Justice and Mercy*, 121–23, rightly puts it, elaborating upon the previous conclusions of L. Roig Lanzillotta, ‘Does Punishment Reward the Righteous? The Justice Pattern Underlying the Apocalypse of Peter’, in Bremmer and Czachesz, *Apocalypse of Peter*, 127–57.

⁶³ As Norelli defines the eschatological compromise of the *Apocalypse of Paul* in Norelli, “L’«Apocalisse di Pietro»”, 160.

XII. Der Acherusische See als Reinigungsort in christlicher und jüdischer Nachtodmythologie

JAN DOCHHORN

1. *Ein altes Thema*

Vom Acherusischen See ist die Rede in Überresten der *Petrusapokalypse* und in der weitaus besser überlieferten *Paulusapokalypse*; er ist in beiden christlichen Parabiblica ein Taufort für Tote. Wer in ihm getauft wird, kommt an den Ort der Seligen. Vergleichbare Heilsausagen, den Acherusischen See betreffend, kommen auch in anderen Texten vor, durchgehend solchen, die man als Parabiblica bezeichnen kann. Die meisten Belege sind seit Langem bekannt: Schon 1954 hat Erik Peterson ihnen einen Aufsatz mit dem Titel »Die Taufe im Acherusischen See« gewidmet.¹ Es folgten 2003 Marinus de Jonge und Michael White, die speziell den Beleg in der *Apokalypse des Mose* diskutierten (*Apc Mos* 37,3–4a: die Waschung Adams im Acherusischen See)², sowie 2004 Thomas J. Kraus, der in besonderem Maße pagane Texte einbezog.³

¹ Vgl. E. Peterson, 'Die Taufe im Acherusischen See', *VigChris* 8 (1954) 1–20.

² Vgl. M. de Jonge and M. White, 'The Washing of Adam in the Acherusian Lake (Greek Life of Adam and Eve 37:3) in the Context of Early Christian Notions of Afterlife', in M. de Jonge, *Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament as Part of Christian Literature. The Case of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Greek Life of Adam and Eve* (Leiden, 2003) 201–27.

³ Vgl. T.J. Kraus, 'Acherousia and Elysion. Anmerkungen im Hinblick auf deren Verwendung auch im christlichen Kontext', *Mnemosyne* IV 56 (2003) 145–63.

Es gibt also schon Forschung zum Thema. Was wird hier Neues geboten? In der Hauptsache wird es mir um religionsgeschichtliche Konkretion gehen, und zwar in drei Punkten:

1. Es können meines Erachtens deutlicher als bisher Beziehungen zwischen den parabiblischen Belegen rekonstruiert werden, vornehmlich dahingehend, dass in der Regel die *Apokalypse des Mose* (*Apc Mos*) und eher noch die von ihr abhängende, mit ihr milieuverwandte und an der betreffenden Stelle wohl auch gleichlautende *Vita Adae et Evae* (*Vit Ad*) den Ausgangspunkt der Traditionsentwicklung bildet, direkt oder indirekt (die *Vit Ad* geht mit der *Apc Mos* weitgehend synoptisch parallel, ist aber anders als diese auf Griechisch kaum mehr erhalten und damit schwer zu rekonstruieren; s. § 3.6.1).
2. Es lässt sich zeigen, dass der christlichen Geschichte des Motivs eine jüdische vorausgeht: Die Waschung Adams im Acherusischen See, die *Apc Mos* 37,3–4a erzählt, ist nicht christlich, wie de Jonge und White fälschlicherweise annehmen, sondern jüdisch. Ein entsprechender Nachweis stand den vorhergehenden Beiträgen nicht zur Verfügung – mit der Folge, dass nie ganz klar wurde, ob die *Apokalypse des Mose* in Sachen Acherusischer See von christlicher Tradition abhängt oder aber auf jüdischer Gedankenarbeit beruht.⁴ Die jüdische Provenienz von *Apc Mos* 37,3–4a habe ich dann aber 2005 ausführlich in meiner Monographie zur *Apokalypse des Mose* aufgezeigt.⁵ Die dort geleistete Arbeit kann hier zu einem guten Teil aufgenommen werden, aber es wird auch Veränderungen geben: Die *Apokalypse des Mose* datiere ich inzwischen früher als damals, und ich kann sie besser in der Vorgeschichte des frühen Christentums unterbringen. Dies betrifft auch das hier zur Rede stehende Motiv.

⁴ Vgl. die eher tastenden Erwägungen bei Peterson, 'Taufe', 9–12; de Jonge und White, 'Washing', 211–12 schließen aus dem christlichen Profil der Parallelen, dass auch *Apc Mos* 37,3 christlich sein müsse, ähnlich M. de Jonge und J. Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve and Related Literature* (Sheffield, 1997) 72–74. Methodisch ist hierzu anzumerken, dass es sich um Eisegese handelt, wenn man aus dem religionsgeschichtlichen Kontext einer Parallele auf die religionsgeschichtliche Provenienz eines Textes schließt.

⁵ Vgl. J. Dochhorn, *Die Apokalypse des Mose. Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar* (Tübingen, 2005) 487–93.

3. Der Acherusische See ist ein Reinigungsort für Tote auch schon in griechischer Überlieferung. Jüdischer und christlicher Nachtodmythologie zum Acherusischen See liegt Griechisches zugrunde, und zwar ganz speziell und wohl nahezu ausschließlich der Schlussmythos des Sokrates in Platos *Phaidon*. Dies kann hier stärker herausgearbeitet werden als bisher, wobei anzumerken ist, dass de Jonge / White sowie Kraus dies durchaus im Blick haben, während ich in meiner vorhergehenden Arbeit zur *Apc Mos*, da vor allem um einen zweifelssicheren Erweis der jüdischen Provenienz des Motivs in der *Apc Mos* bemüht, mich weit mehr auf hebräische Bibelüberlieferung bezogen hatte als auf die griechischen Texte.

Um das vorangehend präsentierte Programm zu realisieren, werde ich nachfolgend zuerst ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit griechisches Material zum Acherusischen See präsentieren. Dann wissen wir zumindest ansatzweise, was man in der Antike als mehr oder weniger hellenisierten Bewohner der Mittelmeerwelt zum Thema wissen konnte; die jüdischen und christlichen Texte lesen sich dann einfacher (§ 2). Sodann werde ich – in zeitlich absteigender Reihenfolge – die christlichen und jüdischen Belege zum Acherusischen See als Reinigungsort erörtern (§ 3), zuerst einen Beleg aus dem *Liber Institutionis Michael* (3.1), der meinen Vorgängern noch unbekannt war, dann die Belege aus dem *Liber Bartholomaei* (3.2), der *Paulusapokalypse* (3.3), der *Petrusapokalypse* (3.4), den *Sibyllinischen Orakeln* (3.5) und der *Apokalypse des Mose* (3.6). Vor allem der letztgenannte Text wird ausführlich erörtert werden, nicht zuletzt mit Hinblick auf seine Relevanz für die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe. Ein Schlusskapitel wird religionsgeschichtliche Perspektiven andeuten (§ 4): Zuerst wird erörtert, ob die Juden schon vor der *Apokalypse des Mose* vom Acherusischen See wussten, und dann wird die Entwicklungsgeschichte des hier verhandelten Motivs nachgezeichnet.

2. Zum Acherusischen See bei den Griechen

»Acherusischer See«, im Griechischen gewöhnlich Ἀχέρουσία λίμνη, ist zunächst einmal ein Toponym, etwas, das mit lebensweltlich erfahrbarer Geographie zu tun hat, gewöhnlich ein See, in den sich ein Fluss namens Acheron ergießt. Es genügt ein Blick in das Wörterbuch von Passow, und man weiß, dass es in mehreren von Menschen bewohnten

Landschaften Acherusische Seen gegeben hat.⁶ Die Zahl der Belege vermehrt sich mit einer TLG-Recherche; die meisten werde ich hier unberücksichtigt lassen müssen. Thukydides I,46,4 etwa kennt einen Acherusischen See in der Thesprotis (Nordwestgriechenland), der sich dort ins Meer ergießt und seinerseits von dem Acheron gespeist wird; ähnliches liest man bei Pausanias, *Graecae Descriptio* I,17,5. Dagegen erwähnt Strabo, *Geogr* V,4,5 einen Acherusischen See in der Nähe des sizilischen Cumae. Er weiß auch von einem Nekromanteion dort und erwähnt, dass man die Totenbeschwörung des Odysseus mit diesem Ort in Verbindung gebracht habe; Geographie und Mythologie gehen ineinander über. Ähnliches geschieht bei Xenophon in *Anabasis* VI,2,2, wo Soldaten eine Acherusiadische Halbinsel im Land der Maryandynen passieren (in Bithynien). Dort sei, so Xenophon, Herakles zum Kerberus in den Hades hinabgestiegen; der Ort werde gezeigt. Wir sehen: Totenorte sind auf Erden als solche markiert; wir haben es, wenn wir von der Welt der Toten reden, mitunter durchaus mit Geographie zu tun. Es verhält sich im Grunde nicht anders, wenn wir nun zu Belegen kommen, die sortierendes Denken schon eher mit dem Jenseits oder mit der Anderwelt in Verbindung bringen wird; es wird auch bei diesen, mindestens in Resten, immer dabei bleiben, dass mythisches Wissen auch geographisches Wissen ist – oder umgekehrt. Wenden wir uns einigen paradigmatischen Traditionen zu:

1. Von Odysseus war schon die Rede. Auch für ihn ist (in *Odyssee* X,504–520), was wir mythisch nennen, zugleich auch geographisch.⁷ Um zu den Toten am Acheron zu kommen – ein acherusischer See wird nicht erwähnt –, muss er sich Kirkes Auskunft zufolge nur von dem Nordwind über den Ozean treiben lassen; an Persephones Gestade soll er dann aussteigen und zu dem Felsen gehen, wo in den Acheron der Pyriphlegethon und der Kokytos sich ergießt. Nahe diesem Ort soll er eine Totenbeschwörung vornehmen. Festzuhalten ist vor allem: Der Totenort hat hier offenbar etwas mit einer Konstellation von Gewässern zu tun. Wir haben

⁶ Vgl. F. Passow, *Handwörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache. Neu bearbeitet und zeitgemäß umgestaltet von Val. Chr. Rost, Friedrich Palm, Otto Kreusler, Karl Keil, Ferd. Peter und G.E. Benseler*, (Leipzig, 1841–1857⁵, Nachdruck: 1993) I/1, 473 sub verbo Ἀχερούσιος.

⁷ Vgl. den Text bei T.W. Allen, *Homeri Opera, Tomus III Odysseae Libros I–XII Continens. Editio Altera, Oxonii* (Oxford, 1917, Nachdruck: 1992) 186.

den Ozean (Okeanos), den Pyriphlegethon, den Kokytos und den Acheron – vier Gewässer, wobei die letzteren drei zusammenhängen. Diese vier Gewässer kennt auch Plato, der sie ähnlich wie das Epos und zugleich mit bemerkenswerten Abweichungen aufeinander bezieht.

2. Wir gehen über zu Lukian, der uns in *De Luctu* 2–9 ein kompendiarisches Bild vom Unterweltwissen seiner Zeit bietet⁸; wir befinden uns im zweiten Jahrhundert nach Christus und können, was wir hier lesen, als paradigmatisch für das nehmen, was in der Entstehungszeit der *Petrusapokalypse* Bildungskonvention war. Besonders viel hält Lukian von alledem nicht; es ist ihm Wissen von ἰδιῶται (*De Luctu* 2); wir dürfen das Wort wohl mit dem entsprechenden Lehnwort im Deutschen übersetzen. Schon der rapportartige Stil der Darstellung dürfte der Ironisierung dienen. Ähnliches bewirken Kommentare, die bei distanzierter Lektüre als kleinlich wahrgenommen werden können, tatsächlich aber wohl einer Technik satirischen Rasonnements entsprechen, das durch intellektuell sparsamen Witz das intellektuell Sparsame der ganzen Angelegenheit herausstellt: Man wisse von Homer, Hesiod und anderen Mythendichtern, dass es unter der Erde einen finsternen und sonnenlosen Ort gebe, den Hades. Wie man dort ohne Sonne trotzdem etwas sehen kann (was offenbar die Berichte über den Hades voraussetzen), will Lukian nicht so recht in den Kopf. Über den Hades herrsche Pluto, der Bruder des Zeus, der die Toten dort mit unentrinnbaren Fesseln gefangenhalte. Von allerlei scheußlichen Flüssen sei der Ort umflossen; der größte unter ihnen sei der Acherusische See, der hier offenbar als Fluss gedacht ist (identifiziert mit dem Acheron?). Über den kämen noch nicht einmal tote Vögel herüber (soll das ein Witz sein?); es geht nicht ohne den Fergen, der bei Lukian freilich namenlos bleibt (er berichtet ja erklärmaßen auch nicht etwas, das niemand sonst wüsste). Dann gibt es den Kerberus, der ganz erschrecklich bellt, die asphodelische Wiese und den Lethefluss, der Vergessen bewirkt – nur offenbar nicht bei denjenigen (nur sehr wenigen), die vom Hades wieder nach oben kommen, wie Lukian etwas spitz konstatiert. Daraufhin ist vom Totengericht die Rede, das Minôs und Rhadamanthys,

⁸ Vgl. den Text bei M.D. MacLeod, *Luciani Opera, Tomus II. Libelli 26–43* (Oxford, 1993², Nachdruck: 2008) 310–12.

Kreter und Söhne des Zeus, vollziehen: Die Guten kommen ins elysische Feld, die Bösen werden den Erinyen übergeben und hauen im Lande der Frevler, wo sie verdreht, verbrannt, von Geiern gefressen, auf Räder geflochten werden, wo sie Steine hochwälzen und Tantalusqualen leiden. Die große Menge der Mittleren (*De Luctu* 9: οἱ ... τοῦ μέσου βίου) irren auf der Wiese umher, zerstioben wie Rauch, wenn man sie berührt, sind auf Totenopfer angewiesen. Soweit Lukian. Wir können bei ihm ein klares Raumkonzept ausmachen, eine Unterwelt-Geographie: Der Acherusische See trennt das Totenreich ab, muss überquert werden. Im Totenreich haben wir drei Abteilungen für Gute, Böse und – so können wir etwas umgangssprachlich sagen – Normale, wobei nur für letztere Totenopfer und somit Aufmerksamkeiten der Lebenden relevant zu sein scheinen; es sind wohl diese die Toten, an die man gewöhnlich zu denken hat, wenn man an Tote denkt.

3. Ein sehr umfänglich ausgearbeitetes Konzept zur Welt der Toten, verbunden mit einer auf typisch platonische Art kontraperezeptiver Auffassung davon, wie die Erde in Wirklichkeit beschaffen ist (nicht nach Maßgabe unser nur gebrochenen / uneigentlichen Wahrnehmung), bietet der Schlussmythos des Sokrates bei Plato in *Phaidon* 107c–114c.⁹ Es ist bei Plato also erst recht so, dass Wissen um Tote auch geographisches Wissen ist, so dass man sagen kann: Bei dem Philosophen sind Mythologie und Geographie noch deutlicher eine Einheit als anderswo, sogar begrifflich, insofern Sokrates seine Ausführungen explizit als Mythos bezeichnet (114d). Nur zentrale Züge der Sokrates-Erzählung sind hier vor Augen zu führen: A. Wie Frösche hocken wir um das Mittelmeer (109b) – in einer von vielen Erdsenken, in die hinein Luft und Nebel zusammenströmen (109b). Und wie ein Fisch am Meeresgrund das Wasser über ihm für den Himmel hält, so halten wir für den Himmel die Luft über uns (109c–e; 111b). Aber in Wirklichkeit ist der Himmel erkennbar nur in den ätherumflossenen Orten, die über den Erdsenken gelegen

⁹ Vgl. den Text bei E.A. Duke *et al.* (Hg.), *Platonis Opera, Tomus I Tetralogias I–II Continens* (Oxford, 1995) 170–80. Zur inhaltlichen Orientierung vgl. T. Menkhaus, *Eidos, Psyche und Unsterblichkeit. Ein Kommentar zu Platons Phaidon* (Frankfurt, 2003) 35–50 (Exkurs zu Todes- und Jenseitsauffassungen vor Platon); C. Schäfer, 'Der Mythos im Phaidon (107d–115a)', in J. Müller (Hg.), *Phaidon* (Berlin, 2011) 159–74.

sind und die als Erde im eigentlichen Sinn zu gelten haben, wo die Menschen viel länger leben und statt der Bilder von Göttern tatsächlich Götter sehen (111b). **B.** Die Erde ist von Himmel umgeben und befindet sich innerhalb dieser Himmels-Umgebung in einem Gleichgewichtszustand (108e–109a). Um sie herum und durch sie hindurch – mit dem Tartarus als der zentralen, durch die Erde hindurchgehenden Röhre – winden sich Flüsse, die nach der Art eines Pumpwerkes funktionieren: Wasser fließen in die Erde hinein bis zur anderen Seite und, durch Gegendruck bedingt, aus ihr wieder heraus; sie fließen auf der Erde und unter der Erde (111c–112e). Vier Ströme sind dabei vor allem wichtig: Der Okeanos und gegenläufig zu ihm der Acheron, der unter der Erde in den Acherusischen See sich ergießt, der Pyriphlegethon, der am Acherusischen See angrenzend in den Tartaros strömt, ohne sich mit dem Wasser des Acherusischen Sees zu vermengen, und gegenüber zu ihm analog der Kokytos, der also ebenfalls an den Acherusischen See angrenzt, ohne sich mit ihm zu vermischen (112e–113c), und dann in den Tartarus weiterfließt. Während Homer Pyriphlegethon und Kokytos in den Acheron münden lässt, so dass die drei Flüsse ein System bilden, liegen für Plato ihre Ausmündungen nahe beieinander, ohne zu einem System zu werden. **C.** Wie sind die Toten in dieser Szenerie untergebracht? Nach dem Tod werden die Seelen von ihren Daimones geführt (107d–e), was auch nötig ist, denn viele Wege führen zum Totenreich (kaum erstaunlich, wo doch die Erde so vieltalig ist) (107e–108a). Danach gestaltet sich ihr Schicksal je unterschiedlich, entsprechend den Unterschieden zwischen den vor Augen geführten räumlichen Gegebenheiten der Erde, zuzüglich einer noch gar nicht genannten Wirklichkeit, nämlich einem außerirdischen Habitat: **a.** Am undeutlichsten scheint mir das Ergehen derjenigen, auf die es dem Philosophen am meisten ankommt: Diejenigen, die sich angemessen um ihre Seele gekümmert haben (107c), wohl identisch mit denen, die sich zuvor hinreichend gereinigt haben durch Philosophie (114c: οἱ φιλοσοφία ἱκανῶς καθηράμενοι), kommen an Orte, die noch besser sind als die der wahren Erde und nicht weiter beschrieben werden, wo sie daraufhin körperfrei leben – anscheinend für immer, auch wenn das nicht explizit gesagt wird (114c). Offen bleibt, jedenfalls für mich, ob sie einem Hadesgericht unterworfen sind oder einfach so zu dem ihnen bestimmten Ort gelangen. **b.** Eine zweite Klasse stellen diejenigen

dar, die heiligmäßigem Leben besonders nahezu kommen scheinen (114b: οἱ δὴ ἄν δοξῶσι ... πρὸς τὸ ὁσίως βιῶναι); sie »kommen nach oben in die reine Behausung und werden auf der Erde angesiedelt« (114c: ἄνω εἰς τὴν καθαρὰν οἴκησιν ἀφικνούμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς οἰκίζόμενοι). Wahrscheinlich werden sie gleich nach dem Hadesgericht auf die zuvor in 109a–111c beschriebene obere Erde versetzt; darum werden sie mit Blick auf die Orte in der Erde als Freie und Ledige bezeichnet (ἐλευθερούμενοι τε καὶ ἀπαλλαττόμενοι; 114b) und eben nicht als Befreite, Erlöste (es fällt etwas schwer, die betreffende Nuance wiederzugeben, die den präsentischen Partizipien hier zu eignen ist). An diesen Erdenorten werden sie vermutlich lange, aber nicht endlos leben, wie man aufgrund von Phaidon 111b annehmen kann, wo von der Langlebigkeit der Bewohner der oberen Erde die Rede ist. **c.** Eindeutiger erscheint das Geschick der unheilbar Bösen: Sie kommen für immer in den Tartaros (113e). **d.** Eine beträchtliche Ausdifferenzierung findet statt im Mittelfeld: Die meisten Seelen verbleiben, wohl auf Booten (113d: ἀναβάντες ἃ δὴ αὐτοῖς ὀχήματά ἐστιν), im Acherusischen See und werden dort belohnt und bestraft und je unterschiedlich lange Zeit geläutert (113d), bis sie wieder einem Leibe zugeführt werden (113a: πάλιν ἐκπέμπονται εἰς τὰς τῶν ζῶων γενέσεις). Schwereren, aber nicht unheilbaren Fällen sind die Flüsse Kokytos und Pyriphlegethon reserviert: Mörder landen im Kokytos, Vater- und Muttermörder im Pyriphlegethon (113e–114a); vom Tartaros eingesogen und wieder aufgespült treiben sie in ihren Flüssen am Acherusischen See vorbei und können in diesen aufgenommen werden (wohl zwecks Läuterung), sobald sie diejenigen, denen sie geschadet haben, dazu haben überreden können (114a–b). Wir müssen uns merken: Im Acherusischen See findet Läuterung statt; dergleichen erfährt man meines Wissens nur bei Plato. Und ihm zufolge gibt es beim Acherusischen See auch Kommunikation, Tote betreffend, die auf eine Verbesserung ihres Geschicks hinauslaufen kann (letztlich wohl mit einer Rückkehr in den Lebenskreislauf).

Hervorzuheben ist abschließend die Adaptibilität des platonischen Systems: Es gibt Metempsychose genauso wie immerwährende Verdammnis und immerwährendes Leben, dazu noch Läuterungsstrafen, und dann wird auch noch unterschieden zwischen dem besonders langen wie komfortablen Leben von (halbwegs) Seligen und dem

immerwährenden Leben der Vollkommenen. Man gewinnt nahezu den Eindruck, es habe hier jemand alle entscheidenden Nachtodkonzepte der vorderorientalisch-europäischen Geistesgeschichte miteinander vereint. Tatsächlich verhält es sich eher umgekehrt: Es wird hier von einem und anscheinend auch aus einem Guss so viel geboten, dass für jeden etwas dabei ist; hier finden auch diejenigen etwas, die von den vielen Facetten nur bestimmte gebrauchen und andere großzügig übersehen können. Nicht ohne Grund ist die Wirkungsgeschichte unseres Textes beträchtlich: Er ist von Philosophen kommentiert und von Kirchenschriftstellern exzerpiert worden¹⁰ – und liegt direkt oder indirekt allen im nachfolgenden Kapitel erörterten Überlieferungen zugrunde, den christlichen wie den jüdischen.

3. Die parabiblichen Belege

3.1. Liber Institutionis Michael

Das *Buch der Einsetzung Michaels*, die *Institutio Michael* (*Inst Mich*), erzählt in Abschnitt 17,1c¹¹ die Geschichte von einem beim Almosengeben verarmten Christen und einem untadeligen Heiden: Der Christ gab dem Heiden sein Kleid als Pfand, um erneut Almosen geben zu können, und verstarb dann vor der Rückerstattung. Da bedeckte der Heide dessen Leichnam mit eben diesem Kleid und stellte fest, der Heilige Geist sei in dem Christen gewesen. Nach dem Tod kommt der Christ unter den Lebensbaum – und der Heide ebenfalls, nachdem Engel ihn auf den Namen des Vaters, des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes im Acherusischen See getauft haben. Als Taufort ist der

¹⁰ Durch TLG-Recherche stoße ich auf Kommentare von Damascius und Olympiodorus sowie auf Exzerpte in Eusebs *Praeparatio Evangelica*, in Theodorets *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio* und bei Stobaeus, ohne damit Anspruch auf vollständige Erfassung zu erheben.

¹¹ Vgl. C.D.G. Müller (Hg.), *Die Bücher der Einsetzung der Erzengel Michael und Gabriel* (Louvain, 1962) I, 52–53 (sahidischer Text); II, 63–65 (deutsche Übersetzung). Eine neue Übersetzung mit Einleitung und Kommentierung habe ich für die von Christoph Marksches und Jens Schröter herausgegebenen »Antike[n] Christliche[n] Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung« vorbereitet, vgl. J. Doehorn, *Liber Institutionis Michael / Das Buch der Einsetzung des heiligen Erzengels Michael* = www.academia.edu/40583582/Liber_Institutionis_Michael.

Acherusische See bekannt aus *Apoc. Paul* 22; bei der koptischen (sahidischen) *Paulusapokalypse* entspricht dies Folio 29b–30a in der Handschrift London, Brit. Libr. 7022 (Budge 563).¹² Von der *Paulusapokalypse* dürfte die *Institutio Michael* das Motiv haben; sie ist auch sonst von dieser abhängig.¹³ Laut der *Paulusapokalypse* ist der Acherusische See ein Taufort für reuige Sünder; diese können danach in die Stadt Gottes kommen. In der *Institutio Michael* gilt Analoges für einen Heiden, der sich sittlich bewährt, wohl auch auf eher unklare Weise Anerkennung für Christliches äußert, ohne freilich erkennbar zu konvertieren. Die Konversion kann, so scheint es, nachgeholt werden: durch eine Taufe im Acherusischen See. Es zeigt sich hier eine Haltung gegenüber Heiden, die kaum auf Abgrenzung Wert zu legen scheint. Wahrscheinlich spiegelt sich hier ein alltäglich gutes Zusammenleben von Christen und Heiden wider, das mit dem Eiferertum etwa des Schenute nur wenig zu tun hat.¹⁴ Allein, dass es überhaupt Heiden gibt, legt eine eher frühe Datierung der Geschichte und wohl der *Institutio Michaelis* nahe. Ich gehe mit ihr in das fünfte oder frühe sechste Jahrhundert hinab; gegen Ende des sechsten Jahrhunderts bezeugt Johannes von Parollos die Existenz eines Buches von der Einsetzung Michaels, welches wohl ziemlich sicher das vorliegende ist.¹⁵

3.2. *Ps-Bartholomaeus*, De Resurrectione

Wir bleiben in der koptischen Literatur – und haben es erneut mit Geschichten vom Jenseits zu tun, näherhin mit einer Episode im *Buch*

¹² Zur *Apoc. Paul* (sah/lond) vgl. E.A. Wallis Budge (Hg.), *Miscellaneous Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1915) 534–74 (Text – Es geht voraus Ps-Chrys, *De Raphaele*, aber unvollständig; nach einem Ausfall von ca. 80 Seiten beginnt unser Text, ohne den Anfang und durch Blattvertauschungen entsteht); 1043–84 (Übersetzung – mit Revision der Blattvertauschungen). Wichtig hierzu ist ebenfalls L. Roig Lanzillotta – J. van der Vliet, *The Apocalypse of Paul (Visio Pauli) in Sahidic Coptic: Critical Edition, Translation and Commentary* (Leiden, 2022).

¹³ Vgl. hierzu Dochhorn, *Liber Institutionis Michael*, Einleitung, § 5 (erscheint demnächst; siehe Anm. 11). Von der *Apoc. Paul* hat *Inst Mich* wohl vor allem die Lokalisierung der Totenorte auf der Erde.

¹⁴ Zu Schenutes Haltung vgl. J. Leipoldt, *Schenute von Atriipe und die Entstehung des national ägyptischen Christentums* (Leipzig, 1903) 175–82.

¹⁵ Vgl. hierzu Dochhorn, *Liber Institutionis Michael*, § 5 (erscheint demnächst; siehe Anm. 11).

des *Bartholomaeus über die Auferstehung* (in Brit. Libr. or. 6804, 17b–18b)¹⁶: Nach der Kreuzigung Christi hat Thomas, hier Didymus genannt, anderes zu tun, als sich mit den Jüngern zu versammeln. Sein Sohn Siophanes ist verstorben. Er geht zu dessen Grab, erweckt ihn von den Toten und lässt sich von ihm erzählen, wie es ihm nach dem Tod ergangen sei: Michael, begleitet von Engeln, entnimmt Siophanes die Seele. Ungutes ist auf der Reise zu sehen, unter anderem ein auch anderweitig bekannter Feuerstrom, aber die Details entgehen uns, weil die hier ausschließlich dokumentierende Handschrift (London, Brit. Mus. 6804) Lücken hat. Schließlich taucht Michael Siophanes dreimal in den Acherusischen See ein (fol. 18b; Budge 36), und eine Stimme vom Himmel gibt Weisung, die Seele des Siophanes solle »an die Orte der Unsterblichkeit und in das Paradies überhimmlichen Lebens verbracht werden« (ΕΝΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΤΜΝΤΑΤΜΟΥ: ΜΝ <Π>ΠΑΡΑΔΙΣΟΣ ΜΠΩΝΩ ΝΕΠΟΥ[ΡΑ]ΝΙΟΝ). Das dreimalige Untertauchen und ein offenbar im Himmel zu denkendes Paradies als Bestimmungsort verbindet *Ps-Bartholomaeus* nicht mit der *Paulusapokalypse*, sondern mit der *Apokalypse des Mose* (37,3) und noch eher der *Vita Adae et Evae* (67,3), denn es ist die *Vit Ad* und nicht die *Apc Mos*, die gewöhnlich in der koptischen Literatur bezeugt ist (s. § III.6.1). Von der *Vit Ad* wird *Ps-Bartholomaeus* das Motiv vom Acherusischen See also haben, wozu auch passt, dass eine weit vorhergehend erzählte Szene von einer Begnadigung Adams im Himmel (fol. 11–13 bei Budge 21–26)¹⁷ Affinitäten zum Kontext des Acherusia-Motivs in den Adamdiegesen aufweist (vgl. *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 par); ferner klingt *Ps-Barth, Res* fol 3b (Budge 6) an *Apc Mos* 39 par an.

3.3. Die Paulusapokalypse

Wir kommen in die Zeit um 400 n. Chr., in der die *Paulusapokalypse* verfasst worden sein dürfte¹⁸: Der Acherusische See ist in der

¹⁶ Zum Text von *Ps-Barth, Res* vgl. die Angaben bei M. Geerard, *Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti* (Turnhout, 1992) § 80 (S. 57–58). Wichtig ist hier E.A. Wallis Budge (Hg.), *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1913) 1–48, speziell 34–36.

¹⁷ Vgl. hierzu das Fragment aus Berlin, or. 1608 III bei A.M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte. 3 Bände* (Brüssel, 1930–1931) I, 79–81.

¹⁸ Vgl. hierzu J.N. Bremmer, 'Christian Hell. From the Apocalypse of Peter to the Apocalypse of Paul', *Numen* 56 (2009) 298–325 (auf dem neuesten

Überlieferung zu *Apoc. Paul* 22 fest bezeugt. Er findet sich in der bereits erwähnten sahidischen Version der *Apokalypse des Paulus* (vgl. § 3.1) genauso wie in der lateinischen Rezension, die James 1893 aus dem Codex Paris, Nouv. Acqu. lat. 1631, fol. 3–25r veröffentlicht hat = *Apoc. Paul* (lat/par); der betreffende Teil der Handschrift ist im 8. Jahrhundert geschrieben; die Sprache des *Apoc. Paul*-Textes ist sehr stark mit Vulgarismen durchsetzt.¹⁹ Eine Entsprechung bietet auch der von Tischendorf im Jahre 1866 aus dem Codex Ambrosianus C 255 Inf. (15. Jh.) veröffentlichte griechische Text²⁰; weiteren Überlieferungsträgern der *Apoc. Paul* kann hier nicht nachgegangen werden (nahezu alle Sprachen des christlichen Orients sind beteiligt).²¹ In der *Paulusapokalypse* findet der Acherusische See Erwähnung ziemlich am Beginn eines umfänglichen Visionsberichts zu den Aufenthaltsorten der Seligen (*Apoc. Paul* 21–30): Es war von einem Land des Erbes die Rede, das im Osten gelegen ist (so jedenfalls eindeutig *Apoc. Paul* 21 nach dem sahidischen Text; fol. 28b–29a bei Budge 561–562). Danach sieht Paulus den Acherusischen See, der die Stadt der Heiligen / die Stadt Gottes / die Stadt Christi – so die unterschiedlichen Bezeichnungen in den Überlieferungen – als den postmortalen Aufenthalt von Seligen von der Umgebungswelt abtrennt. Nach *Apoc. Paul* (sah) liegt diese Stadt östlich, nach *Apoc. Paul* (gr) 22 innerhalb des Acherusischen Sees.²²

In dieser Stadt wohnen viele Selige schlicht aufgrund ihres frommen Lebenswandels, aber es gibt noch eine andere Klasse. In *Apoc.*

Stand jetzt in id., *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity* [Tübingen, 2017] 295–312).

¹⁹ Vgl. M.R. James, *Apocrypha Anecdota. A Collection of Thirteen Apocryphal Books and Fragments Now First Edited from Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1893, Nachdruck: 2004) 1–42, speziell 23.

²⁰ Vgl. K. von Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae Mosis, Esdrae, Pauli, Iohannis, item Mariae Dormitio Additis Evangeliorum et Actuum Apocryphorum Supplementis* (Leipzig, 1866, Nachdruck: 1966) XIV–XVII, 34–69, speziell 51.

²¹ Vgl. hierzu Geerard, *Clavis*, § 325 (S. 303–9); P. Piovanelli, ‘Les Origines de l’Apocalypse de Paul reconsidérées’, *Apocrypha* 4 (1993) 25–64, Nachdruck in id., *Apocryphités* (Turnhout, 2016) 367–404.

²² Die Namensformen für den Acherusischen See bezeugen nicht besonders viel Verständnis von der Sache bei den Schreibern: *Apoc. Paul* (lat/par) hat *aceriosus lacus* und *aceriosium lacum*, *Apoc. Paul* (gr/ambr) ἀχέρουσαν λίμνην, *Apoc. Paul* (sah/lond) ΤΑΡΧΗΕΡΟΥΣΑ ΛΥΜΝΗ und ΤΑΡΧΙΛΥΜΝΗ.

Paul 22 wird nämlich erzählt (zitiert nach lat/par): Ein Sünder, der sich umgewandt und tätig Buße geleistet hat (lat: *si ... conversus penituerit et fecerit fructum dignum penitenciae*), wird nach seinem Ausgang aus dem Leibe zu Gott geführt, wo er ihn anbetet; dann wird er auf Befehl des Herrn Michael übergeben, der ihn im Acherusischen See tauft; so führt er ihn in die Stadt Christi zu denen, die überhaupt nicht gesündigt haben (.... *cum exierit de corpore, ducitur et adoratur deum et inde iussu domini traditur Michaelo angelo et baptizatur eum in acerosium lacum; sic inducit eum in ciuitatem Christi iusta eos, qui nihil peccauerunt*).

Die Szenerie in der *Apoc. Paul* weicht, wie wir sehen werden, von derjenigen in der *Apoc. Pet.* stark ab: Anders als dort ist hier die Taufprozedur im Acherusischen See Folge einer bereinigten Gottesbeziehung, und anders als dort administriert Michael die Taufe und die Verbringung der betreffenden Seelen. Auf beide Spezifika der *Apoc. Paul* kann man von *Apc Mos* 37 // *Vit Ad* 67 her kommen, wo Adam vor der Waschung im Acherusischen See (*Apc Mos* 37,3–4a par) die Vergebung Gottes zuteilwird (37,2 par), so dass Michael ihn dann in das Paradies im dritten Himmel bringt (37,5–6 par). Zugleich ist, wie sich zeigen wird, die geographische Konstellation in der *Apoc. Paul* weit deutlicher als in der *Apc Mos*, auch deutlicher als in der *Petrusapokalypse*: Der Acherusische See liegt zwischen dem Land des Erbes und der Stadt der Heiligen. Auf eine solche geographische Konstellation kommt man wohl von griechischem Unterweltwissen her, demzufolge der Acherusische See überquert werden muss, bevor man in Plutos Reich gelangt. Dieses geographische Wissen kann schon jüdisch vermittelt sein, denn es ist auch in der *Apokalypse des Zephania* vorausgesetzt (vgl. § IV). Freilich liegen Acherusischer See und die Stadt der Heiligen für die *Apoc. Paul* nicht in der Unterwelt, sondern wohl am östlichen Erdenrand.

Es bleibt zu vermerken, dass die *Apoc. Paul* es den Lesern, wenn es um die Stätten der Seligen geht, nicht unbedingt leicht macht: Die Stadt der Heiligen im Osten ist nicht der einzige Aufenthaltsort von Seligen in der *Apoc. Paul*: Auch ein Paradies im dritten Himmel kennt die *Apoc. Paul*: Es findet Erwähnung in *Apoc. Paul* 1–3, wo 1 Kor 12,2,4 aufgenommen wird, und ebenso in *Apoc. Paul* 19–21, wo es vor allem als Aufenthalt Henochs, Elias und der Gerechten zur Geltung kommt. Insgesamt gewinnt es dort wenig Kontur. In 45–51 haben wir dann noch einmal ein Paradies, diesmal eines auf der Erde.

In ihm trifft Paulus vieles an, was er eigentlich schon in der Stadt der Heiligen gesehen haben müsste, was hier nicht weiter vertieft werden kann. Es gibt offenbar Dubletten in der *Apoc. Paul* und mit ihnen ein Nebeneinander verschiedener Jenseitstraditionen. Überhaupt scheint die *Apoc. Paul* literarkritische Probleme aufzuweisen: In den meisten Überlieferungen endet sie abrupt, nur nicht in der sahidischen, ohne dass dem hier weiter nachgegangen werden könnte.

3.4. Die Petrusapokalypse

Eine Pergament-Doppelseite wohl vom 5. Jahrhundert nach Christus aus der Erzherzog Rainer-Sammlung in Wien (P. Vindob. G. 39756) überliefert eine Szene über die Taufe von Seelen im Acherusischen See,²³ die wir aufgrund einer eher undeutlichen Parallele in der *Petrusapokalypse* (aeth) zuordnen können. Es heißt dort: [Παρ]έξομαι τοῖς κλητοῖς μου καὶ ἐκλέ{κ}κτοις μου ὃν ἐὰν <αἰ>τήσωνταί με ἐκ τῆς κολάσεως, καὶ δώσω αὐτοῖς καλὸν βάπτισμα ἐν σωτηρίᾳ Ἀχερουσία[ς] λίμνης ἣν καλοῦσιν ἐν τῷ Ἑλυσίῳ πεδίῳ, μέρος δικαιοσύνης μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων μου (»Ich werde meinen Berufenen und meinen Heiligen geben, um wen sie mich bitten, aus der Strafe, und ich werde ihnen eine gute Taufe geben in der Rettung des Acherusischen Sees, wie sie ihn nennen, im Elysischen Feld – einen Anteil an der Gerechtigkeit mit meinen Heiligen«). Der äthiopische Text ist von zwei Handschriften bezeugt, einer vom Tanasee und einer aus Paris (laut Cowley eine Kopie der erstgenannten); er lautet in beiden Handschriften ወአሜሃ : እሁብሙ : ለኅሩያንዮ : ለጳጵቃንዮ : ጥምቀተ : ወመድኃኒተ : ዘሰአሉኒ : በኀበ : ሐቅለ : አክሮስያ : እንተ : ይብልዋ : አኔስለስልያ : ጸገዩ : መክፈልተ : ጳጵቃን (»Und danach werde ich

²³ Das Wiener Fragment gehört zusammen mit einem Fragment aus Oxford (Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]). Eine neue Ausgabe des gesamten Papyrus bietet T.J. Kraus, 'P. Vindob. G. 39756 + Bodl. MS Gr. th. f. 4 [P]. Fragmente eines Codex der griechischen Petrus-Apokalypse', *BASP* 40 (2003) 45–61. Beide Fragmente des Papyrus sind schon länger als Bestandteile der *Apoc. Pet.* im Gespräch, vgl. M.R. James, 'Additional Notes on the Apocalypse of Peter', *JTS* 12 (1911) 157 (Hinweis auf das Oxford-Fragment); idem, 'A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter II', *JTS* 12 (1911) 362–83, speziell 367–69 (Edition des Oxford-Fragments); id., 'The Rainer Fragment of the Apocalypse of Peter', *JTS* 32 (1931) 270–79 (dort die Vermutung, dass die beiden Fragmente zusammengehören).

meinen Erwählten, meinen Gerechten Taufe und Erlösung geben, worum sie mich bitten, im Felde Akerosejâ, das sie Anêslaslejâ nennen; sie haben geblüht, der Anteil der Gerechten.«).²⁴

Ganz ohne philologische Probleme geht es bei beiden Texten nicht. Im griechischen Fragment scheint die Lesung erschwert, wo es um die Hauptsache geht, nämlich die Bitte der Gerechten um die Freigabe von Sündern aus der Höllenqual: Statt ὃν ἐὰν <αἰ>τήσονται με liest James ΘΕΟΝ ΕΑΝ CΤΕΩΝΤΑΙ ΜΕ (für ΘΕΟΝ *nomen sacrum*, also ΘΝ mit supralinearem Strich). James hat den Text zu ὃν ἐὰν <αἰτή>σονται με verbessert. Fast genau dieses aber liest Kraus aufgrund einer genaueren Einsichtnahme in das Papyrus (er identifiziert ΟΝ ΕΑΝ ΕΤΗΣΩΝΤΑΙ ΜΕ).²⁵ Aufgrund der noch zu besprechenden Parallelen in den Sibyllinischen Orakeln können wir sicher sein, dass man so konjizieren darf wie James und so lesen darf wie Kraus; außerdem ist **ዘሰክሉኝ** dem ὃν ἐὰν <αἰτή>σονται με wenigstens ähnlich; es wird auf *፩ ὃν αἰτήσονται με zurückgehen. Im Äthiopischen ist zudem **ጸገዩ** wohl inneräthiopische Verderbnis (es wird **ጸጋ** = »Gnade« zugrundeliegen), und bei der Namensform **አኔስለሰጃ** (wohl: *ʾAnêslaslejâ*) sind – ebenfalls inneräthiopisch – ein unnützes <s> und ein unnützes

²⁴ *Apoc. Pet.* (aeth) ist Teil einer pseudoklementinischen Komposition, die man herkömmlich in zwei Traktate aufteilt, vgl. R.W. Cowley, 'The Ethiopic Work which is Believed to Contain the Material of the Ancient Greek Apocalypse of Peter', *JTS* 36 (1985) 151–53. Die beiden Handschriften sind Paris, Bibl. Nat. de France, d'Abbadie 51,131r–157v, speziell 138r und Tanasee 35,46r–70v, speziell 50r–50v. Beide Handschriften konnte ich dank freundlicher Hilfe von Daniel Maier einsehen. In der Pariser Handschrift sind einige Wendungen des äthiopischen Textes von einem Korrektor interlinear nachgetragen; aufgrund der Handschrift vom Tanasee kann man schließen, dass diese Nachträge auf Einsichtnahme der Vorlage beruhen und nicht etwa sekundäre Lesarten darstellen. Der Pariser Text liegt zugrunde der Ausgabe von S. Grébaut, 'Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-Clémentine', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 12 (1907) 139–51; 285–97; 380–92; 13 (1908) 166–80; 314–20; 15 (1910) 198–214; 307–23; 425–39; zu unserem Text vgl. 15 (1910) 208. Eine deutsche Übersetzung des Materials zur *Petrusapokalypse* bietet ferner C.D.G. Müller, 'Offenbarung des Petrus', in W. Schneemelcher (Hg.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung. II. Band: Apostolisches, Apokalypsen und Verwandtes* (Tübingen, 1989⁵) 562–78; unser Text findet sich dort auf S. 575. Weiteres zu Text und Übersetzung von *Apoc. Pet.* (aeth) in Anm. 30.

²⁵ Vgl. Kraus, 'Petrus-Apokalypse', 51 (Text); 52–53 (Diskussion).

<l> dazwischengekommen, mit der Folge, dass eine äthiopischem Sprachempfinden weithin konforme Reduplikationsform entstand, die an den Kausativ fünfradikaliger Verba erinnert (vgl. etwa *ʾanqalqala*).²⁶ Die Grundform kann **አኔላላ** = *ʾEnēlesejâ* < EN ΗΛΥΣΙΩ gewesen sein; die Präposition *ἐν* hat man zum Namen gezogen und die Endung -ίω nach dem vorhergehenden **አካሪ** (*ʾAkroseja*) umgeformt; zu beachten ist, dass <ej> in der traditionellen Aussprache des Äthiopischen oft als /i/ oder /i/ zu realisieren ist.²⁷ Auf Verderbnis schon in der griechischen Vorlage des Äthiopen wird zurückgehen, wenn aus der Gewährung einer Freigabe von Sündern und deren anschließende Taufe die Gewährung von Taufe für die Christen geworden ist: Wahrscheinlich liegt dem äthiopischen Text **παρέξομαι τοῖς κλητοῖς μου καὶ ἐκλέκτοις μου ὃ ἐὰν αἰτήσωνται με βάπτισμα* zugrunde, das aus **παρέξομαι τοῖς κλητοῖς μου καὶ ἐκλέκτοις μου ὃν ἐὰν <αἰ>τήσωνται με ἐκ τῆς κολάσεως, καὶ δώσω αὐτοῖς καλὸν βάπτισμα* verkürzt wurde: Es dürfte zuerst das Relativpronomen ὃν zu ὃ geworden sein (begünstigt durch den Schwund des auslautenden /n/ in der Aussprache).²⁸ Dann wird jemand ἐκ τῆς κολάσεως, καὶ δώσω αὐτοῖς gestrichen haben, weil ihm καὶ δώσω αὐτοῖς als Doppelung zu παρέξομαι erschien und ἐκ τῆς κολάσεως wegen einer Verlesung des Relativpronomens (ὃ statt ὃν) unverständlich geworden war; καλὸν wird irgendwie anders entfallen sein.

Bei aller Unsicherheit der Überlieferung wird man konstatieren dürfen: In der *Apokalypse des Petrus* werden nicht wie in der *Paulus-apokalypse* reuige Sünder im Acherusischen See getauft und dann an den Ort der Seligen verbracht, sondern Sünder, die sich die Berufenen und Erwählten, also die Seligen, aus den Höllenqualen erbeten. Wir können ahnen, wie man auf eine solche Idee kommen kann: Bei Plato kommen schlimme Übeltäter, die am Acherusischen See vorbeitreiben, um wieder vom Tartarus aufgesogen zu werden, an einen besseren Ort,

²⁶ Zu den fünfradikaligen Verben im Äthiopischen vgl. J. Tropper, *Alt-äthiopisch. Grammatik des Ge'ez mit Übungstexten und Glossar* (Münster, 2002) § 44.8 = S. 134–35.

²⁷ Vgl. hierzu E. Mittwoch, *Die traditionelle Aussprache des Äthiopischen* (Berlin, 1926) 16.

²⁸ Zum Schwund des auslautenden /n/ in der Koinê vgl. K. Dieterich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache von der hellenistischen Zeit bis zum 10. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Leipzig, 1898) 88–91.

wenn es den Menschen im Acherusischen See gefällt, die von ihnen geschädigt wurden (vgl. § 2). Zudem gilt der Acherusische See Plato als ein Reinigungsort (ebenda). Aus den Verstorbenen im Acherusischen See, die über das Schicksal ihrer Mitmenschen entscheiden, sind in der *Apoc. Pet.* Christen geworden, und aus dem Reinigungsort hat man ein Taufbad gemacht. Festzuhalten ist, dass in der *Petrusapokalypse* kaum deutlich wird, wie sich elysisches Feld und acherusischer See zueinander verhalten. Dass der Acherusische See als Trenner fungiert, also zwischen dem Ort der Seligen und unserer Welt liegt, tritt in der *Paulusapokalypse* klarer hervor als hier.

Wie ist unser Motiv in der *Apoc. Pet.* kontextualisiert? Diese Frage zu beantworten fällt nicht leicht, denn die *Apoc. Pet.* ist uns nicht wirklich mehr zuhänden, indem die Textzeugen ein nur undeutliches Bild ihrer ursprünglichen Textgestalt bieten, auch was den Aufbau des Textes betrifft: Uns ist, von Kirchenvätertestimonien abgesehen, vor allem ein ziemlich umfänglicher, aber nicht vollständiger griechischer Text aus Akhmîm sowie der hier erörterte Papyrus und der äthiopische Text erhalten.²⁹ Die griechischen Texte sind fragmentarisch, und der äthiopische Text ist Teil einer pseudoklementinischen Komposition, in der mit Kürzungen, Erweiterungen und Umstellungen zu rechnen ist.³⁰

²⁹ Zu dem Text aus Akhmîm und den Kirchenvätertestimonien vgl. E. Klostermann, *Apocrypha I. Reste des Petrusevangeliums, der Petrus-Apokalypse und des Kerygma Petri* (Bonn, 1908) 8–13 sowie T.J. Kraus und T. Nicklas (Hg.), *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse* (Berlin 2004) 87–130.

³⁰ Zum äthiopischen Text vgl. Anm. 24. Hier ist nachzutragen: Das Konvolut bei Grébaut besteht aus zwei pseudoklementinischen Traktaten. Der erste hat als Superscriptio ጳጳሳ : ምጽኢት : ለክርስቶስ : ውትንግኤ : ምወታን ። ዘነገሮ : ለጲጥሮስ : እለ : ይመውቱ : በእንተ : ኃጢአቶሙ : እስመ : ኢዓቀቡ : ትእዛዞ : ለእግዚአብሔር : ፈጠሪሆሙ («Zweite Ankunft Christi und Auferstehung der Toten, die er Petrus mitteilte, welche sterben wegen ihrer Sünden, weil sie nicht das Gebot des Herrn, ihres Schöpfers, eingehalten haben»); er entstammt Paris, Abb. 51, 131r–146v und wird von Grébaut mit französischer Übersetzung veröffentlicht in *ROC* 15 (1910) 198–214; 307–23; 425–39. Der zweite hat die Superscriptio ነገረ : ምስጢር : ክቡር : ወስውር : ወተኅሥዋቱ : ለዝንቱ : ነገር : በእንተ : ኩነኔ : ኃጥኣን : ወሐተቶ : ጲጥሮስ : ለእግዚእነ : በእንተ : ምሕረተ : አዳም («Herrliches und geheimes Mysterienwort und Erforschung dieses Wortes über das Gericht der Sünder; und Petrus befragte unseren Herrn wegen des Erbarmens für Adam»); es entstammt Paris, Abb. 51, 146v–157v und wird von Grébaut mit französischer Übersetzung veröffentlicht in *ROC* 12 (1907) 285–97; 380–92; 13

Eingehend kann die Rekonstruktion der *Apoc. Pet.* hier nicht diskutiert werden, aber es wird postuliert werden dürfen, dass unser Motiv mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit ziemlich prominent platziert war, nämlich kurz vor dem Ende der *Apokalypse*: Im Wiener Papyrus folgen auf die Nachricht vom Acherusischen See vier Zeilen, die eine Sendung Petri durch Jesus andeuten³¹; die äthiopischen Parallele hat dafür an analoger Stelle einen Missionsbefehl.³² Dieser passt recht gut als Abschluss der gesamten *Apokalypse*, so dass die Tradition von der Fürbitte der Gerechten und der Taufe von Sündern im Acherusischen See das letzte wäre, was Jesus Petrus an Wissen für seine Sendung mitgegeben hätte. Passend dazu steht eine solche Tradition auch am Ende der Weissagung über Weltgericht und Jenseitsergehen in *Or Sib II*, wie wir im nächsten Abschnitt sehen werden.

Die *Apoc. Pet.* bestand wohl aus folgenden Teilen: **I.** Einer aus der synoptischen Apokalypse bei Mt / Mk / Lk herausgewickelten Weissagung von Pseudomessiasen bzw. vom Antichristen; **II.** Einer Schau von Mose und Elia in ihrer verklärten Gestalt, ausgehend von der Verklärungsszene in den synoptischen Evangelien; **III.** Einer Schau des künftigen Lebens der Erlösten;

(1908) 166–80; 314–20. Die beiden Traktate erscheinen bei Grébaut also in umgekehrter Reihenfolge. Material, das ausweislich anderer Textzeugen der *Petrusapokalypse* entstammen kann (ohne dass Veränderungen auszuschließen wären), findet sich nur im ersten Teil des ersten Traktats, nämlich in Paris, Abb. 51, 131r–137r, bei Grébaut *ROC* 12 (1907) 285–97; 307–9 (äthiopisch); 316–17 (französisch). Formal ist es gekennzeichnet als Offenbarung Jesu an Petrus und die Jünger, während nachfolgend Clemens Belehrungen des Petrus empfängt (die freilich in starkem Maße Jesus-Offenbarungen weitergeben). Dieser zweite Teil des ersten Traktats überlappt sich stark mit dem zweiten Traktat und läuft wie dieser darauf hinaus, dass es eine Erlösung von der Hölle für diejenigen gebe, die am Leib und Blut des Herrn teilgehabt hätten (keineswegs für alle; etwas wie Allversöhnung ist nicht im Blick, so sehr die Aussage grundlegend ist, dass Gott Adam nicht zum Verderben erschaffen habe); diese Botschaft sei aber nur Auserwählten mitzuteilen und ansonsten geheim zu halten, weil sonst zu viel gesündigt würde. Im vorliegenden Band übersetzt Eric Beck aus dem ersten Traktat den pseudoklementinischen Rahmentext zur Petrusapokalypse ins Englische; Daniel Maier nimmt eine Analyse dieses Textes vor. Zu vergleichen ist auch der Beitrag von Ted Erho in diesem Band.

³¹ Vgl. Folio 2 recto, Zeilen 8–12 im Papyrus bei Kraus, ‘Petrus-Apokalypse’, 53–54.

³² Vgl. Paris, Abb. 51, 136r–v bei Grébaut, ‘Littérature’, *ROC* 15, 208.

IV. Einer Schau der zukünftigen Höllenqualen; V. Einer Zusage, die Fürbitte der Erlösten für Sünder betreffend; VI. Einem Missionsbefehl.

§ I ist nur im Äthiopen bezeugt, § II–IV im Zeugen von Akhmîm und beim Äthiopen, § V–VI beim Äthiopen und im Papyrusfragment von Oxford / Wien (das Oxforder Fragment deckt zusätzlich Passagen von § IV ab). § II–III sind beim Äthiopen hinter § IV–VI gestellt. Sie dürften ursprünglich wie im Akhmîm-Fragment ihnen vorausgegangen sein, denn das Akhmîm-Fragment wird einerseits durch den Befund im Oxforder / Wiener Papyrus gestützt und zum anderen lässt sich für die Umstellung im Äthiopischen ein Motiv benennen: § II–III handeln von den Seligen und ihrem Schicksal, und damit sollte das Werk abschließen.

3.5. Sibyllinische Orakel, *Buch II*

Was in der Überlieferung zur *Petrusapokalypse* verschüttet erscheint, uns nur noch durch einen zufälligen Papyrusfund einigermaßen erkennbar ist, tritt in aller Deutlichkeit zutage am Ende des zweiten Buches der *Oracula Sibyllina* (*Or Sib* II,330–338).³³ In diesem Buch, das fast durchweg den Themen Weltende, Totenauf resurrection, Totengericht, postmortales Ergehen von Seligen und Verdammten gewidmet ist (mit unklarer Abgrenzung zum ersten Buch), gibt die Sibylle gegen Ende, vor abschließenden Worten der Klage, ihrem Publikum zu verstehen, dass »der allherrsche, unvergäglich Gott« (ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεὸς ἄφθιτος) »den Frommen« (τοῖς ... εὐσεβέσιν) »Menschen zu retten aus dem gewaltigen Feuer und dem unsterblichen Zähneknirschen gewähren w[e]rd[e]« (ἐκ μαλεροῦ πυρὸς καὶ ἀθανάτων ἀπὸ βρυγμῶν / ἀνθρώπους σῶσαι δῶσει), wenn sie ihn, den unsterblichen Gott, nur bäten (ὅποτεν θεὸν ἄφθιτον αἰτησῶνται). Er nehme sie dann »um seines Volkes willen« (διὰ λαὸν ἑαυτοῦ) aus der unermüdlchen Flamme heraus und versetze sie »in ein anderes Leben« (εἰς ζωὴν ἑτέραν) zu den Unsterblichen »auf dem elysischen Feld« (ἐν Ἥλυσίῳ πεδίῳ), »wo sich die großen Wellen des ewig fließenden und tiefgründigen Acherusischen Sees befänden« (ὅθι οἱ πέλε κύματα μακρὰ λίμνης ἀενάου Ἀχερουσιάδος βαθυκόλπου). Die Sibylle vereint hier wie gewohnt homerische Morphematik, Sprachfärbung und Metrik mit durchaus biblischem Vokabular; in christlichen Dingen erweist sie sich als kundig. Um beides zu zeigen, habe ich sie etwas ausführlicher zu Wort kommen lassen. Anklänge an die

³³ Vgl. J. Geffcken (Hg.), *Die Oracula Sibyllina* (Leipzig, 1902) 44.

Petrusapokalypse lassen sich kaum verkennen: Man vergleiche vor allem ὁπόταν θεὸν ἄφθιτον αἰτησῶνται hier und ὃν ἐὰν <αἰτή>σῶνται με im Wiener Papyrus. Auch wird man konstatieren können, dass die Sibylle, was die Geographie betrifft, in etwa genauso schwammig bleibt wie Petrus: Acherusischer See und elysisches Feld sind alles andere als klar miteinander korreliert. Es fehlt das Motiv der Taufe im Acherusischen See; vielleicht ließ es sich nicht in Verse bringen. Wie die Texte genauer aufeinander zu beziehen sind, kann ich hier nicht näher erörtern.³⁴ Auf jeden Fall stützt der eine Text den anderen: Sowohl Petrus als auch die Sibylle kennen und schätzen eine Fürbitte der Frommen für Menschen, die sich in der Verdammnis befinden.

Nicht immer freilich ist die Sibylle bei ihrem Urteil geblieben. In der Handschriftengruppe Ψ sieht sie sich zu einer Retractatio genötigt³⁵; wenn ich den Apparat bei Geffcken richtig verstehe (dort S. 45), dann gibt sie ganz am Ende des Buches die folgenden Verse von sich:

»Ganz offensichtlich Lüge: Niemals hört das
Feuergericht für die Verdammten auf.
Ich wollte ja, es wäre so, von Narben
Schwerster Verirrungen gezeichnet, dass ich
Zu sehr in Menschenfreundlichkeit mich übe.
Es schäme sich Origenes, der plaudert,
Dass es ein Ende gebe aller Strafen.«

Bei den origenistischen Streitigkeiten scheint diese – spät zur Besinnung gekommene – Sibylle ganz Partei. Fraglich ist nur, wie zielgenau sie in ihrer Stellungnahme ist: Propagieren *Or Sib* II,230–238 mit der Parallele in der *Petrusapokalypse* wirklich ein Ende der Höllenstrafen? Ilaria Ramelli scheint es zu glauben; sie ordnet die *Petrusapokalypse* einer Vorgeschichte des Gedankens der ἀποκατάσις πάντων zu

³⁴ Vgl. Peterson, 'Taufe', 2–3; T.J. Kraus, 'Fürbitte für die Toten im frühen Christentum. »Ich werde ... den gewähren, den sie aus der Strafe erbitten«', in H. Klein et al. (Hg.), *Das Gebet im Neuen Testament* (Tübingen, 2009) 355–96, speziell 374–76. Siehe hierzu ebenfalls den Beitrag zu der Thematik von Jan Bremmer in dem vorliegenden Band.

³⁵ Vgl. hierzu Kraus, 'Fürbitte', 371–72.

(der für sie unter anderem Bardaisanes zugehört).³⁶ Inwieweit das im Ganzen stimmt, wird anderswo zu erörtern sein; ich kann mich hier beschränken auf ein Caveat bezüglich der hier erörterten Texte der *Petrusapokalypse* und der – noch nicht zur Besinnung gekommenen – Sibylle zum Acherusischen See: Sie scheinen mir weniger ein Ende aller Höllenplagen zu behaupten als vielmehr ein Interesse der Frommen an einer Fürbitte für die Gerechten anzudeuten.³⁷ Dieses Motiv ist durchaus typisch, wo es um Hölle und ewiges Verderben geht, und zwar schon in jüdischen Traditionen: Im *Testament Abrahams* verhält sich der Protagonist zwar anfangs intransigent gegenüber Sündern (vgl. *Test Abr A* 10), aber am Ende betet er mit Michael zusammen für eine Seele, die nicht eindeutig gut und nicht eindeutig böse ist (*Test Abr A* 14,1–9). In der *Apokalypse Sedrachs* gibt der fromme Sedrach – es war wohl ursprünglich einmal Esra – keine Ruhe angesichts des Schicksals der Sünder.³⁸ Im *vierten Esra* erscheint Esra durchweg mehr um Nachsicht für die Sünder bemüht, als es dem Engel Uriel und mit ihm Gott recht ist. Paulus erbittet zusammen mit Michael und den Engeln in der *Paulusapokalypse* für die Sünder einen straf-freien Sonntag (*Apoc. Paul* 42–44); dies leistet auch Maria in der äthiopischen *Marienapokalypse*, vgl. *Apc Mariae* (aeth) Ms. A 30v–31r³⁹; einen straffreien Sabbat erwirkt Königin Sabbat in *Teezâza Sanbat*, dem vielleicht wichtigsten Parabiblicum der Falascha.⁴⁰ Man mag geneigt sein, die Rede von der Hölle und der ewigen Strafe für frommen Sadismus zu halten, aber dem steht der hier angedeutete Befund entgegen: Eher scheint es so, als sei Strafe und Hölle für die Frommen einfach eine Tatsache, mit der ihre Menschenfreundlichkeit irgendwie

³⁶ Vgl. I.L.E. Ramelli, 'Origen, Bardaisan, and the Origin of Universal Salvation', *HTR* 102 (2009) 135–68.

³⁷ Zu diesem Motiv vgl. Kraus, 'Fürbitte', passim.

³⁸ Zur *Apc Sedrach*, die in der Forschung kaum eine Rolle spielt, vgl. den Text bei O. Wahl (Hg.), *Apocalypsis Esdrae – Apocalypsis Sedrach – Visio Beati Esdrae* (Leiden, 1977) und als eine der wenigen Studien J. Dochhorn, 'The Apocalypse of Sedrach', in J.N. Bremmer, V. Hirschberger und T. Nicklas (Hg.), *Figures of Ezra* (Leuven, 2018) 205–25.

³⁹ Vgl. M. Chaine, *Apocrypha de Beata Maria Virgine* (Leuven, 1909) 80.

⁴⁰ Zu *Teezâza Sanbat* vgl. den Text und die französische Übersetzung bei J. Halévy, *Tē'ēzâza Sanbat. Commandements du Sabbat. Accompagné de six autres écrits pseudo-épigraphes admis par les Falachas ou Juifs d'Abyssinie* (Paris, 1902) 1–40; 134–64.

umzugehen versucht – im Sinne der Linderung, während Gott eher für das Realitätsprinzip steht: Es »ist nun einmal so« mit der Hölle, muss auch so sein; dafür steht der gerechte Gott, während seine Frommen damit nur schwer fertig werden.

3.6. *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6

3.6.1. Einleitung

Vom Acherusischen See ist auch in der *Apokalypse des Mose* und in der von ihr abhängigen *Vita Adae et Evae* die Rede: Adam wird nach seinem Tode im Rahmen eines liturgischen Aktes Gottes Vergebung zuteil (*Apc Mos* 33,2–37,2); ein Seraph wäscht ihn dreimal im Acherusischen See (37,3–4a), woraufhin Gott Adam in die Hand nimmt und ihn dem Erzengel Michael übergibt, damit dieser ihn in das Paradies im dritten Himmel verbringe (37,4b–6). Dieser Beleg bedarf in besonderem Maße der Erörterung: Es muss geklärt werden, ob er jüdischer Provenienz ist oder aber christlicher; ist er jüdisch, so müsste schon für Juden im Acherusischen See etwas haben stattfinden können, das einer Taufe im Acherusischen See mindestens ähnlich sieht. In der Tat ist dies meines Erachtens der Fall, und zwar eindeutig. Dies begründe ich hier vorweg in drei Schritten, einer etwas tiefergehenden Analyse des Textes vorausgreifend und zugleich mit dem Ziel, über die *Apokalypse des Mose* und die *Vita Adae et Evae* Orientierung zu vermitteln:

1. Die *Apokalypse des Mose* ist eine jüdische Schrift⁴¹ und ebenso die *Vit Ad*, die im Wesentlichen eine revidierte Fassung der *Apc Mos* darstellt, eine Ausgabe letzter Hand der im Entstehungsmilieu der *Apc Mos* und der *Vit Ad* entstandenen Adamserzählung.⁴² Beide Texte entwickeln durchgehend in griechischer Sprache aufgrund von Beobachtungen am hebräischen Bibeltext (speziell zu Gen 3) Erzählungen über Adam und Eva mit einer an rabbinische Haggada gemahnenden Methodik⁴³; passend dazu gibt es zu ihnen rabbinische Parallelen, die auf die exoterische Kommunikation des der *Apc*

⁴¹ Dies weise ich im Einzelnen nach in Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*.

⁴² Vgl. hierzu Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 34–62 (*Vit Ad* gehört zu der von Subarchetyp *Ia der *Apc Mos* ausgehenden Textfamilie und ist damit abhängig von der *Apc Mos*); 139–48 (*Vit Ad* gehört demselben Milieu an wie die *Apc Mos*).

⁴³ Vgl. Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 139–48.

Mos und der *Vit Ad* zugrundeliegenden Schulbetriebes zurückgehen.⁴⁴ Paulus ist von der *Apc Mos* (nicht von der *Vit Ad*) abhängig⁴⁵; eindeutig lässt sich bei den zahlreichen Parallelen zwischen Paulus und der *Apc Mos* ein Traditionsgefälle von der *Apc Mos* zu Paulus feststellen.⁴⁶ Der literarische Prozess im Entstehungsmilieu der *Apc Mos* und der *Vit Ad*, die ich unter dem Begriff Adamdiegesen zusammenfasse, verlief folgendermaßen: Zur Zeit Herodes des Großen wurde ein *Testament Evas* erstellt, dem *Apc Mos* 15–30 und 33,2–37,6 entstammen; es wurde von der Adamdiegesen-Schule nicht veröffentlicht. Um die Zeitenwende war die *Apc Mos* im Wesentlichen abgeschlossen; von ihr hängt die vor dem Ende der Herrschaft des Archelaos verfasste *Assumptio Mosis* ab.⁴⁷ An der *Apc Mos* wurde indes bis in die Zeit des Jerusalemaufenthaltes von Paulus hinein weitergearbeitet, indem zuerst der Grundtext durch Glossen zu dem erweitert wurde, was wir als Archetyp rekonstruieren können, und dann der Archetyp weiter glossiert wurde – mit Subrezension *Ia als Ergebnis. Zur Zeit der Wirksamkeit Johannes des Tüfers oder kurz danach wurde dann – basierend auf dem Subarchetypen *Ia der *Apc Mos* – die *Vit Ad* erstellt⁴⁸ (sie lässt Adam

⁴⁴ Vgl. J. Doehhorn, *Der Adammythos bei Paulus und im hellenistischen Judentum Jerusalems. Eine theologische und religionsgeschichtliche Studie zu Römer 7,7–25* (Tübingen, 2021) 316.

⁴⁵ Vgl. Doehhorn, *Adammythos*, 515.

⁴⁶ Vgl. Doehhorn, *Adammythos*, 320–54 (Rezeption der *Apc Mos* in Röm 2,14–15; 3,23; 5,12–21; 8,20; 8,33–34; 2 Kor 11,4); 354–62 (sieben weitere Spuren einer Benutzung der *Apc Mos* durch Paulus, speziell in 1 Kor 15,4); 362–65 (Paulus hatte in Jerusalem Kontakt mit dem Entstehungsmilieu der *Apc Mos*); 312–17 (Röm 7,7–25 basiert auf der Erzählung Evas vom Paradiesgeschehen in *Apc Mos* 15–30); 367–84 (es wird aufgezeigt, wie Paulus *Apc Mos* 15–30 in Röm 7,7–25 transformiert hat). Bei den paulinischen Belegen zu einer Rezeption der *Apc Mos* ist zu beachten, dass Röm 8,33–34 und 1 Kor 15,4 eine vorpaulinisch-frühchristliche Rezeption der *Apc Mos* widerspiegeln. Zur Benutzung der *Apc Mos* bei Paulus vgl. auch J.R. Levison, ‘Adam and Eve in Romans 1,18–25 and the Greek Life of Adam and Eve’, *NTS* 50 (2004) 519–34.

⁴⁷ Zur Abhängigkeit der *Ass Mos* von der *Apc Mos* vgl. Doehhorn, *Adammythos*, 362–65.

⁴⁸ Vgl. das Szenario zur Entstehung von *Test Eva*, *Apc Mos* und *Vit Ad* (mit Glossierungen zwischen diesen drei Hauptstadien des evolutiven Prozesses) bei Doehhorn, *Adammythos*, 283–89.

im Jordan büßen, was wohl als Reminiszenz an den ausweislich des Josephus und der Evangelien sehr populären Täufer zu verstehen ist; vgl. *Vit Ad* 6–10; 17,3; 20,1).⁴⁹ Die *Vit Ad* ist im Wesentlichen identisch mit der *Apc Mos*, nur dass sie vorne durch *Vit Ad* 1–21 erweitert wurde und nicht mehr auf eine Offenbarung an Mose zurückgeführt wird. Ihr zu *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 paralleler Text (*Vit Ad* 63,2–67,6) wird hier nicht weiter behandelt, da er dem der *Apc Mos* weitgehend geglichen haben dürfte⁵⁰; er ist auf Griechisch nicht mehr greifbar, wohl aber – oft stark verändert – in lateinischer, armenischer und georgischer Überlieferung⁵¹, ebenso in koptischer Überlieferung, wo er durch wenige Fragmente und eine durchaus passable Sekundärüberlieferung bezeugt ist.⁵²

2. Die Episode von der dreimaligen Waschung Adams im Acherusischen See (*Apc Mos* 37,3–4a) ist keine christliche Interpolation, denn sie lässt sich, wie ich in meiner Monographie zur *Apc Mos* gezeigt habe und unten weiter auszuführen ist, als konstitutiver Teil von *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 erweisen, und zwar wie auch sonst in der *Apc Mos* dadurch, dass sie auf exegetische Beobachtungen an hebräischer Bibelüberlieferung zurückgeführt werden kann; sie ist also erklärbar als Produkt bibelphilologisch arbeitender haggadischer Phantasie.⁵³
3. Religionsgeschichtlich ist demnach *Apc Mos* 37,3–4a nicht von Christlichem herzuleiten, sondern liegt diesem eher zugrunde. Dieser Text gehört zur Vorgeschichte der Johannaufsteige, der christlichen Taufe und mehrerer christlicher Überlieferungen von der

⁴⁹ Vgl. hierzu Dochhorn, *Adammythos*, 526–29.

⁵⁰ Der textkritischen Dokumentation zu *Apc Mos* 37,3–4 bei Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 464 lassen sich keine Abweichungen der *Vit Ad* vom ursprünglichen Text der *Apc Mos* entnehmen (es ist dort die *Vit Ad* in allen Versionen berücksichtigt, da diese von *Apc Mos* nach Subarchetyp * Ia deriviert und somit ein Textzeuge der *Apc Mos* ist).

⁵¹ Zur Überlieferung der *Vit Ad* vgl. Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 38–60. *Vit Ad* (arm.georg.lat) werden synoptisch präsentiert bei J.-P. Petto-relli Adiuante et Opus Perficiente J.-D. Kaestli, *Vita Latina Adae et Evae*; A. Frey et al. (Hg.), *Synopsis Vitae Adae et Evae. Latine, Graece, Armeniace et Iberice* (Turnhout, 2012) II, 743–905.

⁵² Zur *Vit Ad* (kopt) vgl. Anm. 96.

⁵³ Zur Interpretation und zu den exegetischen Hintergründen von *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 vgl. Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 465–504.

Taufe im Acherusischen See; letzteres war in den vorhergehenden Abschnitten schon mehrfach angedeutet worden.

3.6.2. Die Erzählung in *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6

Was ist das näherhin für eine Szenerie, in der eine Waschung Adams im Acherusischen See stattfindet? Erzählt wird, was sich unmittelbar nach Adams Tod ereignet, und was wir da vorgeführt bekommen, ist eine der umfassendsten Thronwagen-Epiphanyen der frühjüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur. Sie wurde ursprünglich von Eva erzählt, als *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 noch zum *Test Eva* gehörte; Spuren, aufgrund derer man auf eine Vorgeschichte von *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 schließen kann, haben sich, wie wir nachfolgend sehen werden, im Text erhalten.

Zu Beginn sieht Eva einen Lichtwagen, gezogen von vier Adlern, aus dem Himmel kommen (33,2). Der Wagen bleibt stehen, wo der Leichnam Adams liegt; die Seraphim positionieren sich zwischen dem Wagen und Adam (33,3). Dann sieht Eva ein von Engeln dargebrachtes Räucheropfer, dessen Rauch die sieben Himmelsfesten bedeckt (33,4). Nebenbei nehmen wir zur Kenntnis, dass *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 eine Sieben-Himmel-Kosmologie voraussetzt (vgl. *Test Levi* 3; *Asc Isa* 6–11). Zum Instrumentarium des Räucheropfers gehören drei Schalen. Warum es drei sein müssen, erfahren wir nicht, aber es wird sich zeigen, dass in *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 immer wieder Dreiheit eine Rolle spielt, und das beginnt hier. Der zum Räucheropfer gehörige Altar ist übrigens einfach da, ohne vorher eingeführt worden zu sein, womit sich der Exzerpt-Charakter unseres Stückes zu erkennen gibt. Während des Räucheropfers bitten die Engel Gott, er möge Adam als seinem Ebenbild und Händewerk verzeihen (33,5). Das Wort für »verzeihen« ist συγχωρεῖν; es hatte in 27,3 mit Hinblick auf die Gebotsübertretung Adams im Paradies Verwendung gefunden (damals hatte Adam Gott vergeblich um Verzeihung gebeten). Wir haben hier eines der Momente vorliegen, die *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 näher mit *Apc Mos* 15–30 verbinden (beide Texte gehörten, wie bereits mitgeteilt, ursprünglich zum *Test Eva*).⁵⁴ Vor allem aber wird mit dieser Junktur gesichert, dass es die Gebotsübertretung im Paradies ist, was hier als Anlass für die Begnadigungs-Zeremonie zu gelten hat.

⁵⁴ Zur Herkunft von *Apc Mos* 15–30 und 33,2–37,6 aus dem *Test Eva* vgl. Doehrn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 468–70.

Nachfolgend sieht Eva, hier partiell aus der Ich-Perspektive berichtend⁵⁵, das Geschehen etwas mehr im Detail (34,1–36,3), wobei ein Moment besonders hervorgehoben wird und den Rahmen des gesamten Abschnittes bildet: Sonne und Mond sind angesichts des Lichtglanzes, der Gott als den Vater des Lichtes umgibt, dunkelhäutig wie Äthiopen (34,1; 35,4–36,3). Nicht der Vater des Lichtes ist so hell (er ist unsichtbar: 35,3), sondern seine Umgebung. Adler, Sonne und Mond als Äthiopen, der Lichtglanz um Gott, ein Wagen, auf dem Gott Platz nimmt: Wir haben hier eine Konstellation, die solarmythologische Hintergründe vermuten lässt (Adler sind Sonnentiere, die Sonne hat herkömmlich einen Wagen).⁵⁶ Der *Apokalypse des Mose* ist in besonderem Maße anzusehen, dass den Traditionen vom Thronwagenwerk und von dem Licht als Umgebung oder gar Wesenseigenschaft Gottes ein Bezug zur Sonnenreligion eignet (mit Tendenzen zur Abgrenzung und Überbietung), was den Gott Israels wiederum in die Nähe nicht tellurischer, sondern uranischer Gottheiten rückt.⁵⁷

Zu dem, was Eva genauer an der Szenerie wahrnimmt, gehört vor allem ein liturgisches Geschehen: Adams Leib (σῶμα) liegt mit dem Gesicht auf dem Boden, und die Engel beten mit ihm für ihn (35,2: καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι μετ' αὐτοῦ εὐχόμενοι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ), womit die besondere Positionierung Adams als ein Gebet zu verstehen ist, als eine mit der Engelfürbitte parallelegehende Bitte um Verzeihung. Die Gebetshaltung der Engel wird nicht in letzter Deutlichkeit gezeichnet, aber in *Apc Mos* 37,1 erfahren wir dann, dass sie auf ihrem Antlitz gelegen haben, also genauso wie Adam dalag bei ihrem Gebet. Was Adam betrifft, hat es den Anschein, dass er als Leiche betet bzw. als ein Körperwesen, das kürzlich verstorben ist und dementsprechend nun liegt. Die Engel eignen sich Adams Leichen-Lage mit ihrer Gebetshaltung solidarisch an. Eva fragt in

⁵⁵ Wir haben hier eines der Momente, das *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 als älteres Quellenstück ausweist, vgl. Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 467–68.

⁵⁶ Zu solarer Motivik in *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 und ihren Parallelen vgl. Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 474; 483–85.

⁵⁷ Ein uranisch und übrigens auch männlich bestimmtes Religionssystem ist nicht untypisch; Grundzüge eines entsprechenden Pantheons rekonstruiert für die Indogermanen T.V. Gamkrelidze, 'On the Structure of the Ancient Indo-European Pantheon', *General Linguistics* 41 (2001) 134–46.

dieser Situation, ob Adam in die Hände des unsichtbaren Gottes gegeben werde (35,3). Sie richtet diese Frage an Seth, der während des Geschehens als Visionsinterpret zugegen ist: Die Erzählerin ist privilegiert als Sehende, aber nicht als Wissende; in Letzterem ist ihr Sohn besser, ohne dass in dieser Szene erklärt würde, warum das der Fall ist.⁵⁸

Während nun Seth gerade seiner Mutter erklärt, warum Sonne und Mond aussehen wie Äthiopen, ereignet sich die entscheidende Wende, und die sehen wir als Leser nicht: »Der Engel« (ὁ ἄγγελος) trompetet (37,1); »der Engel« ist vermutlich Michael, denn dieser ist es, der in *Apc Mos* 22,1 trompetet⁵⁹; ein Wissen darum, dass Michael der aus dem Alten Testament bekannte Engel des Herrn ist (מִלְאָךְ הַהוּה), kann hier vorausgesetzt sein.⁶⁰ Er verkündet den Engeln, die sich nun erheben (37,1), dass Gott sich Adams als seines Händewerks

⁵⁸ Seth ist gegenüber Eva auch in *Apc Mos* 10–12 privilegiert: Anders als Eva ist er dort Ebenbild Gottes und übt dementsprechend Vollmacht gegenüber einem wilden Tier aus. Der Text gehört zur Endredaktion der *Apc Mos*, vgl. Doehhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 134–35. Als exklusiv Schauender begegnet Seth in *Apc Mos* 38,4, als vom Erzengel Michael Unterwiesener in 43,1–2.

⁵⁹ Michael wird in der *Apc Mos* oft erwähnt, vgl. *Apc Mos superscr.*; 3,2; 13,2; 22,1; 37,4.6; 38,1; 40,1.2; 43,1.2. Für ihn steht ὁ ἀρχάγγελος in *Apc Mos* 3,3; 22,2 und ὁ ἄγγελος in 14,1. In 32,3 begegnet »der Engel der Menschheit« (ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος), in 33,1 antonymisch aufgenommen als ὁ ἄγγελος. An diesen »Engel der Menschheit« kann – zumindest auf der endredaktionellen Ebene – auch in 37,1 zu denken sein, und da auf ihn mindestens in 33,1 mit ὁ ἄγγελος ähnlich referiert wird wie sonst auf Michael, wird der »Engel der Menschheit« wohl mit Michael identisch sein. Ist dies der Fall, so ergibt sich eine interessante Konstellation: Michael ist ansonsten der Engel des Volkes Israel (1 Hen 20,5; Dan 10,21; 12,1), während er in 32,3 offenbar für die ganze Menschheit steht. Dies entspricht einer universalistischen Tendenz in der Endredaktion der *Apc Mos*, vgl. 13,3–5; 37,6 und s.u. den Haupttext zu Anm. 61.

⁶⁰ Die Malʾak-Identität Michaels wirkt auch nach in Jud 9, wenn dort Michael eine Rolle innehat, die analog zu derjenigen des Malʾak in Sach 3 ist. Jud 9 entstammt laut Origenes der *Assumptio Mosis*, vgl. das Testimonium zur Ass Mos bei aus Origenes, *De Principiis* III,2,1 bei C. Clemen, *The Assumptio Mosis* (Cambridge, 1904) 15. Es ist unter anderem diesem Testimonium auch die bereits erwähnte Abhängigkeit der Ass Mos von der *Apc Mos* zu entnehmen. Beide Schriften stehen einander offenbar nahe, was sich auch in ihrer Michaelologie zeigt.

erbarmt hat (37,2: τὸ πλάσμα τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ Ἀδάμ). Adam als Händewerk Gottes – das erinnert an die Erschaffung Adams aus Staub (Gen 2,7); Adam scheint auch hier als Körperwesen wahrgenommen zu sein. Michael teilt die gute Botschaft mit in Gestalt einer Eulogie auf die Doxa des Herrn: (εὐλογημένη ἡ δόξα κυρίου ἀπὸ τῶν ποιημάτων αὐτοῦ κτλ.). Die entscheidende Wende im liturgischen Geschehen manifestiert sich in einer Lobpreisung an die Doxa des Herrn; wer hier an die – ebenfalls liturgisch grundierte – Vision Jesajas von der Herrlichkeit des Herrn im Tempel denkt (Jes 6), der liegt, wie noch zu zeigen wird, nicht ganz falsch.

Was anschließend geschieht, ist Folgewirkung des göttlichen Erbarmens und zugleich der Perspektivpunkt des Ganzen in 33,2–37,6 erzählten Vorgangs: Adam erfährt das Erbarmen Gottes leibhaftig, indem Gott höchstselbst ihn in seine Hand nimmt, und wird danach ins Paradies verbracht (37,3–6). Das *Procedere* ist im Einzelnen das Folgende: Einer der Seraphim entrückt Adam (ἤρπασεν τὸν Ἀδάμ; 37,3) und bringt ihn in den Acherusischen See, wo er ihn dreimal abwäscht (ἀπέλουσεν αὐτὸν τρίτον; 37,3), bevor er ihn vor Gott bringt (37,4). Der Acherusische See ist offenbar weiter entfernt, sonst wäre keine Entrückung erforderlich, aber seiner Funktion nach ist er ein Zwischending: Adam muss zuerst von einem Seraphen in ihm gewaschen werden, ehe er vor Gott liegen kann. Auch vor Gott hat er erst einmal drei Stunden liegend zu warten (37,4a), und erst dann streckt der Vater des Alls, sitzend auf seinem Thron, seine Hand aus, nimmt Adam und übergibt ihn Michael (37,4b) mit der Anweisung, er solle Adam in das Paradies im dritten Himmel bringen, damit er dort bleibe bis zum Tage des Endgerichts (37,5), was Michael dann auch tut (37,6a). Ob Adam jetzt lebt oder nicht, erfahren wir übrigens nicht; aus der vorhergehenden Szenerie konnten wir schließen, dass er beten kann, ob als Leiche oder eben doch nicht als Leiche, oder er betete als Leiche und ist jetzt keine Leiche mehr – wie auch immer, mit seiner Gottesbeziehung jedenfalls ist jetzt alles in Ordnung. Die Engel reagieren entsprechend mit einem Engelhymnus, voller Stauen »über die Begnadigung Adams« (ἐπὶ τῇ συγχωρήσει τοῦ Ἀδάμ; 37,6b). Nachklappartig erfahren wir, dass diese Begnadigung auch seine Nachkommen betrifft (37,6c). Wahrscheinlich liegt hier eine von der Endredaktion der *Apokalypse des Mose* eingefügte Glosse vor; der Nachklapp entspricht jedenfalls einem Trend zum Heilsuniversalismus, der bei endredaktionellen Texten der *Apc Mos* besonders

hervortritt⁶¹ und vermutlich auch Paulus in seiner Theologie der Heidenmission beeinflusst hat.⁶²

3.6.3. Exegetische Hintergründe

Warum kann hier solchermäßen über die Geschehnisse nach Adams Tod berichtet werden? Kann man einfach dergleichen über Adam erzählen, ohne dass die Heiligen Schriften dies nahelegen? Es hat sich für mich in meiner Arbeit zur *Apc Mos* und zur *Vit Ad* herausgestellt, dass hiermit die entscheidende Frage zu diesen Texten gestellt ist, die positiv gewendet folgendermaßen lautet: Wo ist der exegetische Anhaltspunkt für das hier Erzählte, wie kam man, erzählerische Phantasie eingerechnet, von Heiliger Schrift auf die vorliegende Haggada?

Nun, der biblischen Adamüberlieferung in Gen 1–5 nach scheint Adam eher unauffällig dahinzuscheiden: Gen 5,5 vermerkt, dass Adam nach 930 Lebensjahren verstarb; mehr erfahren wir nicht. Nach einem exegetischen Anhaltspunkt sieht das nicht aus, nur dass eben auch keine Beerdigung berichtet wird, womit einer Unterbringung Adams im Himmel, wie sie *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 erzählt, wenigstens dies nicht im Wege gestanden hat. Kann der Autor von *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 (bzw. des *Test Evas*) irgendwo anders als in Gen 1–5 einen Ansatzpunkt gefunden haben? Dies ist nicht auszuschließen; auch sonst haben sich die Erzähler-Exegeten, denen wir die Adamdiegesen verdanken, anderswo in Heiligen Schriften umgesehen – und dann außerhalb der Thora⁶³, worin sich vielleicht schon die aus dem Synagogengottesdienst bekannte Kombination von Thora- und Prophetenlesung niederschlägt.⁶⁴ Und in der Tat lässt sich als generativ für unsere Perikope ein haggadischer Erkenntnisprozess rekonstruieren, der außerhalb der Thora ansetzt, und zwar in dem, was man später die Propheten (Nebiim) genannt hat. Ich habe diesen Erkenntnisprozess

⁶¹ Vgl. hierzu Dochhorn, *Adammythos*, 270, 284–85 und oben Anm. 59.

⁶² Vgl. Dochhorn, *Adammythos*, 334.

⁶³ In *Apc Mos* 5,1–3 wird Ri 12,8–10 ausgewertet, vgl. Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 221–24, in *Apc Mos* 29,6 wird Hld 4,14 aufgenommen, vgl. ibidem 432–33, in *Apc Mos* 40,3–5 wird Ez 24,7–8 hebr. verarbeitet, vgl. ibidem 534–35.

⁶⁴ Zur Praxis der Prophetenlesung nach der Thora, den sogenannten Aphtarot / Haphtarot, vgl. I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Frankfurt, 1931, Nachdruck: 1995) 174–84.

ausführlich anderswo rekonstruiert⁶⁵; hier beschränke ich mich auf eine thetische Darstellung des Vorgangs in drei Schritten (die zuweilen über meine Vorarbeit hinausgeht):

1. Aus dem *Testament Hiobs* wusste man, dass fromme Menschen sterben und trotzdem postmortal weiterleben konnten wie Elia, also indem der Thronwagen kommt und den Betreffenden in den Himmel entrückt (vgl. 1 Kön 2,11–12 und dazu *Test Hiob* 52).⁶⁶ Das *Testament Hiobs* war zu einer solchen Lebens-Erwartung angeregt durch eine Notiz der Septuagintaüberlieferung am Ende des Hiobbuches, derzufolge Hiob teilhaben werde an der Auferstehung (vgl. *Test Hiob* 4,9 und Hiob 42,17a LXX). Angesichts dieses Wissens aus dem Hiobtestament ist es übrigens wahrscheinlich, dass man sich die Aufnahme Adams in den Himmel, wie in *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6, nicht als Aufnahme einer Leiche, sondern eines Lebenden vorzustellen hat, nur dass die Erzählung den Fokus nicht auf (postmortales) Leben legt, sondern auf die Gottesbeziehung der Leiche gleichermaßen wie des Lebenden. Abweichend freilich von *Test Hiob* 52, wo der Thronwagen kommt, um Hiobs Seele zu entrücken, während der Leichnam auf der Erde bestattet wird, sah *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 ursprünglich, als es noch Bestandteil des *Test Eva* war, die Aufnahme Adams in den Himmel als ein Körpergeschehen. Das *Test Eva* scheint die dichotomistische Anthropologie des *Test Hiob* nicht aufzunehmen; eine solche wird erst in der Endredaktion der *Apc Mos* relevant, die 33,2–37,6 als Aufstieg der Seele Adams liest (vgl. 13,6; 31,1.4; 32,4) und dann in 38–43 die Bestattung seines Leichnams erzählt. Wahrscheinlich waren die Verfasser des *Test Eva* hinsichtlich der Konzeptualisierung des Todes konservativ im Sinne einer monanthropologischen Konzeption vom Menschen, wozu vielleicht passt, dass sie anders als das *Test Hiob* nicht überwiegend mit der Septuaginta, sondern mit hebräischer Bibeltextüberlieferung arbeiteten. Dieses Moment muss umso mehr ins Auge fallen, als das Motiv vom Acherusischen See

⁶⁵ Vgl. Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 497–501.

⁶⁶ Das *Test Hiob* ist vor dem *Test Eva* unter Herodes dem Großen geschrieben worden. *Apc Mos* 15–30, ursprünglich, wie mitgeteilt, dem *Test Eva* angehörig, ist von ihm inspiriert, vgl. Dochhorn, *Adammythos*, 506–9. Das gleiche lässt sich über *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 sagen, das ja ebenfalls dem *Test Eva* entstammt.

- herkömmlich mit griechischer Seelenlehre assoziiert erscheint (vgl. § 2, v.a. zu Plato, und s.u.).
2. Die Entrückung Elias haben unsere Exegeten sich etwas genauer angesehen – im hebräischen Bibeltext. Es ist dort im Zusammenhang mit der Erscheinung des Wagens bei Elia und Elisa von Wesenheiten die Rede, die eine Trennung vornehmen (im Hebräischen steht וַיַּפְרִידוּ; 1 Kön 2,11), was man sich dahingehend vorstellen kann, dass mehrere Akteure den Wagen von den beiden Propheten abschirmen (etwa weil diese Propheten Fleischeswesen sind). Elisa identifiziert danach »Reiter Israels«; für »Reiter« steht im Hebräischen פָּרָשִׁים (1 Kön 2,12). Diese Reiter können die genannten Trennungs-Akteure sein, aber was sind das für Reiter? Ein wenig Buchstabenvertauschung kann weiterhelfen: Es sind die Seraphen (שֶׁרָפִים), die man sich in der Nähe des Thronwagens gut vorstellen kann. Damit ist erklärt, warum Seraphen so wichtig sind in *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6: Adam wird wie Elia in Verbindung mit einer Thronwagenepiphanie entrückt, und es spielen dabei Seraphen eine Rolle als Trennungsakteure.
 3. Warum aber kann man sich die Seraphen so gut in einer Thronwagenepiphanie vorstellen? Hier kommen wir zu einem weiteren Bibeltext, der – ähnlich späterer Methodik der Rabbinen – nach Art einer kombinatorischen Lektüre in 1 Kön 2,11–12 hineingelesen wurde: Seraphen kennt man aus der Thronvision des Jesaja in Jes 6, wo wir ja auch immerhin den Thron Gottes haben, wenn auch nicht als Wagen visualisiert. Von diesem Text nun erklären sich dann auch ganz entscheidende Züge der Thronwagenepiphanie in *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6: **A.** Ein Seraph überwindet in Jes 6 die Unreinheit des Propheten, indem er dessen Mund mit einer glühenden Kohle berührt (Jes 6,6–7), und so überwindet auch hier ein Seraph die Unreinheit Adams – durch Waschung Adams im Acherusischen See –, nachdem zuvor die Seraphen wie bei Elia und Elisa in 1 Kön 2,11–12 eine Trennung zwischen Adam und dem Thronwagen vorgenommen haben, weil Adam noch unrein war. **B.** In Jes 6 geht es um die Kabod / Doxa / Herrlichkeit Gottes, und eben diese spielt auch in *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 eine wichtige Rolle, indirekt durch die von Hesekiel und aus Jes 6 herrührende Merkabah-Motivik und direkt durch eine Eulogie der Doxa des Herrn angesichts der Begnadigung Adams (*Apc Mos* 37,2). **C.** Auf das Dreimalheilig der Seraphen in Jes 6 dürften die zahlreichen Triaden in *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6

verweisen: Drei Schalen für das Räucheropfer, drei Waschungen Adams im Acherusischen See, drei Stunden Wartezeit für Adam vor seiner Ergreifung durch Gottes Hand, die Verbringung Adams in den dritten Himmel – was mit Adam geschieht, die dafür statthabende Liturgie eingeschlossen, scheint geradezu herauszuwachsen aus dem Gott zugesprochenen und zu eigenen Dreimalheilig.

Es ist nun unschwer zu erkennen, welche Rolle dem Acherusischen See zukommt in der exegetisch-narrativen Konstellation, die wir in *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 identifiziert haben: Er steht gewissermaßen für die Kohle, mit der in Jes 6 der Seraph Jesaja gereinigt hat; er ist das Reinigungsmittel. Warum aber hat in unser Adamgeschichte das Reinigungsmittel eine so andere Beschaffenheit? Hier kommt nun – weit über meine bisherigen Arbeiten zur *Apc Mos* hinausgehend – Plato ins Spiel, und das will heißen: Man hat Plato ganz ähnlich in die biblisch begründete parabiblische Szenerie eingelesen, wie man auch Jes 6 in 2 Kön 2,11–12 eingelesen hat. Bei Plato fand man nämlich etwas, das genau passte: Der Acherusische See ist *Phaidon* 113d zufolge ein Ort, in dem Menschen gereinigt werden (im Griechischen steht καθαίρόμενοι), und es ist klar, dass es um moralische Unreinheit geht, die dabei überwunden wird, indem von ἀδικήματα die Rede ist. Wir haben eingehender erörtert, was es mit diesen Menschen bei Plato auf sich hat (s. § 2); hier genügt ohne allzu viel Kontexterörterung, dass für Plato Menschen im Acherusischen See sittlich gereinigt werden. Nicht zufällig wohl ist es ein eher kurzer Textausschnitt aus Platons *Phaidon*, der hier relevant ist, denn auch sonst arbeitet die *Apc Mos* exegetisch eher mit Einzelbeobachtungen an Bezugstexten als mit den größeren Zusammenhängen; ihre Exegese ist weitgehend atomistisch.⁶⁷

Nun wissen wir, warum man den Acherusischen See von Plato her in unsere biblisch-parabiblische Szenerie einbringen konnte, aber wird damit eigentlich mehr geleistet, als dass ein pittoreskes Detail aus der griechischen Totenweltmythologie angeeignet wird? In der Tat, es geht hier um mehr, nämlich um die nicht ganz unbeträchtliche

⁶⁷ Fast durchgehend sind es einzelne hebräische Wörter, die unsere Erzähler-Exegeten haggadisch auswerten, vgl. die Kommentierung bei Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 175–572; zur Orientierung vgl. auch den Überblick über die *Apc Mos* und dann speziell 15–30 sowie die *Vit Ad* bei Dochhorn, *Adammythos*, 252–83.

Aussicht – mindestens für Adam – auf eine postmortale Zukunft in einer erdenjenseitigen Anderwelt (welche dann spätestens die Endredaktion in *Apc Mos* 37,6 universalisiert). Um dies festzustellen, benötigt man etwas Kontextwissen zum genannten Platobeleg, freilich nicht außerordentlich viel: Was ist denn das hauptsächliche Anliegen, das Plato mit seinem *Phaidon* verfolgt, speziell im Schlussmythos des Sokrates (*Phaidon* 107c–114c)? Es geht um nicht weniger als die Chance für den Philosophen, der sich ernsthaft um seine Seele gekümmert hat, auch durch Tugendpflege, nach dem Tode ein entschieden besseres Leben zu führen, bei dem man als Grieche an das elysische Feld erinnert sein kann (vgl. *Odyssee* IV,563–569), als Jude aber auch an das Paradies, vielleicht auch, wenn man von *Test Hiob* 33 her um ein von Flüssen durchzogenes himmlisches Land / eine himmlische Erde weiß, in welcher der Fromme zur Rechten des Vaters sitzend König ist. Wie aber kommt man an einen dermaßen attraktiven postmortalen Ort? In *Phaidon* 114c liest man, dass man diesen Ort durch Reinigung erreicht; an ihm lebten ohne zeitliche Begrenzung diejenigen, die sich durch Philosophie zuvor hinreichend gereinigt hätten (οἱ φιλοσοφία ἱκανῶς καθηράμενοι). Von Reinigung war schon die Rede, in *Phaidon* 113d, wo sie im Acherusischen See stattfindet, auch dort unter Verwendung des Wortes καθαιρεῖσθαι. Derlei Stichwortübereinstimmungen ziehen unsere Exegeten magisch an, und zwar dahingehend, dass gerne auch einmal der Kontext der davon betroffenen Passagen (oder gar Mikroeinheiten) außer Acht gerät. Aus der Stichwortübereinstimmung bei Plato konnte man schließen: Wer von moralischen Verfehlungen gereinigt wird im Acherusischen See, der kommt an einen außerirdischen Ort, etwa ein Paradies im dritten Himmel. Es verhält sich bei Plato etwas anders, aber es ist dies, was die Autoren des *Test Eva* bei Plato sahen.

Nur am Rande sind hier zwei weiterführende Fragestellungen anzudeuten:

1. Zu prüfen wäre, ob das Motiv vom Paradies im dritten Himmel (*Apc Mos* 37,5–6) dem *Test Eva* schon vorlag oder aber von ihm entwickelt wurde – etwa auf folgende Weise: Man wusste von Plato her über eine erdenjenseitige Anderwelt als postmortalem Aufenthaltsort von Menschen und man sah diesen Ort als paradiesisch an. Im dritten Himmel verortete man ihn, weil die Verbringung Adams an diesen Ort Folge eines Läuterungsgeschehens war, für das man Jes 6 mit dem Dreimalheilig als liturgische Vorlage hatte. Ob es so vonstattenging, wäre im Zusammenhang einer Untersuchung zur Geschichte der Himmelstopographie im

frühen Judentum zu klären: Woher stammte und wie entwickelte sich dort die Vorstellung von sieben Himmeln? 2. Während bei Plato mit Hinblick auf die Vorgänge nach dem Tod von Seelen die Rede ist, scheint im *Test Eva* ursprünglich das postmortale Ergehen Adam als ein Körperwesen zu betreffen. Es scheint sein Körper zu sein, der im Acherusischen See gewaschen wird, während bei Plato Seelen dort gereinigt werden (wie auch immer dies zu denken ist; sie befinden sich nämlich nicht im Wasser, sondern wohl über dem Wasser – auf Booten, vgl. §2). Wie passt das zusammen? Angedeutet wurde ein anthropologischer Konservatismus des *Test Eva*; es ist offenbar der Monanthropologie stärker verhaftet als das bereits dichotomistische *Test Hiob*. Aber liegt im *Test Eva* vielleicht eine komplexere, freilich dann nicht ausformulierte Sicht zum Ergehen des Menschen Adam *post mortem* vor, etwa dahingehend, dass Adam nach dem Tod Körper- und Seelenwesen zugleich ist, als Körper in Beziehung zu Gott befindlich und als Seele körperhaft zu denken? Auch die Seelen im *Phaidon* müssen nicht als unkörperliche Wesenheiten wahrgenommen werden. Um in dieser Frage weiterzukommen, müsste man erkunden, wie sich im frühen Judentum Seele / Geist / Geister / Engel / Gott zu den potentiell sehr unterschiedlichen Größen Nichtkörperlichkeit / Unsichtbarkeit / Immaterialität / Geisthaftigkeit verhalten; es könnte hier vor allem das *Testament Abrahams* weiterhelfen, nur dass hier besonders schwer zu eruieren ist, was jüdisch und was christlich / byzantinisch ist.

3.6.4. *Apc Mos* 37,3–4a und die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe

Die dreimalige Waschung Adams im Acherusischen See, wie *Apc Mos* 37,3–4a sie erzählt, erinnert an die christliche Taufe und ist auch sekundär mit dieser in Verbindung gebracht worden (durch die Rezeption der *Vit Ad* in der *Paulusapokalypse* und in koptischen Texten, vgl. § 3.1; 3.2; 3.3). Liegt ein religionsgeschichtlicher Zusammenhang vor, etwa dahingehend, dass *Apc Mos* 37,3–4a in einem gewissen Ausmaße vorbereitend für die Entstehung der christlichen Taufe wirkte? Dafür sprechen mehrere Beobachtungen, die sich für mich allerdings noch nicht zu einem entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Szenario zusammenfügen und hier nur angedeutet werden können:

1. Die dreifache Waschung Adams im Acherusischen See ist, wie soeben dargestellt, ein Akt entsündigender Reinigung, der auf das Dreimalheilig der Seraphim in Jes 6 gegründet ist.
2. Erinnerung an das Dreimalheilig hält sich auch in späteren Schichten der *Apc Mos*, nämlich in ihrem Explicit (43,4), das in der Grableggungsgeschichte, einer 38–43 zugrundeliegenden und dem *Test Eva*

gegenüber sekundären Quelle, angelegt sein mag, aber von der Endredaktion der *Apc Mos* mindestens mit Aufmerksamkeit bedacht worden sein wird⁶⁸: Der Erzengel Michael steigt in den Himmel auf, »verherrlichend und dabei sprechend: „Halleluja, Halleluja, Halleluja! Heilig, heilig, heilig ist der Herr“ für die Herrlichkeit Gottes, des Vaters, Amen« (δοξάζων καὶ λέγων· ἁλληλοῦια, ἁλληλοῦια, ἁλληλοῦια, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός, ἀμήν). Neben dem deutlichen Sanctus-Anklang verbindet auch der Vaternamen für Gott dieses Stück mit *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6. Das Explizit der *Apc Mos* steht religionsgeschichtlich nicht beziehungslos da: Es findet Parallelen im ursprünglichen Explizit des *Test Sal*, im Schlussgebet des hermetischen Traktats *Poimandres* (der vermutlich von Überlieferung aus dem Milieu der Adamdiegesen beeinflusst ist) und im Explicit der *Hypostase der Archonten*⁶⁹; mit Phil 2,11 hat es gemeinsam, dass liturgische Rede, hier das Sanctus und dort das Bekenntnis zu Christus als dem Herrn, »für die Herrlichkeit Gottes des Vaters« geschieht (beide Texte haben εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός). Mit seiner Doxa-Begrifflichkeit wird *Apc Mos* 43,4 zur Vorgeschichte der Doxologie gehören, die in christlichen Handschriften gewöhnlich ein Buch abschließt.⁷⁰

3. Erinnerung an Jes 6 spielt eine Rolle auch in der Geschichte von der Buße Adams und Evas in *Vit Ad* 4–11 und 17–21 passim: Adam weiß um die Unreinheit seiner Lippen und derer seiner Frau (*Vit Ad* 6,1), was deutlich an Jes 6,6 anklingt. Passend dazu gemahnt vieles in *Vit Ad* 4–11; 17–21 passim an *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6: Die Buße ist durch dasselbe Vergehen motiviert wie die Bitte um Verzeihen in *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6, nämlich die Gebotsübertretung im Paradies (*Vit Ad* 1–4), sie hat hier wie da Erbarmen Gottes in der Perspektive (*Vit Ad* [gr] 4,3 = *Apc Mos* 29,9 (*II) hat σπλαγχνίζεσθαι, *Apc Mos* 37,2 ἐλεεῖν, das in *Apc Mos* 27,2 mit σπλαγχνίζεσθαι in Parallelstellung steht), und sie ist – wie die Waschung in *Apc Mos* 37,3–4a – ein Reinigungsritus, der mit Wasser vollzogen wird: Adam büßt im Jordan, Eva im Tigris.

⁶⁸ Vgl. Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 131–32 (zur Grablegungserzählung und zu endredaktionellen Einflüssen in *Apc Mos* 43,4).

⁶⁹ Vgl. Dochhorn, *Adammythos*, 539 (dort Anm. 122).

⁷⁰ Vgl. Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 569–72.

4. Dass Adam gerade im Jordan büßt, hat seine exegetischen Hintergründe in Jos 3,16 hebr in Verbindung mit Hos 6,7 hebr⁷¹, aber es wird auch durch zeitgenössische Reminiszenzen verursacht sein: Im Jordan vollzog auch Johannes der Täufer seine Taufe.⁷² Und diese ist wie *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 und *Vit Ad* 4–11; 17–21 passim mit Sündenvergebung gleichermaßen wie mit Reinheit assoziiert; ersteres bezeugen Synoptiker und Josephus (Mk 1,4; Lk 3,3; *Antiquitates* XVIII,116–119 bei Niese IV,161–162), letzteres nur Josephus, dem man entnehmen kann, dass mit Hinblick auf die Johanna-Taufe über das Verhältnis zwischen Reinigung und dem damit verbundenen sittlichen Geschehen nachgedacht wurde (*Ant* XVIII,117). Diese beiden Momente stehen in den Adamdiegen nebeneinander, freilich ohne explizit oder gar mit Abgrenzungen in ein Verhältnis gesetzt zu werden.
5. Bei der christlichen Taufe begegnet uns vieles, was bisher angesprochen wurde: Ein Wasserritus, die Assoziation mit dem Jordan, die Sündenvergebung, die Adammotivik (schon in Röm 6,1–11, insofern es dort um die Revision des in Röm 5,12–21 geschilderten Adamgeschehens geht), und mit Mt 28,19 eine triadische Struktur, die grundlegend für die Credo-Tradition wurde.⁷³

4. *Von den Anfängen bei den Juden bis zu den Kopten: Ein religionsgeschichtliches Szenario*

Wir sind mit *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 bei der ältesten Überlieferung zur sündenvergebenden Reinigung im Acherusischen See angelangt und können konstatieren: Hier, ganz am Anfang, wirkte eine Plato-Rezeption als der

⁷¹ Vgl. Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 142–43; D. Bertrand, *La vie grecque d'Adam et Ève* (Paris, 1987) 134.

⁷² Vgl. Dochhorn, *Adammythos*, 526–29

⁷³ Die in ihrer Grundstruktur triadisch / trinitarischen Glaubensbekenntnisse aus der Alten Kirche haben einen Hintergrund in der Taufpraxis, vgl. etwa die Hinweise zum Taufbekenntnis bei Justin, *Apol.* I,61 und die Beschreibung der Taufe bei Tertullian, *De Corona* 3 (dreimaliges Untertauchen, eine Antwort des Täuflings, die über das vom Herrn Gebotene hinausgeht; Mt 28,19 scheint im Blick). Zu den Texten vgl. H. Lietzmann (Hg.), *Symbole der Alten Kirche* (Bonn, 1906) 3–4; s. ferner das Material bei F. Loofs, *Symbolik oder christliche Konfessionskunde. Erster Band* (Tübingen, 1902) 6–58.

entscheidende Faktor, die im Geiste der in den Adamdiegesen praktizierten Bibelexegese betrieben wurde und mit dieser auch verbunden war. Gesah dies ohne jeglichen Kontext, d.h. ohne eine Kenntnis vom Acherusischen See in vorhergehender jüdischer Überlieferung, und lässt sich über bereits angedeutete traditionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen unseren »Tauftexten« hinaus auch ein einigermaßen organisches Bild einer Motiventwicklung entwickeln? Lässt sich hier Religionsgeschichte erzählen? Eben das soll nachfolgend versucht werden, wobei zuerst Belege für eine jüdische Vorgeschichte des Plato-Lektüreereignisses in der *Apc Mos* durchgegangen werden und dann eine Motivgeschichte dessen skizziert wird, was Peterson als »die Taufe im Acherusischen See« bezeichnet hat.

4.1. *Jüdische Vorgeschichte*

Was Lukian über die Unterwelt referiert, ist dem der Sache wenig geneigten Schriftsteller zufolge Allgemeinwissen (vgl. § 2). War dergleichen auch den Juden vertraut? Unwahrscheinlich ist dies nicht, zumal das Judentum anscheinend gerade Wissen über das Leben nach dem Tod gerne importierte⁷⁴, vielleicht weil es eher als geographisches oder kosmologisches Wissen durchgehen konnte und nicht als in engerem Sinne theologisches. Und in der Tat kennen wir einige mit mehr oder weniger Sicherheit vom Judentum derivierende Texte, die ein Wissen nach der Art Lukians voraussetzen scheinen, ein Wissen um den Acherusischen See auch ohne Plato. Es sind die folgenden:

1. Das überwiegend bis in die Zeit des 3. Jahrhunderts vor Christus zurückgehende Wächterengelbuch in *1 Hen* 1–36 enthält ab Kapitel 17 vor allem Reiseberichte Henochs – mit Dubletten, die einen komplizierten Traditionsentstehungsprozess andeuten; hauptsächlich

⁷⁴ Was den Import iranischer Traditionen anbetrifft, vgl. schon E. Böcklen, *Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der persischen Eschatologie* (Göttingen, 1902) sowie in jüngerer Zeit A.F. de Jong, 'Iranian Connections in the Dead Sea Scrolls', in T.H. Lim and J.J. Collins (Hg.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford, 2010) 479–500; immer noch gewinnbringend sind die Überlegungen und Materialien zum »religionsgeschichtlichen Problem« in der Erforschung des Judentums bei W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter. In dritter verbesserter Auflage herausgegeben von Hugo Gressmann* (Tübingen, 1926) 469–524.

überschneidet sich 17–19 mit Traditionen in 21–36. In *1 Hen* 17,4–8, also gegen Anfang, finden wir Henoch im Westen vor, von Engeln dorthin entrückt. Er sieht daselbst das Lebenswasser und das Feuer des Westens, das die untergehende Sonne empfängt (17,4), kommt dann zu dem Feuerstrom, dessen Feuer sich in den großen See im Westen ergießt (17,5), und sieht danach große Flüsse (17,6a). Schließlich kommt er zu der großen Finsternis, wo alles Fleisch hingeht (17,6b). Dort gewahrt er dunkle Berge und den Abfluss des Abgrunds (17,7), die Mündung aller Flüsse, die Mündung des Abgrunds (17,8). Der Text ist auf griechisch und äthiopisch erhalten, weitgehend, aber nicht völlig ohne Differenzen⁷⁵; ein aramäisches Korrelat fehlt, wohl eher durch Zufall.⁷⁶ Vieles an ihm erinnert an griechische Unterwelt- / Totenwelt-Vorstellungen: Der große Feuerstrom kann der Pyriphlegethon sein, der große See der Acherusische See; die weiteren Flüsse könnten der Acheron, der Kokytos und der Okeanos sein. Der finstere Ort, wo alles Fleisch hingeht, kann als der Tartaros identifiziert werden, der hier auch wie bei Plato ein abgrundhafter Zielort aller Ströme ist. Wie bei Plato und Lukian stellt auch hier diese Szenerie nicht nur Wasser-, sondern auch Totenwelt dar, es sei denn, man wollte mit dem griechischen Text gehen, der gegen den äthiopischen in *1 Hen* 17,6b den von Henoch aufgesuchten finsternen Ort als einen kennzeichnet, an den sonst gerade »keinerlei Fleisch kommt«, was kaum überzeugend wirkt angesichts der Fülle an Reminiszenzen an griechische Unterweltvorstellungen in *1 Hen* 17,4–8 (eher zeigt sich hier, dass spätere Abschreiber diese Hintergründe nicht realisiert haben).⁷⁷ Es kann hier nicht geklärt werden, inwiefern zu *1 Hen* 17,4–8 Dubletten in *1 Hen* 21 ff existieren. In *1 Hen* 22

⁷⁵ Vgl. M. Black (Hg.), *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* / A.-M. Denis (Hg.), *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum quae Supersunt Graeca una cum Historicorum et Auctorum Iudaeorum Hellenistarum Fragmentis* (Leiden, 1970) 1–44, speziell 31; J. Flemming (Hg.), *Das Buch Henoch. Äthiopischer Text* (Leipzig, 1902) 22.

⁷⁶ Aramäische Überreste von *1 Hen* finden sich unter den Funden von Qumran, vgl. 4Q 201–7.212 = 4Q En ar^{a–g}.

⁷⁷ *1 Hen* (gr) 17,6b hat ὅπου πᾶσα σὰρξ οὐ περιπατεῖ, *1 Hen* (aeth) 17,6b hat ገበ : ገሉ : ሠሥጋ : ያንሶሉ. Flemming (1902; wie Anm. 75) konjiziert aufgrund der griechischen Überlieferung ገበ : ገሉ : ሠሥጋ : <አ>ያንሶሉ, wohl nicht mit Recht; eher ist οὐ in *1 Hen* (gr) sekundär (ein Schreiber dachte an das privilegierte Wissen und Reiseerleben Henochs und machte ihn daher

jedenfalls haben wir intermediäre Seelenkammern und in 27 das für die endgültige Bestrafung der Sünder vorgesehene Gehinnom. Beides könnte mit dem »Ort, an den alles Fleisch kommt« in 17,6b konkurrieren, gemahnt aber nicht an Griechisches. Vielleicht ist 17,4–8 als eine hellenisierte Alternativtradition zu Unterwelt und Totenwelt-Traditionen in *I Hen* 21 ff konzipiert worden.

2. Die achmîmischen und sahidischen Reste der *Zephania-Apokalypse* (*Apc Soph*)⁷⁸, meines Erachtens ein relativ altes und wohl auch weitgehend unverändertes Stück jüdischer Literatur in koptischer Überlieferung, handelt fast durchgehend vom Ergehen der Seele nach dem Tode und nimmt unverkennbar griechische Traditionen zur Unter- und Totenwelt auf, etwa die seelengeleitenden Dämonen bei der Sterbestunde (akhm p. 1, Z. 1–4) oder die Erinyen in der Unterwelt (4,16–6,5), dies freilich alles ohne die entsprechenden Begriffe. Analoges gilt für den Acherusischen See: Nachdem der in der Apokalypse erzählende Totenweltreisende, der Prophet Zephania, mit allerhand Schrecknissen fertig geworden ist, unter anderem mit dem »Ankläger« (κατηγορος; 12,13–14), wohl dem Teufel, wird ihm mitgeteilt, er komme nun aus der Unterwelt hinauf und dürfe übersetzen an der »Anlegestelle« (πμα ἡ ἄρχιωρε), woraufhin er dann mit einem Schiff in Engelbegleitung zu den Patriarchen gelangt (12,16–14,14). Das versteht man, wenn man den Acherusischen See kennt – und wenn man weiß, dass man über ihn durch eine Überfahrt auf einem Schiff in eine bessere Lebenswelt gelangen kann, etwa das Elysium und hier

wohl eher unwillkürlich zum einzigen Besucher eines Ortes, übersah dabei indes die Intention des Textes, den Ort der Toten vor Augen zu führen).

⁷⁸ Zu den koptischen Überlieferungen vgl. G. Steindorff (Hg.), *Die Apokalypse des Elias. Eine unbekannte Apokalypse und Bruchstücke der Sophonias-Apokalypse* (Leipzig 1899) 33–65 (nach dem achmîmischen Codex), 110–13 (nach dem sahidischen Codex); in beiden Codices steht die *Apc Soph* zusammen mit der koptischen *Elia-Apokalypse*. Dass wir es mit einer *Zephania-Apokalypse* zu tun haben, ergibt sich aus dem sahidischen Fragment, in dem der Name Sophonias erscheint, vgl. *Apc Soph* (sah) I,22–23 bei Steindorff 112–13. Von einer *Apc Soph* überliefert ein Fragment auch Clemens Alexandrinus in *Stromateis* V,11,77 (GCS o.Z.; Stählin / Früchtel II,377), vgl. Denis, *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum*, 129. Ob es von derselben Apokalypse stammt wie die koptischen Fragmente, muss hier offen bleiben.

wohl – wie für die Philosophen bei Plato vorgesehen – in eine obere Welt. All dies scheint in der *Apc Soph* schon fester Traditionsbesitz zu sein; es kann ohne Nennung von Namen erwähnt werden, wie es nur für Kenner einen Sinn ergibt.

3. In *Or Sib* II, 299–307 (Geffcken 20–21) prophezeit die Sibylle über das Menschengeschlecht nach der Sintflut, dass diesen τῆτυν εὐτῆρες ein langes Leben beschieden sein wird; sie werden ohne Krankheit sterben, in den Acheron zu den Hadesbehäusungen gelangen und dort als Selige (μάκαρες) leben. Griechisches Standardwissen über die Unterwelt ist hier in eine biblische Szenerie eingetragen. Über die Provenienz des Stückes mag ich hier keine Entscheidungen treffen; vieles in *Or Sib* I–II kann jüdisch sein (die in § 3.5 erörterte Tradition ist es allerdings nicht).
4. Der Zauberpapyrus London, Brit. Libr. or. 5987 erwähnt in Z. 13–14 sieben Gestalten (Arimiel, Dauithe, Elélêth, Ermoukratos, Adonai, Ermoustr der Unsichtbare, Bainchôôch) verbunden mit folgender Aufforderung (Z. 15–24): »Bringet euren Zorn nicht über alle ‚Verteiler‘ (ΝΙΡΜΕΠΩΩ), / bringet ihn über die unreinen Geister. / Sie mögen beschämt werden, dass sie fallen vor mir. / Denn ihr seid es, die weilen / nördlich und östlich von Antiochia // auf einem Myrtenbaum an jenem Ort, / der ‚Achelousia-See‘ (ΤΑΧΕΛΟΥΣΙΑ ΛΙΜΝΗ) [sic!] genannt wird, / der unter dem Throne von Jaô Sabaôth entströmt; / das Feld dieses Ortes trägt den Namen / Salômitis, die Pistis des Jaô Sabaôth.«⁷⁹ Diesen Text werde ich anderenorts ausführlicher analysieren; er geht meines Erachtens – über eine gnostische Zwischenstufe – auf eine jüdisch-antiochenische Tradition zurück und bezeugt ein Wissen vom Acherusischen See, das nicht von der *Apc Mos* herrühren dürfte, also eher für den Hintergrund von *Apc Mos* 37,3–4a steht als für die Rezeption dieses Textes.

4.2. Abriss einer Motivgeschichte

Man gewinnt den Eindruck, dass zu einem bestimmten Augenblick im Judentum ein schon länger etabliertes Wissen um den Acherusischen See als Unterweltsort etwas erfuhr, das Forscher aus vorhergehenden

⁷⁹ Vgl. Kropp, *Zaubertexte* (1930–1931; wie Anm. 17) 22–28 (Text); II, 149–60 (Übersetzung). Ich übersetze eigenständig, habe aber die Übersetzung von Kropp konsultiert.

Generationen als religiöse Vertiefung bezeichnet hätten – und den Begriff verwende ich jetzt hier auch einmal: Griechischsprachige Juden in Jerusalem, dem Diasporarückwanderermilieu entstammend und dabei zunehmend in Kontakt gekommen mit hebräischer Bibelüberlieferung, die sie exegetisch erforschten, hatten sich angeschickt, eine Art Monographie zu Adam und Eva zu verfassen. Der kreative Prozess verlief in mehreren Stadien, und nun, zur Zeit des Herodes, befanden sie sich am Anfang, bei der Produktion des *Eva-Testaments* (im Wesentlichen eine Nacherzählung vom Paradiesgeschehen und von Adams Tod – aus der Perspektive des Augenzeugen Eva), das wohl schulintern blieb.⁸⁰ In diesem *Eva-Testament* nun brachten sie die Idee unter, dass Adam nach seinem Tod im Acherusischen See ähnlich von sündlicher Unreinheit gereinigt wurde wie ehemals Jesaja durch glühende Kohle, und sie trugen mit dieser Idee, die einem Gewässer bzw. Wasserbad soteriologische Bedeutung zuwachsen ließ, nicht zuletzt zur Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe bei. Plato wurde dabei selektiv gelesen: Gewöhnliche Menschen werden für Plato im Acherusischen See geläutert und kommen wieder auf die Erde (*Phaidon* 113d), Philosophen hingegen läutern sich durch Philosophie und kommen in ein nicht näher ausgeführtes Irgendwohin (das besser ist als eine Metempsychose; *Phaidon* 114c). Bei unseren Exegeten wird daraus die Aufnahme eines Menschen an einen genau bestimmten Ort (das himmlische Paradies) durch Läuterung im Acherusischen See. Es ist das privilegierte Ergehen der Philosophen, das hier die Adamdiegesen-Schule auf Adam überträgt, später sogar auf alle Menschen (in der universalistischen Endredaktion der *Moseapokalypse*; vgl. *Apc Mos* 37,6c). Die Szenerie scheint im Vergleich zu der bei Plato erheblich vereinfacht, und mit dem Paradies ist ein jüdisches Moment hinzugetreten. Dessen Verortung im Himmel hat vielleicht etwas mit der Tendenz bei Plato zu tun, die

⁸⁰ Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Adamdiegesen (**Test Eva* > *Apc Mos* > *Vit Ad*) vgl. § 3.6 und Doehrn, *Adammythos*, 283–89. Der dort gegebene Überblick ist nicht alles, was in der betreffenden Monographie zu den Adamdiegesen verlautet, dient aber wohl am besten der Orientierung zu meiner Sicht der Dinge. Er geht weit über das hinaus, was ich 16 Jahre zuvor in meiner Dissertation zur Entstehung der Adamdiegesen festgestellt habe; auch in diesem Kapitel kommt Neues. Den Adamdiegesen ist für mich immer wieder Neues zu entnehmen, und ich nehme an, dass es auch anderen in Zukunft so gehen wird.

Philosophen anders als alle anderen postmortal aus dem Lebenskreislauf herauszunehmen – in ein besseres Irgendwohin.

Adams Aufnahme ins Paradies des dritten Himmels nach einer Waschung im Acherusischen See – das hat gewirkt: Die Endredaktion der *Moseapokalypse* interpretierte diese Szene bald im Sinne einer dichotomistischen Anthropologie, der zufolge es in ihr um Adams Seele ging (Apc Mos 13,6; 31,1.3b–4; 32,4).⁸¹ Vielleicht wirkt auch hier noch einmal Plato ein: Während das *Test Eva* den Dichotomismus Platos nicht übernahm, geht die *Apc Mos* mit ihm konform, möglicherweise aufgrund fortwährender Platolektüre. Wahrscheinlich hat die *Assumptio Mosis* sich dann – nach Abfassung der *Apc Mos* – von der Szene in Apc Mos 33,2–37,6 dazu inspirieren lassen, Mose nach seinem Tod nicht auf Erden begraben, sondern in den Himmel aufgenommen zu sehen; der dafür im Titel des Werks verwendete Terminus ἀνάλημψις wirkt möglicherweise in Lk 9,51 christologisch nach.⁸² Die *Vita Adae et Evae* übernahm danach den Text der *Apc Mos*, ohne ihn viel zu ändern.

Motivgeschichtlich interferiert daraufhin ein zweites Kreativgesehen, das erneut mit Platolektüre zu tun hat: Die *Petrusapokalypse* schließt markant ab mit der Vorstellung, dass die Gerechten eine Taufe von Sündern im Acherusischen See und deren Aufnahme in das elysische Feld erwirken könnten (§ 3.4). Es scheint mir hier ein Lektürevorgang zugrunde zu liegen, der dem in der *Apc Mos* bzw. dem *Test Eva* weitgehend ähnelt: Hier wie dort sind die beiden Läuterungsmotive (Läuterung der Normalmenschen im Acherusischen See, Läuterung der Philosophen durch Philosophie) dekontextualisiert und neu zusammengesetzt worden – mit der Folge, dass Menschen in das Elysium kommen, die wohl weniger herausragend sind als die Philosophen. In der *Petrusapokalypse* sind es gar Sünder, die profitieren – aufgrund von Fürbitten der Erlösten. Dies wurde möglich, weil man etwas bei Plato sah, das die *Apc Mos* bzw. das *Test Eva* nicht berücksichtigte, nämlich

⁸¹ Apc Mos 13,6; 31,1.3b–4; 32,4 stehen überwiegend in Rahmenpassagen, was typisch ist für redaktionelle Texte. Zur Endredaktion der *Apc Mos* und ihrem anthropologischen Dichotomismus vgl. Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 124–38 (allgemein zur Redaktionsgeschichte der *Apc Mos*); 437–55 (Einleitung zu Apc Mos 31–43; Kommentar zu Apc Mos 31,1–33,1, das überwiegend endredaktionell ist).

⁸² Vgl. Dochhorn, *Adammythos*, 363.

die Aufnahme von Schwerverbrechern in den Acherusischen See nach Einwilligung ihrer Angehörigen, die sich im Acherusischen See aufhalten (*Phaidon* 114a–b).

Es bleibt zu fragen, ob beide Lektürevorgänge historisch miteinander zusammenhängen. Meines Erachtens weisen Ähnlichkeit wie Differenz der Parallelen auf ein historisch-genetisches Verhältnis zwischen beiden hin – mit einem Gefälle von den Adamdiegesen zur *Petrusapokalypse*. Dies bedeutet: Der Verfasser der *Petrusapokalypse* oder eine von ihm benutzte Quelle hat weitergearbeitet mit Wissen, das von den Adamdiegesen deriviert. Dies kann man sich folgendermaßen vorstellen: **1.** Von einer bloßen Lektüre von *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 kommt man nicht auf das in der *Petrusapokalypse* Erzählte. Dies geschieht eher, wenn man weiß, was die Autoren von *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 und überhaupt die Verfasser der Adamdiegesen bei Plato gesehen haben. Dergleichen ist möglich: Die Verfasser der Adamdiegesen stehen für einen mindestens von der Zeit Herodes des Großen bis zur Zeit nach 30 n. Chr. aktiven Schulbetrieb, der ausweislich von Befunden bei Paulus und den Rabbinen, ja sogar im hermetischen Traktat *Poimandres*, die seinen Adamerzählungen zugrundeliegende exegetische Arbeit nach außen kommunizierte.⁸³ **2.** Die Anthropologie des *Poimandres* ist durch eine Zusammenschau der Adamologie der Adamdiegesen mit der Konzeption vom Inneren Menschen bei Plato geprägt, die im Entstehungsmilieu der Adamdiegesen seinen Ursprung haben wird.⁸⁴ Daraus folgt: Adamdiegesen-Wissen ist nach Ägypten gewandert. Dies bezeugt auch die *Sapientia Salomonis*, die sich in *Sap Sal* 3,23–25 (an sehr prominenter Stelle!) von der Satanologie der *Apc Mos* beeinflusst zeigt.⁸⁵ In Ägypten verortet man auch gerne die *Petrusapokalypse*.⁸⁶ **3.** Wie kann nun der Traditionsübergang zwischen Adamdiegesen und *Petrusapokalypse*

⁸³ Zur Außenkommunikation der Adamdiegesen-Schule vgl. die Hinweise bei Dochhorn, *Adammythos*, 283–89. Sie nahm im Verlaufe der Zeit eher zu als ab, mit der Folge, dass *Vit Ad*-Überlieferungen überproportional Parallelen finden. Beziehungen zwischen Adamdiegesen, Plato, Paulus und *Poimandres* zeige ich in meinem Exkurs zu den traditionsgeschichtlichen Hintergründen der Vorstellung vom Inneren Menschen bei Paulus auf (S. 220–24).

⁸⁴ Vgl. die vorhergehende Anmerkung.

⁸⁵ Vgl. Dochhorn, *Adammythos*, 518.

⁸⁶ Vgl. etwa P. Vielhauer, *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur. Einleitung in das Neue Testament, die Apokryphen und die Apostolischen Väter* (Berlin, 1975) 507–13, speziell 508; Müller, 'Offenbarung des Petrus', 566.

genau ausgesehen haben? Hat der Verfasser der *Petrusapokalypse* direkten Kontakt mit dem Entstehungsmilieu der Adamdiegesen gehabt oder ist ihm deren Wissen über ein Zwischenglied zugekommen? Letzteres liegt meines Erachtens näher, des zeitlichen Abstands zwischen *Vit Ad* (ca 30 n. Chr.) und *Petrusapokalypse* wegen, die ich nicht vor 100 n. Chr. ansetzen kann.⁸⁷ Näherhin stelle ich mir den Traditionsübermittlungs- und -transformationsvorgang zwischen Adamdiegesenmilieu und *Apoc. Pet.* folgendermaßen vor: A. Nach Abschluss der *Vit Ad* arbeitete die Adamdiegesen-Schule weiter: Ergebnisse ihrer Arbeit schlagen sich nieder in den jüdischen Grundlagen des Golgathamythos⁸⁸, in den Adamüberlieferungen von Esra-Apokalypsen (4 *Esra*, *Apc Esdrae Graeca*; *Apc Sedr*), in den Adamüberlieferungen des 2 *Baruch*⁸⁹, sogar in einer Jeremiaüberlieferung des 4 *Baruch*⁹⁰ und nicht zuletzt in der Adamchristolo-

⁸⁷ Man müsste prüfen, ob die Passagen zu dem Pseudomessias / den Pseudomessiasen in *Apoc. Pet.* 2 (nach der Kapitelzählung bei Müller, 'Offenbarung des Petrus', 567) Bar Kochba voraussetzen oder nicht. Der äthiopische Text macht nicht den besten Eindruck. Man wird ihm freilich entnehmen können, dass der Verfasser mehrere Evangelien gleichzeitig benutzte, was etwa für den sekundären Markusschluss typisch ist und der Verwendung neutestamentlicher Schriften bei Polykarp nahekommt (aber findet in der *Apoc. Pet.* auch das Johannesevangelium Aufnahme?). Ziemlich relevant scheint mir die Frage, ob die *Apoc. Pet.* den zweiten Petrusbrief voraussetzt oder aber umgekehrt der zweite Petrusbrief die *Apoc. Pet.* Letzteres wurde schon sehr früh eine *Opinio communis* (vertreten etwa von Jülicher, Weinel, Feine). Das Gegenteil behauptet F. Spitta, 'Die Petrusapokalypse und der zweite Petrusbrief', *ZNW* 12 (1911) 237–42 (dort auch Material zur frühen Forschung). Neuerdings wurde die Abhängigkeit des zweiten Petrusbriefs von der *Apoc. Pet.* neu begründet von W. Grünstäudl, *Petrus Alexandrinus* (Tübingen, 2013), und J. Frey, *Der Judasbrief und der zweite Petrusbrief* (Leipzig, 2015), s. zur Diskussion J. Frey et al. (Hg.), *2 Peter and the Apocalypse of Peter* (Leiden, 2019).

⁸⁸ Vgl. Dochhorn, *Adammythos*, 536–37; id., 'Golgotha und die älteren Traditionen vom Adamgrab' (demnächst in einem von Harald Buchinger herausgegebenen Sammelband).

⁸⁹ Zu den genannten Esra-, Sedrach- und Baruchüberlieferungen vgl. Dochhorn, *Adammythos*, 532–35.

⁹⁰ Laut 4 *Bar* 9,2–6 bringt Jeremia vor seinem Tod ein Opfer dar und betet, wobei er unter anderem das Dreimalheilig erklingen lässt, seine Aufnahme (ἀνάληψις) zu Gott andeutet, die zwei Seraphim erwähnt, von Opferrauch redet, auf Michael zu sprechen kommt und Gott als seinen Schöpfer anredet. Einen inneren Zusammenhang ergibt das alles, wenn man den Tod Adams, die dabei vollzogene Liturgie und Adams Aufnahme in das Paradies, wie in *Apc*

gie des Hebräerbriefes, die der Adamologie der *Apc Sedr* ähnelt.⁹¹ Alle diese Innovationen zum Adammythos können ihren Ausgangspunkt im jüdischen Hellenistenmilieu Jerusalems während der Jahre 30–100 n. Chr. haben. **B.** In eben diesem Milieu wurde zunehmend manifest ein Interesse der Frommen, etwas Gutes für die Sünder erreichen zu können, deren postmortales Ergehen immer deutlicher als ein qualvolles gesehen wurde. Ein relativ frühes Zeugnis hierfür stellt das *Testament Abrahams* dar (das den arroganten Frommen parodiert und damit Anliegen der Jesusbewegung nahekommmt)⁹²; in ihm schon spielt die Fürbitte des Frommen für Sünder eine Rolle (*Test Abr* A 14). Zu einem Parteigänger der Sünder entwickelt sich immer mehr Esra, am meisten in der *Apokalypse des Sedrach*.⁹³ In einem solchen – wohl palästinischen Milieu – könnte ein Grundlagentext für den Schlussteil der *Petrusapokalypse* entwickelt worden sein, durchaus noch von Juden, und zwar solchen, die mit dem Adamdiegesenmilieu noch Fühlung hatten. Man wird zu prüfen haben, ob die im *Pseudo-Titusbrief* zitierte *Eliaapokalypse*,⁹⁴ die vielleicht in der hebräischen *Eliaapokalypse* nachwirkt, diesen Text enthalten haben könnte.⁹⁵ **C.** Die *Petrusapokalypse* hat diesen Text dann christianisiert, nicht zuletzt durch explizites Reden von einer Taufe. Diese Traditionsübernahme dürfte ihr nicht schwergefallen sein, denn auch Christen konnten sich den Kopf zerbrechen darüber, was wohl mit ihnen nahestehenden Menschen geschehen werde, die sie realistischerweise als Sünder ansehen mussten. Nicht zufällig bezeugt der erste Korintherbrief, dass Christen sich für Verstorbene stellvertretend taufen ließen (1 Kor 15,29).

Mos 33,2–37,6 bzw. *Vit Ad* 63,2–67,6 beschrieben, vor Augen hat. Es begegnet denn auch wieder der Terminus ἀνάληψις – wie im Titel der von *Apc Mos* 33,2–37,6 abhängigen *Assumptio Mosis* (Ἀνάληψις Μωσέως), vgl. § 3.6.

⁹¹ Vgl. Dochhorn, *Adammythos*, 534–35.

⁹² Vgl. J. Dochhorn, 'Zur Krise der Gerechtigkeit im frühen Judentum. Reflexionen über das Entstehungsmilieu des frühen Christentums', *Biblische Notizen* 155 (2012) 77–111, speziell 100–106.

⁹³ Vgl. hierzu J. Dochhorn, 'Apocalypse of Sedrach', 205–25.

⁹⁴ Vgl. den Text bei D. de Bruyne, 'Epistula Titi Discipuli Pauli de Dispositione Sanctimonii', *Revue Bénédictine* 37 (1925) 47–72, speziell 58.

⁹⁵ Zur Bedeutung der *Eliaapokalypse* für die Geschichte der Höllenvorstellung und deren mögliches Nachwirken in der Hebräischen Elia-Apokalypse vgl. R. Bauckham, 'Early Jewish Visions of Hell', *JThS* 41 (1990) 355–85, speziell 362–65.

Was anschließend traditionsgeschichtlich vor sich geht, beruht entweder auf den Adamdiegesen oder der *Petrusapokalypse* oder beiden Texten zusammen: Die *Vita Adae et Evae* wandert nach Ägypten und wirkt dort auf den *Liber Bartholomaei* ein. Dort wurde das Adamgeschehen auf einen anderen Menschen übertragen (den Sohn des Thomas), dies durchaus im Sinne der Vorlage, die in *Apc Mos* 37,6 // *Vit Ad* 67,6 die Begnadigung Adams als eine Begnadigung aller Menschen ansah. Der *Liber Bartholomaei* ist keineswegs der einzige koptische Text, der Einfluss der *Vit Ad* belegt⁹⁶; ägyptische Juden und Christen wie dann auch die Kopten haben gerne Jüdisch-Palästinisches rezipiert, und so eben auch die *Vit Ad*. Zusammen mit der *Petrusapokalypse* inspirierte die *Vit Ad* dann auch die *Apokalypse des Paulus*: Was man dort zur Taufe im Acherusischen See erfährt, dürfte auf einer Zusammenschau von *Apc Petr* und *Vit Ad* beruhen, wobei freilich die *Apoc. Paul.* Weiteres hinzufügt: Anders als in *Apoc. Pet.* und *Vit Ad* erscheint in ihr das Taufgeschehen geographisch konkretisiert: Wir befinden uns am Rande der Erde. Der Erlösungsort ist nicht das Paradies, auch nicht das Elysium, sondern die Stadt des Geliebten (so eine der Bezeichnungen), die in der *Apoc. Paul.* merkwürdig mit dem Paradies konkurriert, dem himmlischen wie dem irdischen. Totenwelttopographie wird ein Problem, und interessanterweise kann man durchaus davon absehen, postmortales Dasein bloß im Himmel unterzubringen. Der *Liber Institutionis Michael* steht am Endpunkt unseres überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Szenarios. Und hier, speziell hier, tritt ein universalistisches Moment zutage, das religionsübergreifend wirksam wird: Es kann dem *Lib Inst Mich* zufolge jemand durch die Taufe im Acherusischen See ins Paradies kommen, der in seinem Leben Heide war – wenn er moralisch gut gelebt hat, was man einem Heiden offenbar zutrauen kann.

⁹⁶ Zur *Vit Ad* bei den Kopten vgl. Dochhorn, *Apokalypse des Mose*, 19 (dort Anm. 8: Rezeption in mehreren literarischen Texten), 55–61 (die koptischen Fragmente). Die Fragmente sind nicht sehr beeindruckend und lassen sich mit einiger Mühe der *Vit Ad* und nicht der *Apc Mos* zuweisen. Der rezeptionsgeschichtliche Befund in der koptischen Literatur ergibt schon deutlich mehr, womit sich zeigt, dass handschriftliche Bezeugung und literaturgeschichtliche Relevanz auseinandergehen können, dies wohl desto mehr, je mehr handschriftliche Zeugen verloren gegangen sind.

XIII. On the Manuscript Tradition of the Ethiopic *Maṣḥafa Qalemāntos* (*Book of Clement*, CAe 1957): News From Eritrea*

ALESSANDRO BAUSI

The research undertaken since the early 1990s up to 1997 by the Missione Italiana in Eritrea, led by Irma Taddia and funded by the Italian Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (CNR) through the University of Bologna, with participation of myself and Gianfrancesco Lusini, was primarily aimed at collecting written documentary evidence relevant for the history of the land tenure, particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth century.¹ This research project was carried

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out in the short period between two Ethiopian-Eritrean wars when it was possible to western scholars, albeit already with strong limitations, to access directly the actually untouched and little known manuscript treasures hosted in Eritrean churches and monasteries.²

The research on this still virtually unexplored repository of textual heritage of huge importance for the history of the region and its literary and textual tradition in general, is presently committed, as it has to be, mainly to the care of Eritrean institutions.³ These have

author. The transcription of the Ethiopic (Gəʿəz) texts is according to W. Leslau, *Comparative dictionary of Geʿez (Classical Ethiopic)* (Wiesbaden, 1987), also adopted by the project ‘Beta maṣāḥəft’. For the references to the *Clavis aethiopica* (CAe), see <<https://betamasaheft.eu/works/list>>.

¹ For extensive references see the comprehensive publication of the conference proceedings by A. Bausi *et al.* (eds), *Materiale antropologico sul “Rim” in Etiopia ed Eritrea – Anthropological and Historical Documents on “Rim” in Ethiopia and Eritrea* (Torino, 2001), with all details to date. For the sense of the relationship between land tenure and documentary texts recorded in manuscripts, see A. Bausi, ‘Documentary Manuscripts and Archives. The Ethiopian Evidence’, *Studi Magrebini*, NS 12–13 (2014–15, pub. 2017–18 = A. Straface *et al.* (eds), *Labor limae. Atti in onore di Carmela Baffioni*, Napoli) II, 63–80, and A. Wion, ‘L’autorité de l’écrit pragmatique dans la société chrétienne éthiopienne (xv^e–xviii^e siècle)’, *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 74/3–4 (2019) 559–89.

² For an overview, see A. Bausi, ‘Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell’Eritrea [I. Dabra Māryām]’, *Rassegna di studi etiopici* 38 (1994, pub. 1996) 13–69; id., ‘id. [II. Dabra Bizan]’, *ibid.* 39 (1995, pub. 1997) 25–48; id., ‘id. [III. Dabra Libānos. Dabra Abuna Beṣuʿa Amlāk. Dabra Marqorēwos]’, *ibid.* 41 (1997, pub. 1998) 13–56; G. Lusini, ‘Scritture documentarie etiopiche (Dabra Deḥuḥān e Dabra Šegē, Sarāʿē, Eritrea)’, *ibid.* 42 (1998, pub. 1999) 5–55.

³ For the state of the art see A. Bausi and G. Lusini, ‘The philological study of the Eritrean manuscripts in Gəʿəz. Methods and practices’, in Zemenfes Tsighe *et al.* (eds), *International Conference on Eritrean Studies, I. Literature, Linguistics, Philology, History, Discourse Analysis, Education, Socio-cultural Issues, Gender, Law, Regional Dynamics, and Tigrinya Literature* (Asmara, 2018) 125–41. For current work, for example, on one of the treasures of Eritrean manuscript collections, that is the Golden Gospel of Dabra Libānos, at Ham, see N. Valieva and P.M. Liuzzo, ‘Giving Depth to TEI-Based Descriptions of Manuscripts. The Golden Gospel of Ham’, *Aethiopica* 24 (2021) 175–211; and on the medieval inscription in the same site,

already undertaken systematic surveys which remain still unpublished though.⁴ Lack of qualified staff and human power, and the complex relationships with the religious institutions, have not yet allowed to reach the kind of results one hopes will be achieved in the near future. In particular, systematic coverage of manuscript collections by digitisation campaigns has neither been carried out nor planned, whereas basic conservation measures are being put in place, with traditional methods and doubtful results. Paradoxically, the work has proceeded at a better pace with the investigation of manuscripts in non-western collections abroad, for example in Egyptian institutions. These collections are supposed, as is to assume in the light of recent researches, to have had deep relationship to Eritrean institutions, even though it remains unclear to what extent this special relation can be projected backwards in the past.⁵

Among the several manuscripts from monastic collections that the MIE documented in the 1990s, still in the pre-digital era (most of the notes were copied by hand and manuscript descriptions carried out on the spot, in the absence of sophisticated equipment and

variously dated from the ninth to the thirteenth, and now to the tenth century, see A. Bausi, “‘Paleografia quale scienza dello spirito’”. Once more on the Gəʿəz inscription of Ham (*RIĖ* no. 232)’, in J.B. Quenzer (ed.), *Exploring Written Artefacts. Objects, Methods, and Concepts*, I (Berlin–Boston, MA, 2021) 3–33.

⁴ For some activities undertaken, see M. Villa, ‘Monastic libraries in Eritrea. An agenda for the future’, *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* Serie terza, 2 (49) (2018 = G. Lusini, ed., *The Eritrean Cultural Heritage. Facts and Projects. Italo-Eritrean Workshop*, Napoli–Roma, 2018) 157–81; A. Bausi *et al.*, ‘Training Activities. Eritrean Manuscript Studies Summer Training Programme (Asmara, 25 August – 3 September 2019)’, *ibid.*, Serie terza, 4 (51) (2020) 193–94. For an interesting discovery that is an outcome of these field researches and cooperation activities, see A. Bausi and A. Desreumaux, ‘Une *ṭablītō* syriaque orthodoxe en Érythrée datée de 1295/1296: un témoin des «métropolites syriens»?’, *Aethiopica* 24 (2021) 233–44.

⁵ See now in particular D. Nosnitsin and D. Reule, *The Ethiopic Manuscripts of the Egyptian Monastery of Dayr as-Suryān. A Catalogue* (Wiesbaden, 2021) xiv–xxii; for the general issues of the Egyptian-Ethiopian-Eritrean relationships see the comprehensive PhD dissertation by M. Ambu, *Du texte à la communauté: relations et échanges entre l’Égypte copte et les réseaux monastiques éthiopiens (XIII^e–XVI^e siècles)*, Thèse pour l’obtention du titre de Docteur en Histoire (Paris, 2022).

at times access clearance and microfilming permission), there was also an ancient witness of the *Revelation of Peter to Clement* or *Ethiopic version of the Arabic Apocalypse of Peter*, which is best known in the Ethiopian-Eritrean tradition as *Maṣḥafa Qalemāntos* (*Book of Clement*) or simply (and here henceforth) *Qalemāntos* (*Clement*, CAe 1957).

As is well known, this work must be clearly distinguished from the (Greek-)Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Peter* (CANT 317). Theologians and specialists of early-Christian literature call ‘Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Peter*’⁶ the initial portion (partly corresponding to the *Greek Apocalypse of Peter*) of a treatise, *The second coming of Christ and the resurrection of the dead* (CAe 1127), which, along with the next treatise that follows in the manuscripts, *A speech on the glorious and arcane mystery of the judgment of sinners and a dispute concerning this speech* (CAe 2132), composes a substantial Ethiopic pseudo-Clementine dossier, for which only two manuscript witnesses are known.⁷

The Ethiopic *Qalemāntos* is still unpublished, even though there have been some progresses in the last years in the study of its manuscript tradition. More interest, however, as is to be expected, has raised, particularly for the ideological content, its partial *Vorlage*, that

⁶ This is not the subject of the present note and I will not spend much time to elaborate on this. The concept is absolutely essential and was first set forth clearly by R.W. Cowley, ‘The Ethiopic Work which is believed to contain the material of the ancient Greek Apocalypse of Peter’, *JThS* NS 36 (1985) 151–53. For a balanced presentation and further general references, see P. Marrassini, ‘Peter, Apocalypse of’, in S. Uhlig and A. Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV (Wiesbaden, 2010) 135b–37a.

⁷ MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, éthiopien, d’Abbadie 51 (a codicologically complex manuscript dating from the fifteenth/sixteenth century), and MS Lake Tānā, Tānāsee 35 = Kebrān 35 (dating from the eighteenth century). For all further details concerning the manuscripts, see my contribution A. Bausi, ‘Towards a re-edition of the Ethiopic dossier of the “Apocalypse of Peter”’, *Apocrypha* 27 (2016, pub. 2017) 179–96, which to my knowledge still provides the most detailed and reliable state of the art on the manuscript tradition, editions, and translations of the two Ethiopic treatises. A further translation of the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Peter* is provided by E.J. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter* (Tübingen, 2019) 66–73; what I think of this translation is reserved for a review of this monograph that is in preparation.

is, the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter to Clement*, which is attested in a variety of recensions and still awaits a detailed and in-depth philological analysis.⁸ Interest has also raised in particular the use of the Arabic apocalyptic text in the context of the Crusades.⁹

As already stated, the Ethiopic *Qalemāntos* corresponds only partially to the *Arabic Apocalypse of Peter to Clement*, in particular as far as the books III–VII are concerned, whereas books I–II have a closer correspondence to Arabic texts.¹⁰ The studies carried out so far confirm the existence of a stable structure and manuscript tradition of the Ethiopic *Qalemāntos*, whose matter is distributed in seven books.

⁸ See the overview in the Introduction of my translation of Books III–VII of the *Qalemāntos*, A. Bausi, ቅሌሜንጦስ: *Il Qalēmēntos etiopico. La rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente. I libri 3–7. Traduzione e introduzione* (Napoli, 1992), with coverage of the Arabic tradition as well, and detailed bibliographic indications, including numerous reviews. Essential contributions on the Arabic remain E. Bratke, ‘Handschriftliche Überlieferung und Bruchstücke der arabisch-äthiopischen Petrus-Apokalyypse’, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 36 (1893) 454–93; M.D. Gibson, *Apocrypha Arabica*, 1. *Kitāb al-Magāll, or the Book of the Rolls* (London–New York, NY, 1901) i–xi, 1–55 (Arabic numbers), 1–58; A. Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies. Christian Documents in Syriac, Arabic, and Garshūni*, III, 2. *Apocalypse of Peter* (Cambridge, 1931) 93–449; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, I. *Die Übersetzungen* (Città del Vaticano, 1944) 271–72, 283–92; G. Troupeau, ‘De quelques apocalypses conservées dans des manuscrits arabes de Paris’, *Parole de l’Orient* 18 (1993) 75–87 at 76–77; B. Roggema, ‘Biblical Exegesis and Interreligious Polemics in the Arabic *Apocalypse of Peter – The Book of the Rolls*’, in D. Thomas (ed.), *The Bible in Arab Christianity* (Leiden, 2007) 131–50; P. La Spisa, ‘À propos de l’*Apocalypse de Pierre arabe* ou *Livre des Révélations (Kitāb al Mağāl)*’, in A. Bausi et al. (eds), *Linguistic, Oriental and Ethiopian Studies in Memory of Paolo Marrassini* (Wiesbaden, 2014) 511–26.

⁹ See C. Conti Rossini, ‘Il libro dello Pseudo-Clemente e la crociata di Damietta’, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 9/1–2 (1921) 32–35; M. Lewy, *Der apokalyptische Abessinier und die Kreuzzüge. Wandel eines frühislamischen Motivs in der Literatur und Kartografie des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 2018) 130–34; B. Weber, ‘Damiette, 1220. La cinquième croisade et l’*Apocalypse arabe de Pierre* dans leur contexte nilotique’, *Médiévales. Langues, Textes, Histoire* 79/2 (2020) 69–90.

¹⁰ Besides Bausi, *Il Qalēmēntos etiopico*, see a more concise presentation of the relationship in id., ‘Qālemāntos’, in S. Uhlig and A. Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV (Wiesbaden, 2010) 251b–53b.

The work is available in its entirety in complementary French (books I–II, and part of the III, plus excerpts from other books) and Italian (books III–VII) translations.¹¹

The manuscript tradition of the *Qalēmāntos*, in fact, albeit stable and very far from the fluid transmission typology that characterizes the corresponding Arabic apocalypse, still poses problems. A comprehensive critical edition is still *in votis*, and some studies have only highlighted some aspects of the manuscript tradition.¹² The manuscripts I was able to analyse are the following, with the sigla I will

¹¹ See S. Grébaut, 'Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. III. Traduction du Qalēmāntos', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 16 (1911) 72–84, 167–75, 225–33; id., 'id.', *ibid.* 17 (1912) 16–31, 133–44, 244–52, 337–46; id., 'id.', *ibid.* 18 (1913) 69–78; all repr. in id., *Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. Le Qalēmāntos. Version éthiopienne en sept livres traduite en français, I. Livres premier et deuxième* (Paris, 1913); S. Grébaut, 'Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. III. Traduction du Qalēmāntos', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 19 (1914) 324–30; id., 'id.', *ibid.* 20 (1915–17) 33–37, 424–30; id., 'id.', *ibid.* 21 (1918–19) 246–52; id., 'id.', *ibid.* 22 (1920–21) 22–28, 113–17, 395–400; S. Grébaut and A. Roman, 'id.', *ibid.* 26 (1927–28) 22–31; iid., 'Un passage démonologique du Qalēmāntos', *Journal Asiatique* 211 (1927) 331–39; iid., 'Un passage eschatologique du Qalēmāntos', *Aethiops* 3/2 (1930) 21–23; iid., 'Le livre V du Qalēmāntos', *ibid.* 3/3 (1930) 39–41; Bausi, *Il Qalēmāntos etiopico*, with translation of book III–VII and further details. For books I–II, I will refer to the books (capital Roman), paragraphs (small Roman), and verses (Arabic numbers) of the French translation in Grébaut, *Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. Le Qalēmāntos*; and for books III–VII to the books (capital Roman) and paragraphs (Arabic numbers) of my Italian translation.

¹² For details on available manuscripts, I refer here to Bausi, *Il Qalēmāntos etiopico*, 15–17; id., 'The Manuscript Tradition of the Ethiopic Qalēmāntos. A Short Note', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 59/1 (2006 = W. Witakowski and L. Łykowska (eds), Wälättä Yohanna. *Ethiopian Studies in Honour of Joanna Mantel-Niećko on the Occasion of the 50th Year of her Work at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Warsaw University*). 47–57; id., 'Qalēmāntos'; A. Bausi, 'The Ethiopic Book of Clement. The Case of a Recent Ethiopian Edition and a Few Additional Remarks', in A.C. McCollum (ed.), *Studies in Ethiopian Languages, Literature, and History. Festschrift for Getatchew Haile Presented by his Friends and Colleagues* (Wiesbaden, 2017) 221–37; see also id., 'Writing, Copying, Translating. Ethiopia as a Manuscript Culture', in J.B. Quenzer et al. (eds), *Manuscript Cultures. Mapping the Field* (Berlin – Boston, MA, 2014) 37–77 at 57–60.

henceforth use to refer to them: MSS London, British Library, Orient. 751 [A], 752 [B], and 753 [C]; Addis Ababa, Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (EMML),¹³ nos 370 [D], 1141 [E], 2147 [F], and 4857 [G]; Monumento Nazionale di Casamari, Veroli, MS 121 (MNC-020) [K];¹⁴ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, éthiopien, d'Abbadie 78 [P]; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung, Ṭānāsee 175 = Dāgā Eṣṭifānos 64 [S]; Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, M. aeth. 1 = M. a. IX 1 [T]; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cerulli Et. 122 [V].

A recent Ethiopian edition, with Gəʿəz text along with an Amharic translation, has been published a few years ago in Addis Ababa. This edition (*The Book of Clement of Rome in Gəʿəz and Amharic*) represents the individual attempt by the scholar Gabra Yoḥānnəs Gabra Māryām without any formal support from the Ethiopian Orthodox Tawāḥədo Church institution, to make the text of the *Qalemantos* accessible in the original text and in an interpretive Amharic translation.¹⁵ The edition does not match any scholarly standard and is marked by apparent flaws; one cannot exclude that the editor and translator has to some extent adapted, rearranged, and even rewritten the text. In the absence of detailed information, it is impossible to

¹³ The EMML manuscripts can be also consulted, along with manuscripts from many other collections, in the Reading Room (<https://www.vhmml.org/readingRoom/view/>) of the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library (HML), at Collegeville, MN, where they are provided with permanent links (<https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/> plus number).

¹⁴ On MS K, one of the oldest manuscripts available, see D.V. Proverbio and G. Fiaccadori, 'Un nuovo testimone etiopico della *Rivelazione di Pietro a Clemente*: il ms. 121 del Monumento Nazionale di Casamari (Veroli). "Appendice" di G. Fiaccadori: Sul ms. Parigi, B.n.F., d'Abb. 78 (C.R. 38) e i metropolitani Yeshāq, Yāʿqob e Mārḳos d'Etioṗia (sec. XV–XVI)', *Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Serie nona, 15 (2004) 665–93; A. Bausi, 'La tradizione scrittoria etiopica', *Segno e testo* 6 (2008) 507–57 at 514–15, n. 15; and lastly A. Brita *et al.*, 'Three Collections of Gəʿəz Manuscripts Recently Surveyed in Italy. An Inventory', *Aethiopica* 20 (2017) 167–89 at 184 (MS MNC-020).

¹⁵ See Yoḥānnəs Gabra Māryām, መጽሐፈ ቀሌሜንጦስ ዘሮም በግእዝና በአማርኛ (*Maṣḥafa Qalemantos zaRom bagəʿəzənnā baʿamāṛəññā*, 'The Book of Clement of Rome in Gəʿəz and Amharic', Addis Ababā, 2008).

determine which are the manuscript sources on which the editor based his edition and if any manuscript actually corresponds to that text.¹⁶

Based on extensive collation of book II, it appears that the majority of the manuscripts of the *Qalemāntos* – seven out of twelve collated textual witnesses – are marked by a large transposition which seems to be due to a mechanical error: due to the transposition of leaves, a long lists of heresies is interrupted by the insertion of an abrupt passage, whereas the list is later resumed. With all evidence, this transposition demonstrates the existence of a subarchetype as a common ancestor of the branch of the tradition that shares that innovation.¹⁷ The same error also affects the Ethiopian printed edition.¹⁸

I finally come to the main point of this modest note. The manuscript of the *Qalemāntos* that the MIE documented was examined in 1992 in the monastery of ʾĒndā ʾAbuna Yonās Tähtāy, also known as Dabra Dəḥuḥān, in the Eritrean region of Sarāʾe.¹⁹

The manuscript was summarily described on the spot, copying some passages, and taking the few notes which the little time and the

¹⁶ See for further details Bausi, 'The Ethiopic *Book of Clement*'. The survey of the printed edition has shown that the source text of the edition can be placed close to MSS F and T. In the same contribution I also considered three further manuscripts: the seventeenth-century MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cerulli Et. 237, with book VII only on ff. 5r–16r; the fifteenth-century MS Jerusalem, Library of the Ethiopian Orthodox Patriarchate, JE 300 E (with shelfmark 119), with excerpts on ff. 61r–84r from books II, III, IV, and VII: ff. 61r.16–70r.15: II,iv,2–viii,12; ff. 70r.15–72r.10: IV,1–5; ff. 72r.10–76v.20: III,48–59; ff. 76v.20–80v.13: IV,6–14; ff. 80v.13–83r.16: IV,69–73; ff. 83r.16–84r.1: VI,69–71; and the fourteenth-fifteenth century MS EMMML no. 1843, definitely the oldest manuscript witness, with five excerpts on ff. 56va–58ra from book III: III,1–5; III,60; III,99; III,114; III,165–67.

¹⁷ See details in Bausi, 'The Manuscript Tradition of the Ethiopic *Qalēmēntos*', 47–57.

¹⁸ See id., 'The Ethiopic *Book of Clement*', 222–24.

¹⁹ See G. Lusini, 'Däbrä Dəḥuḥān', in S. Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, II (Wiesbaden, 2005) 20b; the hagiography of the founder of the monastery, ʾAbbā Yonās, was published in the meanwhile, see Tedros Abraha, *Gädlä Abunä Yonas Zä-Bur. Eritrean Saint of the 15th Century. Geʾez text edited and translated* (Turnhout, 2015); on the saint, see also A. Bausi, 'Yonas of Bur', in A. Bausi and S. Uhlig (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, V (Wiesbaden, 2014) 92b–94a.

limited access to the manuscript allowed. The description appeared in the first Italian report of the MIE activities in 1993.²⁰ I reproduce it here in English:²¹

Qalemāntos. Parchment. Fifteenth century (at the latest); 31 × 18 cm; 166 ff.; 2 cols; 29–30 lines (sometimes more). Most of the leaves are detached and the quire structure is therefore not determinable. The codex is in a poor state of preservation; the beginning of the text is mutilous, some sheets are browned. Undecorated wooden cover. F. 166r: *zātti maṣḥaf zawahaba beta krəstiyān Ta[ta]mqa Madhən kama [yəza]k-kərwəwə 'ahawihu bamoto wabahəywato tasaffəwə baṣalotəkkəmu* ('This is the book that gave <to> the church Taṭamqqa Madhən so that his brothers remember him, and in <their> life having hope in your prayer'). It contains the *Qalemāntos*: f. 1r: book I (beginning is wanting); f. 41r: book II: *basəma* [etc.] *qadāmi məsrāta zakāsāta qəddus Pētros. larad'u Qalemāntos* [etc.] ('In the name [etc.] First announcement that Saint Peter revealed to his disciple Clement'); f. 61r: book III [[in fact: book V]]: *basəma* [etc.] *šər'at zaqəddəst. beta krəstiyān zana-garo 'Əgzi'əna wamadhanina 'Iyasus Krəstos laPētros* ('In the name [etc.] Rule of the holy Church which our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ told to Peter'); f. 66v: book IV [[in fact: book III]]: *basəma* [etc.] *nəqəddəm nəṣəḥəf* [sic] *ḥayla wata'ammər za'ar'aya 'Əgzi'abəḥər* ('In the name [etc.] We start to write the power and miracles which the Lord showed'); f. 102r: V libro [[in fact: book IV]]: *basəma* [etc.] *nagar zatanāgaro Pētros rə'əsa ḥawāryāt* ('In the name [etc.] Speech which Peter head of the Apostles spoke'); f. 133r: book VI: *batr zazabaṭo laSaytān Krəstos wə'ətu wabatra Muse 'ənta gabrat ta'amməra baqāla 'Əgzi'abəḥər baqadāmi ḥəgg 'ar'ayā tə'mərta masqal yə'əti baza saqa-ləwo laKrəstos* ('The rod by which Christ beat Satan is the rod of Moses, which accomplished miracles by the word of God in the first Law, at the image of the sign of that Cross on which Christ was crucified'); f. 148r: book VII *šāləs nagar watə'əzəz ba'ənta nəssəḥa la'əlla*

²⁰ See A. Bausi *et al.* (eds), 'Materiali di Studio dal Särä'ē (Eritrea): le istituzioni monastiche e la struttura della proprietà fondiaria', *Africa* (Roma) 48/3 (1993) 446–463 at 462–63. Documentary texts taken from manuscripts at the monastery were published by Lusini, *Scritture documentarie*, 5–55.

²¹ Note that the books of the *Qalemāntos* were at the time simply numbered on the basis of their sequence, as it was not possible to consider any further evidence. Based on the evidence collected later in 2019, I provide here in double square brackets [[]] the correct identification of the book number, according to what we know at present of the manuscript transmission. I also add in round brackets the translation of some passages.

gab'u ('Third speech and order concerning the penitence of those who have repented').

On 2 September 2019 I was able to examine directly in Asmara²² for a few hours the same manuscript I had seen and summarily described twenty-seven years before, on 21–22 October 1992, at the monastery of Dabra Dəḥuḥān.²³ The occasion was provided by the fact that the entire library of the monastery of Dabra Dəḥuḥān had been temporarily moved to Asmara for conservation and microfilming measures, at the care of the local Research and Documentation Centre, which hosted a summer school offered by the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies of the Universität Hamburg in cooperation with the Eritrean institutions. The manuscript was conventionally given the shelfmark DDAY-005,²⁴ but I will use here the siglum X when listing it along with other manuscript witnesses of the *Qalemāntos*. Here follows a new description of the content of this manuscript, compared with the available French and Italian translations, according to the sequence of the leaves.

The manuscript appeared in relatively better conditions in comparison to the state I observed in 1992, insofar that it was entirely reordered, and also rebound, furnished with a new red tooled leather cover over the wooden boards, with textile pastedowns. Yet, the binding had not taken into account the textual evidence and, as I will show in a moment, the coherence of the sequence was disregarded. One leaf appears to have gone lost, since the manuscript consisted of 165 leaves, against the 166 recorded in 1992 (if the counting was correct); pagination had been added on recto and verso (per each page) from 1 to 330. The size could be better specified: 316 × 207 × 97 mm. Two decorated *incipits* of chapter are found on pp. 169 (f. 85r) and 299 (f. 147r).

On f. 1r, which serves as an endleaf, a modern title in abbreviated form is found, which identifies the contents of the manuscript as:

²² My warm thanks go to Susanne Hummel and Denis Nosnitsin, who were part of the team who participated in the event and helped me to access the manuscript.

²³ See A. Bausi and G. Lusini, 'Appunti in margine a una nuova ricerca sui conventi eritrei', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 36 (1992, pub. 1994) 5–36 at 15–16.

²⁴ DDAY being an acronym for Dabra Dəḥuḥān 'Abbā Yonaṣ.

ma(ṣḥafa) sər'at za be(ta) krəstəyān ('Book of the rule of the church'). This could be an interesting clue on how traditionally the *Qalemāntos* is perceived, that is, more a work of canon law (predominant matter of books III–VII) than an apocalyptic writing (matter of books I–II). The title, however, could also have a more practical explanation, as is common in inventories of books, that is, the first text in the manuscript (here book V of the *Qalemāntos*) identifies the manuscript for the sake of inventorying it.²⁵ The *incipit* of book V is in fact the following: *basəma 'ab* [etc.] *šər'at zaqəddəst. beta krəstiyān. zanagaro 'əgzi'əna wamadḥanina 'iyasus krəstos la pētros* ('In the name of the Father [etc.] Rule of the holy Church that our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ told to Peter').

The content of the manuscript is the following:

- f. 1r: title: *ma(ṣḥafa) sər'at za be(ta) krəstəyān* ('Book of the rule of the church'); f. 1v: blank;
- ff. 2–7ra: book V;
- f. 7rb: on the second line, part of the trinitarian formula, with first line left empty, probably to be later rubricated; lines 3–12 are erased;
- ff. 7va, 8, (lacuna of one leaf,) 47–48, 9–38, 45–46, 39–42: book III;²⁶ note that the passage on ff. 9ra.12–11vb.2, between III,21 and

²⁵ See on this T. Erho, 'The Shepherd of Hermas in Ethiopia', in P. Nicelli (ed.), *L'Africa, l'Oriente mediterraneo e l'Europa. Tradizioni e culture a confronto* (Milano, 2015) 97–118; A. Bausi, 'Ethiopia and the Christian Ecu-mene. Cultural Transmission, Translation, and Reception', in S. Kelly (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval Ethiopia and Eritrea* (Leiden, 2020) 217–51 at 230–33.

²⁶ Details: f. 7v: III,1–4; f. 8: III,4–8; lacuna of one leaf: III,8–12; f. 47: III,12–16; f. 48: III,16–21; f. 9 (f. 9ra.1–11): III,21; ff. 9ra.12–11vb.2: pas-sage with no correspondence in the available translations; f. 11vb.2–end: III,22–23; f. 12: III,23–27; f. 13: III,27–29; f. 14: III,29–31; f. 15: III,31–34; f. 16: III,34–41; f. 17: III,41–44; f. 18: III,44–48; f. 19: III,48–52; f. 20: III,52–56; f. 21: III,56–62; f. 22: III,62–68; f. 23: III,68–73; f. 24: III,73–79; f. 25: III,79–84; f. 26: III,84–88; f. 27: III,88–94; f. 28: III,94–98; f. 29: III,98–104; f. 30: III,104–10; f. 31: III,110–18; f. 32: III,118–23; f. 33: III,123–31; f. 34: III,131–37; f. 35: III,137–40; f. 36: III,140–46; f. 37: III,146–50; f. 38: III,150–55; f. 45: III,155–62; f. 46: III,162–66; f. 39r: III,166–69; ff. 39v–40r: non digitized: presumably, III,169–77; f. 40v: III,177–79; f. 41: III,179–86; f. 42r–vb: III,186–91.

- III,22, has no apparent correspondence in the available translations, but it belongs to the *Qalemāntos*: it is found in at least four more manuscripts which, I assume, preserve the primary text, whereas the others share the omission and must depend from a common subarchetype, at least as far as this book is concerned;²⁷ from III,22 the text goes according to what all manuscripts I could check attest;
- ff. 43–44, 104–132r: book IV;²⁸
 - ff. 49–84rb: book I: acephalous with one leaf with *incipit* missing; otherwise complete;²⁹
 - f. 84rb–va: commemoration of the patriarchs;³⁰ f. 84vb: blank;
 - ff. 85–98, 102–103, 100–101, 99: book II; with a few transpositions; mutilous: the last paragraph at the end is missing;³¹ it is

²⁷ The passage is not found in MSS ABEFPT V; the passage is found in MSS C, ff. 25ra.31–26rc.15; D, ff. 40ra.24–41va.23; G, ff. 40ra.23–42rb.8; K, ff. 92vb.26–95rb.19; and S, ff. 72va.28–75ra.27. Note that this variant in MS S had not escaped a cataloguer of the stature of Veronika Six, who observed ‘Der Text von Bl.72va, Zl.28 (nach den zehn Geboten) bis 75ra fehlt in der Übersetzung von GPsCl VIII (Nr.8)’, that is Grébaut, ‘Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. III. Traduction du Qalēmēntos’, *Revue de l’Orient Chrétien* 20 (1915–17) 33–37, 424–30 (as is also missing in Bausi, *Il Qalēmēntos etiopico*, 50–51, between III,21 and III,22), see V. Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Tānāsee*, III. *Nebst einem Nachtrag zum Katalog der äthiopischen Handschriften Deutscher Bibliotheken und Museen* (Stuttgart, 1999) 231.

²⁸ Details: ff. 43–44: IV,1–8; ff. 104–132ra: IV,8–164.

²⁹ Details: lacuna of one leaf: I,i,1–3; f. 49: I,i,3–ii,3; f. 50: I,ii,3; f. 51: I,ii,3–iii,3; f. 52: I,iii,3–6; f. 53: I,iii,6–iv,3; f. 54: I,iv,3–v,2; f. 55: I,v,2–vi,3; f. 56: I,vi,3–vii,1; f. 57: I,vii,1–3; f. 58: I,vii,3–4; f. 59: I,vii,4–viii,2; f. 60: I,viii,2–ix,3; f. 61: I,ix,4–x,2; f. 62: I,x,2–xi,2; f. 63: I,xi,2–xii,3; f. 64: I,xii,3–xiii,2; f. 65: I,xiii,2–xiv,2; f. 66: I,xiv,2–3; f. 67: I,xiv,3–xv,4; f. 68: I,xv,4–xvi,5; f. 69: I,xvi,5–11; f. 70: I,xvi,11–xviii,1; f. 71: I,xviii,1–xix,2; f. 72: I,xix,2–xx,2; f. 73: I,xx,2–xxi,1; f. 74: I,xxi,1–5; f. 75: I,xxi,5–8; f. 76: I,xxi,8–xxii,3; f. 77: I,xxii,3–7; f. 78: I,xxii,7–11; f. 79: I,xxii,11–xxiii,5; f. 80: I,xxiii,5–10; f. 81: I,xxiii,10–xxiv,1; f. 82: I,xxiv,2–4; f. 83: I,xxiv,4–9; f. 84: I,xxiv,9.

³⁰ This commemoration is present in other manuscripts of the *Qalemāntos*, see edition and translation from MSS C and D, in Bausi, *Il Qalēmēntos etiopico*, 179–80.

³¹ Details: f. 85: II,i,1–2; f. 86: II,i,2–3; f. 87: II,i,3–ii,1; f. 88: II,ii,1–4; f. 89: II,ii,4–7; f. 90: II,ii,7–8; f. 91: II,ii,8–iii,2; f. 92: II,iii,2–iv,3; f. 93: II,iv,3–vi,1; f. 94: II,vi,1–vii,1; f. 95: II,vii,1–viii,1; f. 96: II,viii,1–6; f. 97:

important to note that also this manuscript shares the transposition error that affects a list of heresies in book II, and thus depends from that same subarchetype as other manuscripts, at least as far as this book is concerned;³²

- ff. 132r–146: book VI;
- ff. 147–165ra: book VII; contrary to what is found in other manuscripts, part of the manuscript transmission, including MS X, introduces this book giving it as: *śālās nagar watə'əzāz ba'ənta nəssəḥa la'əlla gab'u. fəkkāre rā'y śālās nagar zarə'ya pētros walda yonā* ('Third speech and order concerning the penitence of those who re-entered (the community). Interpretation of the vision, third speech, which Peter son of Jonah saw').³³

The distribution of this variant does not reflect the stemmatological classification based on the transposition in book II, but: 1) we cannot exclude that the indication of a 'third speech' at the beginning of the seventh and last book of the work was independently removed by more copyists, since it disturbs the sequence;³⁴ 2) we cannot exclude

II,viii,6–12; f. 98: II,viii,12–ix,6 (note: on this leaf there is the transposition of the list of heresies: this manuscript has the same arrangement as those with the transposition); f. 102: II,ix,6–12; f. 103: II,ix,12–17; f. 100: II,ix,17–22; f. 101: II,ix,22–25; f. 99: II,ix,25–28; the last paragraph at the end (within II,ix,28), is missing.

³² The transposed passage is II,ix,6–18: the French translation by Grébaut, *Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine. Le Qalēmentos*, that follows MS P, has this wrong sequence: II,ix,1–5, 6–18, 19–25, 26–28, whereas the correct textual sequence is: II,ix,1–5, 19–25, 6–18, 26–28. The wrong sequence, besides P, is also found in MSS C E F S T V. Manuscripts not affected by this wrong sequence are MSS A B D G K.

³³ The indication that this is a third speech is missing, for example, in MSS ABE (in MS A f. 80vc, book VII has the following *incipit*: *basəma 'ab* [etc.] *zəntu rā'y zarə'əya sam'on walda yonā* [etc.], 'In the name of the Father [etc.] This is the vision that saw Simon son of Jonah'; see Bausi, *Il Qalēmentos etiopico*, 155); the indication is present in MSS C D F G K P S T V, as well as in MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cerulli Et. 237, with book VII only.

³⁴ See for example the comment by Veronika Six, who took this indication in MS S as a copyist's slip, Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Tānāsee*, III, 231, 'Das siebente Buch ist versehentlich Bl.39va als *śālās nagər* ... bezeichnet' (*nagər*: sic).

that for different parts or books of the work a different stemma applies; 3) we cannot exclude that this indication is itself an innovation: it would then be the introduction of a paratext, or better, paracontent, in the form of an explicatory title.³⁵

From this description of the manuscript, which takes into account the numerous transpositions of leaves, there emerges the following possible sequence of texts, distributed in at least five blocks:³⁶

- A) ff. 49–84rb: book I: acephalous: one leaf with *incipit* is missing; otherwise complete; f. 84rb–va: commemoration of the patriarchs;
- B) ff. 85–98, 102–103, 100–101, 99: book II: with a few transpositions; mutilous: the last paragraph at the end is missing;
- C) ff. 2–7ra: book V; ff. 7va, 8, 47–48, 9–38, 45–46, 39–42: book III;
- D) ff. 43–44, 104–132r: book IV; ff. 132r–146: book VI;
- E) ff. 147–165ra: book VII.

The evidence of the textual sequence, even in the absence of a codicological analysis, which was not possible for the time being, shows that the sequence of the books is at great variance with what is known from all other manuscripts of the *Qalemāntos*. In particular, even though it is possible that blocks A and B were arranged in this sequence, which would give: books I and II at the beginning, there is no doubt that what is usually known as book III could not follow, because it is preceded in block C by book V, and the sequence book V–book III is certain in this manuscript (book III ends on the recto of the same leaf on the verso of which book V begins).

³⁵ For ‘paracontent’ see G. Ciotti *et al.*, *Definition of Paracontent* (Hamburg, 2018); and for the title, see the last of a series of contributions by Paola Buzi on the Coptic manuscript tradition, P. Buzi, ‘Preliminary Remarks on Coptic Biblical Titles (From the Third to the Eleventh Century)’, *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin* 3/1 (2017) 5–22, with further references.

³⁶ It is not possible to apply a consistent codicological description, because it was not possible to analyse the quire structure of MS X, but the source of inspiration for this approach, with the notion of ‘blocks’ separated by caesurae (in this case, the coincidence of beginning and/or end of textual units with sets of leaves) obviously is the well known contribution by J.P. Gumbert, ‘Codicological Units. Towards a Terminology for the Stratigraphy of the Non-Homogeneous Codex’, *Segno e testo* 2 (2004 = E. Crisci and O. Pecere (eds), *Il codice miscellaneo, tipologia e funzioni*) 17–42.

Yet, it is possible that what we know as book VII, indicated as ‘third speech’ in this as well as other manuscripts, could follow immediately book II, and then be in fact a third book; this arrangement could reflect an older layer of the tradition. As for books III, IV, V, and VI, the sequence in the leaves allows for two possibilities only: either C-D, that is books V, III, IV, VI; or D-C, that is books IV, VI, V, III.

More in general, we note contradictory evidence, which requires further examination and possibly also the consideration of phenomena of contamination: 1) the transposition in book II is an innovation shared by MSS C E F P S T V X, against MSS A B D G K; 2) the omission of a passage in book III is also an innovation shared by MSS A B E F P T V, which must depend from a common subarchetype, against MSS C D G K S X; and 3) the title of book VII as ‘third speech’ opposes manuscript witnesses with this indication, that is MSS C D F G K P S T V X, to those without this indication, that is MSS A B E.

The availability of digital surrogates of further manuscripts of the *Qalemantos*, new or already known from preliminary inventories, but still uncatalogued or only summarily catalogued, provides evidence that shall be the subject of another contribution. To only sum up a few preliminary conclusions of a cursory analysis of some of them:

- 1) the transposition in book II (like MSS C E F P S T V X) is also shared by the following manuscripts: MSS EMMML nos 6281, 6495, 7651, and 8843;³⁷ MS Goğğām, Dabra Mārḳos, DM-035;³⁸ MS UNESCO 06, Dabra Ḍaḥāy Church, 012;³⁹ MS Goğğām, Dabra Dimā, EMDA 0039;⁴⁰ MS Təgrāy, Dabra Q^wayaṣā, EMDA

³⁷ These four manuscripts are all uncatalogued and accessible at the HMML permanent link (<https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/>) nos 200044; 200134; 201178; 201511.

³⁸ Digitised by Mersha Alehegne, whom I thank for letting me access this uncatalogued material.

³⁹ The microfilm of this manuscript was digitised by the Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project, Project Director Steve Delamarter (George Fox University, Portland, Oregon, USA), for The IES Digital Collection of Ethiopian Manuscripts, in cooperation with the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University.

⁴⁰ The manuscript was catalogued by Ted Erho, and I could collate the manuscript at the HMML permanent link no. 533861. This manuscript has

- 00139 (C1-IV-124);⁴¹ MS EML no. 6976 is not complete and some portions, including books I and VII, are missing, but it has the transposition in book II.⁴² Only the following two manuscripts (like MSS A B D G K) do not have the transposition: MS Goğğām, Moṭā Giyorgis, EMDA 00080 (G1-IV-249);⁴³ and MS Goğğām, Dimā Giyorgis, DG-011;⁴⁴
- 2) the omission of the passage in book III (like MSS A B E F P T V) is also shared by the following manuscripts: MSS EML nos 6281, 6495, 7651, and 8843; MS Goğğām, Dabra Mārḡos, DM-035; MS UNESCO 06, Dabra Ḍaḡāy Church, 012; MS Goğğām, Dabra Dimā, EMDA 0039. The following manuscripts (like MSS C D G K S X) do not have the omission: MS Təḡrāy, Dabra Q^wayaṣā, EMDA 00139 (C1-IV-124); MS Goğğām, Moṭā Giyorgis, EMDA 00080 (G1-IV-249); MS Goğğām, Dimā Giyorgis, DG-011; MS EML no. 6976;
 - 3) the following manuscripts (like MSS A B E) do not title book VII ‘third speech’: MS UNESCO 06, Dabra Ḍaḡāy Church, 012; MS Goğğām, Dabra Dimā, EMDA 0039; MS Goğğām, Moṭā Giyorgis, EMDA 00080 (G1-IV-249). The following manuscripts title book VII ‘third speech’ (like MSS C D F G K P S T V X): MSS EML nos 6281, 6495, 7651, and 8843; MS Goğğām, Dabra Mārḡos, DM-035; MS Təḡrāy, Dabra Q^wayaṣā, EMDA 00139 (C1-IV-124); MS Goğğām, Dimā Giyorgis, DG-011. MS EML 6976 lacks book VII.

Note that MSS EML nos 6281, 6495, 7651, 8843, and MS Goğğām, Dabra Mārḡos, DM-035, all share the same three textual features 1), 2), and 3) as MSS F P T V. MS UNESCO 06, Dabra Ḍaḡāy Church, 012, and MS Goğğām, Dabra Dimā, EMDA 0039 share features 1)

also the commemoration of the patriarchs, considered as an additional book, thus obtaining an arrangement in eight books.

⁴¹ Metadata were provided by Ted Erho and I could collate the manuscript at the HML permanent link no. 500187.

⁴² The manuscript was catalogued by Ted Erho and I could collate the manuscript at the HML permanent link no. 200601.

⁴³ Metadata were provided by Ted Erho and I could collate the manuscript at the HML permanent link no. 138203.

⁴⁴ Digitised by Mersha Alehegne, whom I thank for letting me access this uncatalogued material.

and 2), but do not title book VII ‘third speech’. MS Təgrāy, Dabra Q^wayaṣā, EMDA 00139 (C1-IV-124), has the same features as MSS S (and X, aside from the order of books), that is transposition of the passage in book II and title of book VII as ‘third book’. MS Goḡḡām, Dimā Giyorgis, DG-011, like MSS G K, has no features 1) and 2), and titles book VII ‘third speech’. MS Goḡḡām, Moṭā Giyorgis, EMDA 00080 (G1-IV-249), has no features 1) and 2), but does not title book VII ‘third speech’.

Concerning other EMLL manuscripts inventoried as *Qalemāntos*, note that no. 7364 is not a *Qalemāntos*;⁴⁵ and no. 8753 is the same as MS S (= Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung, Tānāsee 175 = Dāgā Eṣṭifānos 64). Other EMLL manuscripts could not yet be checked.⁴⁶

What I have presented here, at the example of the Ethiopic *Qalemāntos*, confirms what is well known and has been even recently repeated more times: the libraries of Eritrea and Ethiopia are a mine of historical and philological information. They host an essential documentary source for the investigation of the Eritrean and Ethiopian past and literary tradition, including all entanglements with other cultural areas and literatures, not only of the last two centuries, but even more, from the earliest attested writing evidence onwards – considering the related epigraphic sources, at times connected to church settlements, spanning over two millennia.

Having had the privilege to take part in several of the field trips (from 1992 to 1997) carried out by the Missione Italiana in Eritrea, the importance and vastness of the extant materials became immediately apparent. Among the tantalizing aspects of a research that was

⁴⁵ The manuscript is a Four Gospel manuscript, with acephalous prefatory materials; on f. 1r there is in fact the last part of a *List of apostles and disciple* (CAe 6241) that mentions also Clement, see edition and translation in A. Bausi, ‘Una “lista” etiopica di apostoli e discepoli’, in id. *et al.* (eds), *Æthiopica et Orientalia. Studi in onore di Yaqob Beyene* (Napoli, 2012) I, 43–67 at 64–65, § 20.

⁴⁶ The following EMLL manuscripts already listed in Bausi, *Il Qalēmēntos etiopico*, 16, were not yet available in an accessible format: MSS nos 6732, 7391 (= Addis Ababa, National Archives and Library of Ethiopia, 422), 8123, 8295, 8549, 8572, and 8578. To this list I was able to add here no. 6976.

still carried out in the pre-digital age was the fact that, despite the large amount of material examined, it was impossible (not permitted and not even technically feasible, in consideration of the available equipment) to collect materials by microfilming to be eventually analysed under better conditions, unless to a very limited extent. If, despite all these constraints, the outcome of this research was a not negligible collection of significant documents, it was nonetheless impossible to approach a more sophisticated level of investigation, in particular to fathom the phenomenology of the manuscript tradition of medieval works in Gəʿəz as attested in Eritrean institutions.

Thanks to recent developments and initiatives undertaken, it appears to be possible to go beyond this limit.⁴⁷ The case I have tried to enlighten here is, if not the first, one of the first analyses of a manuscript tradition of a Gəʿəz work, the (*Maṣḥafa*) *Qalemānṭos* or *Book of Clement*, that compares the evidence emerged from a manuscript witness preserved in an Eritrean institution with the tradition known from other institutions of the Christian kingdom of the highlands. It is intended, not only as a contribution of philological character on the text of the *Qalemānṭos*, but also as a diagnosis on the assumed role monastic networks had in medieval times, in spreading ideas, novelties, and knowledge, which we can still trace going through the books that are extant: not only at the macroscopic level of the evidence of added historical notes, but also in the small textual variations at a microscopic, almost molecular level.

In this case, the books sequence of the *Qalemānṭos* attested by MS X (DDAY-005) of Dabra Dəḥuhān provides an undoubtful evidence of the existence of an arrangement of the work that is not the same as that known for all other manuscripts considered. Although the same manuscript shares an innovation in book II which determines its dependence from a subarchetype common to other manuscripts, it also preserves the primary reading in book III, with a relatively long passage that is omitted by some manuscripts. This state of facts still poses the question of the intentionality of an anomalous sequence of

⁴⁷ Efforts by the Università degli Studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale', and more recently by the Universität Hamburg, which I represent, supported by and in cooperation with Eritrean institutions, mark a first step. To give an idea of how much is still to be done, to my knowledge there are at least six further manuscripts of the *Qalemānṭos* kept in Eritrean institutions.

books (either I, II, VII, V, III, IV, and VI; or I, II, VII, IV, VI, V, III) in the light of an explicit paratextual indication of book VII as ‘third speech’, which, in turn, is also shared with other manuscripts of the *Qalemōntos*.

XIV. New Evidence for the *Apocalypse of Peter* in Ethiopia?

TED M. ERHO¹

in memoriam
Prof. Getatchew Haile

The century since M.R. James' identification of part of a text published and translated by Sylvain Grébaut with the early Christian *Apocalypse of Peter*, previously known only from some fragmentary Greek witnesses, has brought forth few advances in the study of the Ethiopic version.² Grébaut had access to a single mutilous manuscript, most probably to be assigned to the early sixteenth century on palaeographical grounds, acquired from the monastery of Dāgā Estifānos by French-Irish explorer Antoine d'Abbadie during his travels in Ethiopia between 1837–1848. Later transferred to the Bibliothèque nationale de France as Éthiopien d'Abbadie 51,³ it remained the only known witness to the Ethiopic version until 1968, when

¹ I am grateful to James Hamrick for reading and offering suggestions on the text and translation of the homily edited below, as well as to Steve Delamarter for kindly providing me copies of several manuscripts referenced in this article digitized by his Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project. Eric Beck also graciously provided me with a copy of his English translation of the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter*, which is used for references to that text.

² M.R. James, 'A New Text of the Apocalypse of Peter', *JThS* 12 (1910) 36–54; S. Grébaut, 'Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-Clémentine', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 15 (1910) 198–214, 307–23, 425–39.

³ A. d'Abbadie, *Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens* (Paris, 1859) 60–63; M. Chaîne, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection Antoine d'Abbadie* (Paris, 1912) 34–37; C. Conti Rossini, 'Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d'Abbadie', *Journal Asiatique* ser. 10 vol. 20 (1912) 5–72, at 37–38.

Ernst Hammerschmidt microfilmed a second, eighteenth-century exemplar at the monastic library of Kebrān Gabre'ēl as his Ṭānāsee 35.⁴ Hammerschmidt's Ethiopian venture subsequently took him to Dāgā Estīfānos, located only a few kilometers away on another island in Lake Ṭānā, where he would also microfilm a bifolium comprising the long-disconnected end of Éthiopien d'Abbadie 51.⁵

Despite more than a tenfold increase in the availability of Ethiopic manuscripts to Western scholars since that time, not even one further witness to this text has emerged to supplement the aforementioned Éthiopien d'Abbadie 51 and Ṭānāsee 35.⁶ This somewhat surprising situation raises a number of important questions: Was the circulation of the *Apocalypse of Peter* in Ethiopia highly localized and more or less limited to the Lake Ṭānā area? Is there any evidence for the text in the Horn of Africa beyond the two known manuscripts? When did it first arrive there? Did the *Apocalypse of Peter* have any tangible impact upon the Ethiopian Orthodox tradition?

Any attempt to answer such questions must necessarily begin, though not end, with the direct material evidence itself. While the palaeographic age of the earlier manuscript does provide a *terminus ante quem* of ca. 1500 for the Ethiopic version of this apocalypse, the primary significance of this starting point is as a means of delimiting – or

⁴ E. Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee I* (Wiesbaden, 1973) 163–67. The microfilming took place on November 6, 1968 (*ibid.*, 56), and the same manuscript would be microfilmed once again two decades later by the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library project as EMLL no. 8294. On the materiality of the manuscripts, see also the article by Thomas J. Kraus in the present volume.

⁵ As Ṭānāsee 118, ff. 2–3. Despite being properly identified in V. Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee Teil 3* (Stuttgart, 1999) 79, this fragment, in which the correct order of text runs ff. 3vr, 2vr, seems to have gone overlooked in recent scholarship. For the locations of the two monasteries in relation to one another, see the map in S. Uhlig and A. Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* (Wiesbaden, 2003–2014) III:369.

⁶ For example, despite microfilming more than 9000 manuscripts over two decades in the late twentieth century, the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (EMML) project would only encounter the same copy from Kebrān Gabre'ēl recorded by Hammerschmidt. On the EMML, see C. Stewart, 'A Brief History of the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (EMML)', in A.C. McCollum (ed.), *Studies in Ethiopian Languages, Literature, and History: Festschrift for Getatchew Haile* (Wiesbaden, 2017) 447–72.

rather problematizing the delimitation of – the text in question. On the one hand, it is clear that the boundaries which scholars assign to the *Apocalypse of Peter* in the strict sense cannot be applied to the text as presented in the Ethiopian tradition, as no division exists at this point in the manuscripts. On the other, however, reasonable arguments can be advanced for two different termini. Traditionally, as first suggested by Antoine d'Abbadie and later brought out even more explicitly by Grébaut in publishing the material under the separate subtitles “La seconde venue du Christ et la résurrection des morts” and “Le mystère du jugement des pécheurs”, the work in which the *Apocalypse of Peter* is embedded has been interpreted as being followed by another discrete pseudo-Clementine text.⁷ Although this relational reconstruction may be correct, and a division of some sort clearly exists in both manuscripts here, its precise character cannot be so easily categorized. In neither case does this division result in a large gap or a start at the top of a new page, the clearest markers for the beginning of an independent work. Instead, the demarcations are of a less major type, occurring within just one of multiple columns, and the following material could be legitimately interpreted as either a completely new text or a subsection of the existing one. Thematic and contextual similarities between the material both preceding and following this division in combination with the fact that a proper colophon only appears after “Le mystère du jugement des pécheurs” render the latter a distinct possibility.⁸

Regardless of the true terminus, these two works – or two sections of a work – have formed an inseparable bond in the extant Ethiopian tradition: neither is attested anywhere without its counterpart. In both surviving exemplars, moreover, the *Testamentum Domini* and the *Testamentum Domini in Galilee*, two more popular pseudo-apostolic texts that commonly circulate together, immediately precede this material.⁹

⁷ d'Abbadie, *Catalogue raisonné*, 62; S. Grébaut, ‘Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-Clémentine’, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 12 (1907) 139–51, 285–97, 380–92; 13 (1908) 166–80, 314–20; 15 (1910) 198–214, 307–23, 425–39. On this pseudo-Clementine framework, see the contribution of Daniel Maier in the present book.

⁸ R.W. Cowley, ‘The Ethiopic Work which is Believed to Contain the Material of the Ancient Greek Apocalypse of Peter,’ *JThS* 36 (1985) 151–53 strongly advocated for this position.

⁹ Respectively published in R. Beylot, *Testamentum Domini éthiopien* (Louvain, 1984) and L. Guerrier and S. Grébaut, *Le Testament en Galilée de*

This suggests that, at least in the Lake Ṭānā area, the *Apocalypse of Peter* was integrated into the pseudo-apostolic revelation tradition rather than the pseudo-Clementine one attested principally in *Qalēmentos*.¹⁰

The *Testamentum Domini* and the *Testamentum Domini in Galilee* are not, however, the only other works found in Éthiopien d'Abbadie 51 and Ṭānāsee 35. The former opens with the unique Ethiopic witness of *Sargis of Aberga*,¹¹ while the latter closes with five additional texts, a truncated copy of pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem's *Homily on the resurrection* (CPG 3598), more or less an apocryphal gospel, standing at the end.¹²

Moving away from the two codices themselves to examine whether any known Ethiopian inventory lists might include the *Apocalypse of Peter*, it is crucial to bear in mind that the comparative brevity of the text and its constant collocation with other works results in the possibility that the apocalypse itself may have gone unrecorded even if present in an ecclesiastical library when an extant inventory was compiled. Not only, in fact, is this likely, it is theoretically conceivable that the work never received an Ethiopic title.¹³ As this is not

Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ (Paris, 1912). In many manuscripts, the *Testamentum Domini in Galilee* indeed basically appears as another chapter or of supplement to the *Testamentum Domini*.

¹⁰ On *Qalēmentos*, see Uhlig and Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV:251–53. This may admittedly be due to other factors. With one possible exception (cf. A. Bausi, 'Su alcuni manoscritti presso comunità monastiche dell'Eritrea', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 39 (1995) 25–48, at 34–39), the Ethiopic *Synodicon*, *Didascalia*, and *Qalēmentos* each seemed to have been copied exclusively as individual manuscripts until the end of the medieval period. Only later do they commonly combine with each other and other works in codices. It may therefore be that at the formative stage book production norms precluded supplementing such texts with the *Apocalypse of Peter*, whereas shorter works such as the *Testamentum Domini* and *Testamentum Domini in Galilee* were not governed by the same standards and could collocate with different works more easily.

¹¹ Edited and translated in S. Grébaut, *Sargis d'Aberga (Controverse judéo-chrétienne)* (Paris, 1909–1919).

¹² For the precise texts, see Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee 1*, 163–67. Among the other imperfect Ethiopic copies of CPG 3598 is a quire inserted at the beginning of the famous National Library Gospels in Addis Ababa (UNESCO 2.28, ff. 1r–8v).

¹³ Upwards of 90% of Ethiopic texts do not have indigenous titles as they were simply unneeded within the tradition. (Unfortunately, modern

the place for a comprehensive treatment of Ethiopian inventory and titling practices, for the present purposes it suffices to say that in general only the first or primary work in a manuscript is listed, i.e. that inventories are of codices and not of the texts contained therein. Yet even in a more detailed list, the *Apocalypse of Peter* might well go unnoted, as an entry for Éthiopien d'Abbadie 51 at Dāgā Eṣṭifānos before it left the monastery demonstrates: ፩መጽሐፈ : ኪዳንኛ : ሰርጊስ “1 *Testamentum Domini* and *Sargis*.”¹⁴

While such realities challenge this endeavour, two late-medieval inventories nonetheless offer candidates for potential lost Ethiopic manuscripts of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. One of these emerges from another Lake Ṭānā monastery, Dabra Māryām, whose famous illuminated gospelbook contains a list of books between Matthew and Mark.¹⁵ This inventory, almost certainly to be assigned to the late-fifteenth century on account of its reference to a metropolitan Yesḥaq,¹⁶ includes the title *Sargis* (ሰርጊስ), a text whose current *codex unicus* is Éthiopien d'Abbadie 51. Given that most Ethiopic manuscripts were copied as complete units, i.e. that the full contents of an antigraph were reproduced in an apograph without addition or subtraction, it is tempting to believe that the geographic and chronographic proximity of this list to Éthiopien d'Abbadie 51 might imply equivalency in the contents of the two volumes.¹⁷ Even if correct, however, such a theory barely expands the apocalypse's reach.

scholarship continues to manufacture ‘missing’ or insufficiently determinate ones for its own purposes.) The ‘title’ *the Second Coming of Christ and the resurrection of the dead* could not function as such in Ethiopian practice given its length, and would be more appropriately understood along the lines of a rubric in other manuscript traditions. Whether this served as a title for the work in the antecedent Arabic version, or whether another title was lost in the translation process, remains unclear.

¹⁴ The full inventory list, located in Ṭānāsee 126, ff. 3v–4r, is published in Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee Teil 3*, 115–16.

¹⁵ Catalogued in E. Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee 2* (Wiesbaden, 1977) 50–53.

¹⁶ On Yesḥaq, see Uhlig and Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, V: 62–63.

¹⁷ It cannot, in fact, be precluded that this entry is to Éthiopien d'Abbadie 51 itself, with the manuscript having moved from Dabra Māryām to Dāgā Eṣṭifānos at some point during the following three centuries.

A more promising candidate comes from the former capital city Lālibalā several hundred kilometers to the east. In its Bēta Gologotā church, another late-medieval gospelbook contains an inventory with the following curious title: **ዘከመ : ተስጋሎ : ጴጥሮስ : ለእግዚእነ** “How Peter inquired of our Lord”.¹⁸ Unusually formulated, this title is otherwise unknown, but the basic contextual parameters hew far closer to the Petrine materials in Éthiopien d’Abbadie 51 and Ṭānāsee 35 than any other known Ethiopic text. Although they normally use a different verb to express the idea of inquiring (**ሐተተ**), which might raise doubts about such an identification, the colophon at the end of the (second) text contains a more congruent formulation: **ተፈጸመ : በዝዮ : ራዕዮ : ነገር : ዘተሰጋሎ : ጴጥሮስ : በእንተ : ኃጥኣን...** “It is here accomplished the vision on the subject on which Peter asked Him (i.e. Jesus) concerning the sinners...”¹⁹ Alongside the lack of other suitable alternatives, this colophonic parallel makes it highly probable that the recorded manuscript contained “Le mystère du jugement des pécheurs” and, by extension, the *Apocalypse of Peter* since, if not a single work, the latter always appears before the former. This entry therefore not only provides the first evidence for the circulation of this text outside of the Lake Ṭānā region, but, since the inventory list is dated to the first or fourth regnal year of Emperor Eskender (reigned 1478–94),²⁰ provides a new *terminus ante quem* for its Ethiopic translation ca. 1480.

¹⁸ The full booklist is published in T. Erho, ‘The Shepherd of Hermas in Ethiopia’, in P. Nicelli (ed.), *L’Africa, L’Oriente Mediterraneo e l’Europa: Tradizioni e Culture a Confronto* (Roma, 2015) 97–117, at 112.

¹⁹ As published by A. Bausi, ‘Towards a re-edition of the Ethiopic dossier of the *Apocalypse of Peter*: A few remarks on the Ethiopic manuscript witnesses’, *Apocrypha* 27 (2016) 179–96, at 191 from Ṭānāsee 35. Ṭānāsee 118, f. 2r, originally the final page of Éthiopien d’Abbadie 51, contains a variant (**ራብዕ** instead of **ራዕዮ**); see Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee Teil* 3, 79. Although impacting the meaning of the clause (“It is here accomplished the fourth subject about which Peter asked him concerning the sinners”), this variant does not affect the overlap between the colophon and the title from the Bēta Gologotā gospelbook. While other Ethiopic titles have occasionally been derived from subscriptions, it cannot be precluded that this particular formulation resulted from physical damage to the beginning of the text.

²⁰ The uncertainty is due to the visual similarity of the Ethiopic numerals for 1 (**፩**) and 4 (**፪**), which often creates problems in the tradition.

Efforts to identify citations of or allusions to the *Apocalypse of Peter* in indigenous Ge'ez literature have been underwhelming thus far. As noted by Alessandro Bausi, only two scholars have suggested such relationships, Anton Baumstock in the *Book of the Mysteries of Heaven and Earth* and Robert Beylot in (the *Vision of*) *Nabyud*.²¹ Upon close inspection, however, these supposed parallels prove vague and unconvincing, consisting of no more than common apocalyptic tropes or similar phraseology, any of which could also be derived from other works or have no particular source.

Assuming that no obvious citations or allusions to the *Apocalypse of Peter* have simply gone overlooked in published indigenous writings, it becomes necessary to move beyond this corpus and examine to whatever extent possible unpublished texts, particularly those of the medieval period. In comparison to the major theological works of fifteenth-century Ethiopia, all of which have been edited and published, very little scholastic attention has been applied to the writings of Ethiopian authors of late Antiquity and the rest of the medieval era. Indeed, within the extant indigenous literature of this period, only five of eight writers who either applied their given name or some sort of pseudonym to a homily have received similar treatment, and in each case it has been limited to a single text, not their full *oeuvre*.²²

Nowhere, perhaps, is this situation more jarring than with the fourteenth-century author who used the moniker Retu'a Häymānot "the Orthodox (one)".²³ No less than thirteen homilies are directly

²¹ Bausi, 'Towards a re-edition', 194–95.

²² Respectively published in C. Conti Rossini, 'L'omelia di Yohannes, vescovo d'Aksum, in onore di Garimā', in *Actes du congrès international des orientalistes, Paris – 1897* (1898) 139–77; Getatchew Haile, 'The Homily of Lulāyanos, bishop of Axum, on the Holy Fathers', *Analecta Bollandiana* 103 (1985) 385–91; G. Lusini, 'L'omelia etiopica "Sui Sabati" di "Retu'a Haymanot"', *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 11 (1988) 205–35; Getatchew Haile, 'The Homily of Abba Elāyas, bishop of Aksum, on Mātṭa', *Analecta Bollandiana* 108 (1990) 29–47; Getatchew Haile, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church's Tradition on the Holy Cross* (Leiden and Boston, 2018) 112–25. It is possible that some of the names, such as Tēwofelos and Yoḥannes, actually conceal the work of multiple similarly named individuals.

²³ Other Ethiopian authors before, after, and perhaps contemporaneous with him employed the same pseudonym. For some of the better known ones, see Uhlig and Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV:382–83.

attributed to him, a total to which it might eventually prove possible to add various formally anonymous ones with which they circulate. At worst, this corpus matches the surviving output of any other indigenous author of pre-fifteenth-century Ethiopia.²⁴ Yet, until recently, Retu‘a Hāymānot’s work had not occupied the singular focus of even one journal article.²⁵

Such inattention cannot be dismissed on account of a lack of scholastic opportunity. Copies of Retu‘a Hāymānot’s work reached Tübingen in 1842, France the same decade, London in 1868, and Berlin in 1906,²⁶ an unusually broad dissemination for any Ethiopian writer in Europe. But they were all completely ignored, a situation that the subsequent microfilming and digitization of a further thirteen major exemplars, as well as some fragments, in Ethiopia has done little to abate.²⁷

²⁴ That of an earlier Retu‘a Hāymānot, one whose work has, however, at least received a modicum of attention insofar as one of his homilies has been published by Lusini (‘L’omelia etiopica “Sui Sabati” di “Retu‘a Haymanot”).

²⁵ The first such publication was M. Krawczuk, ‘Rətu‘a Haymanot, Kazanie o Chrzcie Chrystusa z rękopisu EMMML 7028, f. 6v–20r a postrzeżenie islamu w Etiopskim Kościele Ortodoksyjnym’, *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 1 (2019) 37–47, though others, most notably Getatchew Haile, ‘Religious Controversies and the Growth of Ethiopic Literature in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries’, *Oriens Christianus* 65 (1981) 102–36, touched on the topic earlier.

²⁶ H. Ewald, ‘Ueber die Aethiopischen Handschriften zu Tübingen’, *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 5 (1844) 164–201, at 197; d’Abbadie, *Catalogue raisonné*, 93–94; Chaîne, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens*, 53–54; C. Conti Rossini, ‘Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d’Abbadie’, *Journal Asiatique* ser. 11 vol. 2 (1913) 5–64, at 15–16; W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired Since the Year 1847* (London, 1877) 231–32; E. Hammer Schmidt and V. Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften 1: Die Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (Wiesbaden, 1983) 267–71.

²⁷ For descriptions of each of the principal manuscripts in question, most either unpublished or correcting the published catalogue entries, see the appendix to this article. In the present context, a notable comparison naturally arises between Éthiopiens d’Abbadie 51 and Éthiopiens d’Abbadie 80. Both are fifteenth/sixteenth-century manuscripts that Antoine d’Abbadie acquired from the monastery of Dāgā Eṣṭifānos and brought to France. However, while every word in the former, which, of course, contains the *Apocalypse of Peter* along with other works, has been published, not a single word from the latter, a copy of the Retu‘a Hāymānot homiliary, has hitherto received comparable treatment.

This is particularly unfortunate, as indications abound that Retu‘a Hāymānot was among the best-read and most interesting writers of medieval Ethiopia. In one passage, for example, he displays knowledge of several rare ancient apocrypha and other works:²⁸

Enoch, Gregory, Paul, John, St. Antony, etc. saw the glories of the kingdom of heaven and wrote (about them) to us. Jambres, Hippolytus the second, Bartholomew, the same Enoch, Gregory, Paul, John, etc. saw Gehenna and wrote to us (about) its operations.

The second series references the following texts: (1) the *Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres*, (2) Hippolytus’ discourse to the Greeks concerning Hades, (3) the *Vision* or *Questions of Bartholomew*, (4) *I Enoch*, (5) the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Gregory*, (6) *Apocalypse of Paul*, and (7) *Apocalypse of John*. Only the fourth and seventh of these are well known in the Ethiopian Orthodox tradition. The above quote adds marginally to the indirect evidence for the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the *Vision of Bartholomew*, both of which are recorded in inventory lists and whose existence in Ethiopic at one point has been presupposed by indigenous works’ reliance on them.²⁹ Limited material evidence has recently emerged for the *Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres*, but this would appear to be the only indigenous reference to the text.³⁰ A similar situation exists with the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Gregory*, for which the first complete copy of the Ethiopian Orthodox translation has finally

²⁸ For the Ethiopic text, see ll. 220–222 in the edition of the homily below.

²⁹ Inventory references include those from Urā Masqal published in Erho, ‘The Shepherd of Hermas in Ethiopia’, 110–11, as well as British Library Or. 681, f. 208v. P. Piovanelli, ‘Les aventures des apocryphes en Éthiopie’, *Apocrypha* 4 (1993) 197–224, at 210–12 highlights important citational material indicating direct knowledge of the *Questions of Bartholomew* in an indigenous Ethiopian work. The *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Mary* consists in part of a reworking of material from the *Apocalypse of Paul*, providing additional evidence that the latter once existed in Ge‘ez.

³⁰ T.M. Erho and W.B. Henry, ‘The Ethiopic *Jannes and Jambres* and the Greek Original’, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 65 (2019) 176–223. That Retu‘a Hāymānot was acquainted with the *Apocryphon* itself in some form is supposed by the reference to Jambres as the writer rather than his more famous brother, since in the text the latter dies and thereafter describes to his brother the horrors of the underworld.

come to light.³¹ Hippolytus' discourse to the Greeks concerning Hades, on the other hand, is otherwise completely unknown in the tradition. Given his apparent knowledge of so many rare texts, if the *Apocalypse of Peter* existed somewhere in his vicinity, it seems probable that Retu'a Hāymānot would have been acquainted with the work, making his corpus of writings a good probing point for unidentified citations or allusions thereto.

The question of the identity of the author using this moniker, a subject of occasional speculation, should be briefly discussed. Three different figures have been proposed: John Chrysostom, famed Ethiopian theologian Giyorgis of Saglā, and metropolitan *Abbā* Salāmā II. The first of these, suggested by Carlo Conti Rossini,³² can be refuted quite easily. Not only does Retu'a Hāymānot contradict certain of Chrysostom's positions, such as referencing *I Enoch* approvingly and authoritatively, he cites materials originating long after his death, such as the *Legend of Habbakuk*.³³ He even cites the Church Father himself!³⁴ The second, Giyorgis of Saglā, has somewhat more merit, given that this figure's lifetime overlaps to some extent with that estimated for Retu'a Hāymānot and there are two homilies in his *magnum*

³¹ EMMML 8775, ff. 143r–151r. (I personally examined a fragmentary late-medieval copy of the Christian version at Qorqor Māryām in 2019.) The existence of the heavily abridged Beta Israel version, published in J. Halévy, *Tě'ēzāza Sanbat (Commandements du Sabbat) accompagné de six autres écrits pseudo-épigraphiques admis par les falachas ou juifs d'Abyssinie* (Paris, 1902) 97–107, 210–19, naturally presupposed the antecedent Ethiopian Orthodox one.

³² Conti Rossini, 'Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d'Abbadie', 15.

³³ Cf. T.M. Erho and R. Lee, 'References to the *Shepherd of Hermas* at the Monastery of Gunda Gundē', *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 98 (2022) 451–61, at 460. This *Legend of Habakkuk* (CAVT 215) is translated in C. Conti Rossini, 'La leggenda di Habacuch nella versione etiopica', in id. (ed.), *Studi Etiopici* (Roma, 1945) 17–40.

³⁴ Chrysostom is quoted in the homily for Palm Sunday. Among the other obvious anachronisms created by such a proposal are the references to Benjamin I of Alexandria (seventh century) and Severos of Antioch (born mid-fifth century) in the homily on the baptism of Jesus, both of whom were not yet alive when Chrysostom died in 407.

opus, the *Book of Mystery*, attributed to “the Orthodox (one)”.³⁵ A similarly designated anaphora included alongside of some old copies of the *Book of Mystery* might likewise be his.³⁶ However, although both of the aforementioned works seem to be recorded in his hagiography and the other texts mentioned therein comport very well with the historical record, suggesting a fairly comprehensive account of his literary output, no independent homilies or corpus thereof are ascribed to Giyorgis, rendering his potential authorship of the Retu‘a Hāymānot material under consideration doubtful.³⁷ Combined with its major theological discrepancies with his established writings, such as the authority of *Qalēmentos*,³⁸ this serves to eliminate his candidacy for the role. Lastly, one eighteenth-century manuscript begins with a supplementary adscription to metropolitan Abbā Salāmā II before the opening treatise on the theology of the Incarnation.³⁹ Given the commonality of his own name being attached to texts,⁴⁰ it would be strange for Salāmā to use a pseudonym in this instance, especially in view of his position at the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Ethiopia. It therefore seems best to interpret Retu‘a Hāymānot as a figure whose historical identity cannot be ascertained.

The third of these names may have been occasioned by an erroneous assumption that all works circulating together in the major compendia of Retu‘a Hāymānot’s work, the so-called homiliary of Retu‘a Hāymānot, emanate from the same pen. Nearly half of the known manuscripts contain an initial section of pseudo-Cyriacus of Bahnasā’s *Lament of Mary* (also known as the *Gospel of Gamaliel*) and/or a homily for Easter comprised of its remainder and some

³⁵ Uhlig and Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV:383. On Giyorgis, see e.g. *ibid.*, II:812.

³⁶ The anaphora in question is found in EMMML 6456, ff. 35rv, EMMML 6837, ff. 8v–9r, and EMMML 7018, ff. 33rv.

³⁷ Cf. Getatchew Haile and W.F. Macomber, *A catalogue of Ethiopian manuscripts microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville. Vol. V: Project Numbers 1501–2000* (Collegeville, 1981) 340.

³⁸ Getatchew Haile, ‘Religious Controversies’, 111.

³⁹ EMIP 816, f. 2r.

⁴⁰ Cf. A. van Lantschoot, ‘Abbā Salāmā, métropolitte d’Éthiopie (1348–1388) et son rôle de traducteur,’ in *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi etiopici (Roma 2–4 aprile 1959)* (Rome, 1960) 397–401.

prefatory materials.⁴¹ The subscription to the Ethiopic version of this Copto-Arabic work records *Abbā Salāmā* as the translator, which is reproduced in the usual textual place within its bifurcated version included in the homiliary. Other clearly foreign writings such as the *Death of Joseph*,⁴² the *Book which came from Jerusalem*,⁴³ and a *Rite of adoration at the end of the feast of Pentecost*⁴⁴ are also found in parts of the manuscript tradition.

While it is therefore certain that not all texts found in exemplars of this homiliary are products of a single author, the extent of Retu‘a Hāymānot’s own corpus remains unclear.⁴⁵ Ascriptions of individual homilies to him are quite fixed,⁴⁶ despite many unattributed ones, and although some or many other tractates are formally anonymous, they may well also derive from the same source. Nonetheless, it is clear that noteworthy ties exist between the formally attributed texts despite the extreme paucity of research on them to date: for example, all of

⁴¹ The first of these spans 1:1–5:1 in the enumeration of M.-A. van den Oudenrijn, *Gamaliel: Äthiopische Texte zur Pilatusliteratur* (Freiburg, 1959), while the anonymous *Homily for Easter* contains 5:2–11:50.

⁴² Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Ms. or. quart. 1166, ff. 55v–60r; cf. EMML 1939, ff. 162r–168r. The text is not properly identified in Hammerschmidt and Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften 1*, 270.

⁴³ E.g. UNESCO 8.9, ff. 9r–12r; cf. EMML 1763, ff. 63v–69r.

⁴⁴ E.g. EMML 2375, ff. 42v–54r; cf. EMML 2358, ff. 138r–154r.

⁴⁵ Several of the homilies found within the homiliary also circulate in other manuscripts, some even in the medieval period, although the majority do not exhibit this transience. The most common such texts are the anonymous *Homily on Mary*, often included in copies of the *Homiliary for Mary* (*Dersāna Māryām*), the anonymous *Homily on the archangel Michael* found in the widespread *Homiliary for the monthly feasts of the archangel Michael* (*Dersāna Mikā’ēl*), and the homily of Retu‘a Hāymānot on the four heavenly creatures, which appears in assorted contexts. As this involves items both directly attributed and not attributed to Retu‘a Hāymānot in roughly equal measure, it can hardly serve as *prima facie* evidence for differing origins or authors based on ascriptions alone. This phenomenon, however, does heighten the possibility of the original release of at least some of these homilies in contexts separate from the homiliary.

⁴⁶ The only variations in this respect seem to be the anonymous *Homily on the Ascension*, which is ascribed to Retu‘a Hāymānot in MS E, and the anonymous *Homily on the twelve apostles* similarly assigned to him in the subgroup of MSS B, C, I, and Q. All of the other core texts from the homiliary are universally consistent in their attributions across the currently available witnesses.

those which overtly reference the *Shepherd of Hermas* are of this type, and at least three of them contain a belief in penance, an unusual theological position for an Ethiopian Orthodox churchman.⁴⁷ Only the publication of a majority of the texts that principally or exclusively circulate within this homiliary will allow the bounds of Retu‘a Hāymānot’s personal corpus to be clarified.

Given the lack of personal and historical details available, the period when this figure was active cannot be definitively established, but Getatchew Haile has advanced a reasonable argument for the fourteenth century, most likely the latter half.⁴⁸ This fits well with the surviving material evidence, as the earliest witness to any of the writings is EML 7028, internally dated to 1397/8 CE. EML 7028, however, contains fewer homilies than any other exemplar of the homiliary, raising the possibility of multiple supplements to an earlier, more limited core.⁴⁹ Such a scenario might account for some of the variances seen in the ordering and precise contents of the various exemplars, though later editing doubtless played roles as well.⁵⁰ If this occurred, 1398 could not be fixed as a *terminus ante quem* for all of Retu‘a Hāymānot’s work, but only those texts found in EML 7028, slightly muddying the dating of this author’s floruit since all data points brought to bear on it stem from homilies in that manuscript. Although a firm demarcation before the turn of the fifteenth century might not therefore be viable, the earliest witness to a full version of the corpus, the important illuminated manuscript first brought to scholarly attention by Eike Haberland and later microfilmed as EML

⁴⁷ Cf. Erho and Lee, ‘References to the *Shepherd of Hermas*’, 459–60 and Uhlig and Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV:383.

⁴⁸ Getatchew Haile, ‘Religious Controversies’, 112–13; Getatchew Haile and W.F. Macomber, *A catalogue of Ethiopian manuscripts microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville. Vol. VI: Project Numbers 2001–2500* (Collegeville, 1982) 451.

⁴⁹ This might be suggested by the reference to Retu‘a Hāymānot’s own *Homily on the four heavenly creatures* in the *Homily on Peter’s denial* (see ll. 194–195 in the edition below).

⁵⁰ See Table 1. Examples of late editing would include the integration of the *Rite of adoration at the end of the feast of Pentecost* in one branch of the tradition and the *Book which came from Jerusalem* in another, with neither possessing any witness older than the eighteenth century.

9084,⁵¹ could hardly have been copied more than a couple of decades into it, so the basic picture remains intact.

Table 1: Contents and sequences of text in surviving copies of the homiliary of Retu‘a Häymānot ⁵²

	L	O	J	D	E	A	M	Q	I	B	C	P	K	N	F	H	G
Theology	1	1	1	1*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	4	4	4
Birth	2	2	2	2*	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	4	4	5	5	5
Baptism	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	5	5	5	6	6	6
Start Lent				13	15	4	4	4	4	4	4	6	6	6	7	7	7
1 st Sunday				14	16	5	5	5	5	5	5	7	7	7	8	8	8
2 nd Sunday				15	17	6	6	6	6	6	6	8	8	8	9	9	9
3 rd Sunday				16	18	7	7	7	7	7	7	9	9	9	10	10	10
4 th Sunday				17	19	8	8					10	10	10	11	11	11
5 th Sunday				18	20	9	9					11	11	11	12	12	12
6 th Sunday				19	21	10*	10					12	12	12	13	13	13
Pentecost rite									8	8	8						
Death of Joseph				20													
Incarnation		4	4	4	4	24	12	8	9	9	9	14	14	14	15	15	15
Palm Sunday	4	5	5	5	5		11	9	10	10	10	13	13	13	14	14	14
Footwashing	5	6	6	6	6	11*	13	10	11	11	11	15	15	15	16	16	16
Peter's denial				22	22	12	14					16	16	16	17	17	17
Trial				21		13	15					17	17	17*	18	18	18
Ps-Cyriacus						14		17* ⁵³				18	18		19	19	19
Death	6	7	7	7	7	15		11	12	12	12	19	19		20	20	20
Easter						16	16					20	20		21	21	21
Ascension	7	8	8	8*	8	17	17	12	13	13	13	21	21		22	22	22
Pentecost	8	9	9		9	18	18	13	14	14	14	22	22		23	23	23
Apostles	9	10	10		10	19	19	14	15	15	15		23		24	24	24
Transfiguration	10	11	11	9*	11	20	20	15	16	16	16		24		25	25	25
Mary	11*	12	12	10	12	21	21		17	17		23	25		26	26	26
Heavenly beasts		13	13	11	13	22	22	16	18	18	17	1	1	1	1	1	1
Michael	12	14	14	12	14	23	23*					2	2	2	2	2	2
Book Jerusalem															3	3	3

⁵¹ E. Haberland, *Altes-Christentum in Süd-Äthiopien* (Wiesbaden, 1976)

21. For a catalogue entry of EML 9084, see the appendix to this article.

⁵² Asterisks denote imperfect copies of texts.

⁵³ Possibly an addendum or different codicological unit.

The lack of prior research into Retu‘a Hāymānot’s body of work poses considerable challenges to determining whether this indigenous Ethiopian author might cite or allude to the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Only a handful of his homilies have been summarized,⁵⁴ but careful examination of them as well as their counterparts is weighed down by the textual problems and uncertainty that make reliance on any single manuscript in the Ethiopic tradition highly inadvisable when multiple copies are available. An initial probe, therefore, can only be attempted here on the basis of Retu‘a Hāymānot’s *Homily on Peter’s denial*, a selection made principally because of its focus on the chief apostle and its lengthy description of hell, two major elements shared with the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

This homily, which is concerned with the perils of pride and the necessity of repentance, intersperses a retelling of part of the Passion narrative with various other vignettes. Opening with Jesus’ rebuttal to Peter after the latter claims to be willing to die for him (ll. 2–19), the text then adduces Jonah (ll. 23–50) and Macarius the Great (ll. 61–102) as other examples of individuals whose vain pride was confronted. An extended account of Peter’s three denials with various authorial interludes (ll. 104–142) segues into the second main theme, the necessity of repentance (ll. 142–148). The author then provides a description of the horrors of Gehenna, the future lot for whoever refuses to repent (ll. 148–205). After imploring his audience to repent if they have fallen and reminding them both of the glories of heaven and the suffering in Gehenna (ll. 210–226), he concludes his homily by returning to the Passion narrative, now with Jesus before Pilate (ll. 226–253).

A critical text and translation of the full homily are presented below, the *editio* and *translatio princeps* of not only the text itself, but any complete member of Retu‘a Hāymānot’s corpus. The text is transmitted in the following ten manuscripts:

- Bibliothèque nationale de France, Éthiopien d’Abbadie 80, ff. 51r–55v (15th/16th century; siglum A)
- Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. or. quart. 1166, ff. 66r–69v (mutilous; 15th century; siglum D)

⁵⁴ See Getatchew Haile and Macomber, *Vol. VI: Project Numbers 2001–2500*, 452–56; Erho and Lee, ‘References to the *Shepherd of Hermas*’, 456–60.

- Dāgā Eṣṭifānos Monastery, Ṭānāsee 142, ff. 152r–158r (15th century; siglum E)⁵⁵
- Holy Trinity Cathedral (Addis Ababa), EMLL 1194, ff. 55v–57v (mid-20th century; siglum F)⁵⁶
- Bečanā Giyorgis Church, UNESCO 8.9, ff. 49r–51v (18th century; siglum G)
- Mārḳos Church (Addis Ababa), EMLL 12, ff. 76r–80v (early 20th century; siglum H)⁵⁷
- Ġar Šellāsē Monastery, EMLL 7019, ff. 93r–97v (15th century; siglum K)⁵⁸
- (Unknown library) EMLL 7638, ff. 84r–89v (15th century; siglum M)
- Ṭānā Qirḳos Monastery, EMLL 8459, ff. 89r–94v (15th century; siglum N)
- Berber Māryām Church, EMLL 9084, ff. 132r–139r (14th/15th century; siglum P)⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Later microfilmed a second time as EMLL 8382.

⁵⁶ Not collated as a descendant of MS G. Manuscript also microfilmed as UNESCO 5.25.

⁵⁷ Not collated as a descendant of MS G. Manuscript subsequently digitized as EMIP 1293.

⁵⁸ This witness was not available to me while editing the text and hence could not be used.

⁵⁹ While perhaps the most valuable witness to the text due to its age and relatively good text, the early leaves of EMLL 9084 are heavily waterlogged and completely illegible. Although lying halfway into the manuscript, significant parts of the leaves with the *Homily on Peter's denial* are also water damaged. Due to this situation, the decision was made not to integrate this witness into the textual apparatus, though the manuscript, where legible, was used to help adjudicate the critical text below.

- (A: 51r; D: 66r; E: 152r; G: 49r; M: 84r; N: 89r)ድርሳን : ዘደረሰ :
 ርቱዐ : ሃይማኖት : በእንተ : ዘከመ : ክሕዶ : ጴጥሮስ : ይቤ : ወንጌላዊ :
 ሶበ : ይቤሎሙ : እግዚእነ : ለሐዋርያቲሁ : ኀበ : አሐውር : አነ : አን
 ትሙ : ኢትክሉ : ተሊዎትየ : ይእዜ ። ወሶበ : ይቤሎሙ : ከመዝ : ተን
 5 ሥአ : ጴጥሮስ : ወቀነተ : ሐቋሁ : ወአኀዘ : ይክላሕ : እንዘ : ይብል :
 ለምንት : እግዚአ : ኢይክል : ተሊዎትከ : ነፍስየ : እሜጡ : በእንቲአክ ።
 ወይቤሎ : ማእምረ : አልባ(E: 152v)ብ : ኦጴጥሮስ : ነፍስከኑ : ትሜጡ :
 በእንቲአየ ። ዮም : በዛቲ : ሌሊት : ዘእንበለ : ይንቁ : ዶርሆ : ሥልሰ :
 ትክሕደኒ : ከመ : ዘኢታአምረኒ ። ወሶበ : ይቤሎ : ከመዝ : አኮ : ዘእር
 10 መመ : አላ : አኀዘ : ይንግር : ጽንዐ : ዚአሁ : ወድካመ : አኀዊሁ :
 እስመ : ይቤ : ለእመ : ኩሎሙ : ክ(N: 89v)ሕዱከ : አንሰ : ኢይክሕደክ ።
 ኦጴጥሮስ : ለምንት : ትትናገር : ዘከመዝ : ነገረ : ዘኢይደሉ : ይፃእ :
 እምአፋሆሙ : ለአግብርተ : እግዚአብሔር : ከመ : ያንጽሑ : ርእሶሙ :
 ወያርኩሱ : ቢጸሙ ። ርቱዕስ : ትበል : አነኒ : ኢይክሕደክ : እግዚአ : ወአ
 15 ኀዊየኒ : ኢይክሕዱክ : እንዘ : ጸጋክ : የዐቅ(D: 66v)በኒ : ኢትቤ : ከመዝ :
 በትሕትና : ወበፍቅር : አላ : አንተሰ : መጻእክ : በትምክሕ(G: 49v)ት :
 ወኢያፍቅሮ : አኀዊክ ። ስማዕኬ : ዘንተ : ነገረ : መደንግፀ : አሜን :

1 ድርሳን በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : አሐዱ : አምላክ : ድርሳን
 DM | ዘደረሰ : ርቱዐ : ሃይማኖት] ዘርቱዐ : ሃይማኖት : ዘደረሰ E | 2 ዘከመ] om.
 DN | ክሕዶ] ክኀደ A; ዘክሕደ D; ክሕደት E; ዘክህዶ N | ይቤ] ወይቤ DMN |
 ወንጌላዊ] ወንጌል N | 3 ሶበ] ወሶበ DN | አሐውር : አነ] tr. GMN | አሐውር] አውር
 N* | አንትሙ] om. A | 4 ኢትክሉ : ተሊዎትየ : ይእዜ] ኢትክሉ : ይእዜ : ተሊወ
 ትየ A; ኢትክሉ : ተሊዎትየ D; ኢትክሉ : ይእዜ : ተሊዎትየ E; ኢትክሉ : መጺአ :
 ለተሊዎትየ : ይእዜ G; ይእዜ : ኢትክሉ : ተሊወትየ N | ወ(ሶበ)] om. AG | ይቤ
 ሎሙ] ይቤ M | 6 ኢይክል] ዘኢይክል M | ተሊዎትከ] ተሊወተክ A; ተሊዎተክ
 DGN | ነፍስየ] +ጥቀ DN | 7 ማእምረ] ማእመረ A; እግዚእነ D; ማእምሩ E; ማዕረ
 ረረ G* | አልባብ—በእንቲአየ] om. D | አልባብ] አልበብ N | ነፍስከኑ : ትሜጡ]
 ትሜጡት : ነፍስከ M | 8 በእንቲአየ] በእንአየ E | ዮም] ዮምኬ DN | ይንቁ] ይኔቁ M |
 ሥልሰ] ሥልሰ G | 9 ትክሕደኒ] ትክህድኒ N | ከመ : ኢታአምረኒ] ከመ : ኢታአምረኒ
 DG; ከመዝ : ኢታአምረኒ N | ሶበ] ሶቤሃ D | ይቤሎ] ይቤሎሙ N | 10 አላ] om. DN |
 ይንግር] ይግር M | ዚአሁ] ዚናሁ G | ወድካመ] ወድክመ M | አኀዊሁ] om. G |
 11 ይቤ] ወእመኒ A; ይቤሎ D | ለእመ] ይቤ A; ለእመኒ E | ኩሎሙ] ኩሎ A | አንሰ]
 ወአንሰ N | 12 ኦጴጥሮስ] ወይቤሎ : ኦጴጥሮስ D; ወይቤሎ : ኦጴጥሮስ : ኢየሱስ E;
 ወይቤላኒ : ጴጥሮስ N | ዘከመዝ] ከመዝ AD | ነገረ] ነገረ A; ነገር MN | ይደሉ]
 ይሉ E* | 13 ያንጽሑ] ያጽንዐ : ወያንጽሑ AE | 14 ያርኩሱ] ያርኩሱ A; ያርኩሱ D |
 ርቱዕስ] ርቱዕስኬ DN | ትበል] ትብል A*D; ትብላኒ N | አነኒ] አንሰ E | ኢይክሕደክ :
 እግዚአ] እግዚአ : ኢይክሕደክ D; ኢይክህደክ G; እግዚአ : ኢይክህደክ N | አኀዊየኒ]
 አኃውየ G; አኃውየየኒ N | 15 ጸጋክ] ጸጋየ D | የዐቅበኒ] ያፃቅበኒ A; ያጸንዐኒ : የዐ
 ቅብ D; ያጸንዐኒ : ወያዐ*ቅበኒ E; የፃቅበነ GN | ትቤ] ትቤኬ M | ከመዝ : በትሕትና]
 በትሕትናነ G | 16 ወበ(ፍቅር)] በ A; ወ D | አላ] om. D | አንተሰ] አንሰ E | መጻእክ]
 ትቤ D; መጻእኩ E; መጽእክ M | ትምክሕት] ትሕይልት M | 17 ስማዕኬ] ስማዕክ N |
 ዘንተ] om. G | ነገረ] +እነግረክ : AE | መደንግፀ] +ዘረከበክ : M | አሜን] አማን D

እብለክ ፡ አጼጥሮስ ፡ ሥልሰ ፡ ትክሕደኒ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ይንቁ ፡ ዶርሆ ።
በርቱዕኬ ፡ ረከበክ ፡ ዝብካይ ፡ መሪር ፡ እስክ ፡ ይትመላሕ ፡ ቀራንብቲክ ።
አዛቲ ፡ ትምክሕት ፡ አውደቀቶሙ ፡ ለብዙኃን ፡ እምድጎረ ፡ ይቤሉ ። 20
አዕማድ ፡ ንሕነ ። (M: 84v)ንስማዕኬ ፡ በበጽታሁ ፡ ዘረከሶሙ ፡ ድቀት ፡
ለአበዊነ ፡ ወባሕቱ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ ድጎኑ ፡ በሠናይ ፡ ንስሐ ፡ ወበትሕትና ።
ወይቤሎ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለዮናስ ፡ ሖር ፡ ስብክ ፡ ለሰብአ ፡ ነነዌ ፡ እንዘ ፡
ትብል ፡ ትትገፈታእ ፡ ሀገርክሙ ። ወእእመረ ፡ ዮናስ ፡ በመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡
ዘኅዱር ፡ ላዕ(A: 51v)ሌሁ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይድጎኑ ፡ በንስሐ ፡ ወተከዘ ፡ ዮናስ ፡ 25
በእንተ ፡ ክብረ ፡ ርእሱ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይኩን ፡ ሐሳዌ ። ወይቤ ፡ ለምንት ፡
እግዚአ ፡ ትምሕሮሙ ፡ እምድጎረ ፡ ሰበኩ ፡ ሎሙ ፡ ለግፍታኤ ፡ አኮኑ ፡
አነ ፡ እከውን ፡ ሐሳዌ ። ወይቤሎ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለእመ ፡ (E: 153r)
መሐርኩ ፡ ተግባርየ ፡ ሚላዕሌክ ። ወገብረ ፡ ዮናስ ፡ ባእሰ ፡ ምስለ ፡
እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወተጎጥአ ፡ እምቅድመ ፡ ገጹ ፡ ለአምላክ ፡ እስራኤል ። 30
ወረከበ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ እለ ፡ የሐውሩ ፡ ተርሴስ ፡ ወተጽዕነ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ሐመሮሙ ፡
ወተንሥአ ፡ ማዕበል ፡ ወፈቀደ ፡ ያስጥማ ፡ ለሐመር ። ወይቤሎሙ ፡ ዮናስ ፡
ለእመ ፡ ኢወረወክሙኒ ፡ ኪያየ ፡ ኢትድጎኑ ፡ እስመ ፡ ፈርሀ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይ
ኩኖ ፡ ጎጢአተ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ሞቱ ፡ በጎጢአተ ፡ ዚአሁ ። ዝኬ ፡ (N: 90r)ልማዶሙ ፡
ለቅዱሳን ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ይድጎፁ ፡ ወድጎረ ፡ ይኔስሑ ፡ በከመ ፡ አድጎኖ ፡ 35
ለጼጥሮስ ፡ ብካዩ ። እስመ ፡ ሠለስተ ፡ ጥምቀተ ፡ ወሀቦ ፡ እግዚእ ፡ ፩ ፡

18 እብለክ] om. A | ሥልሰ] ሥልስ GN | ይንቁ] ይኔቁ M | ዶርሆ] ዶርሆ N |
19 በ(ርቱዕኬ)] om. AE | ረከበክ] ረከብነ A; ትብኬ E; ረከበክ N | ዝብካይ] ዝብካየ A;
ዛብካይ D; om. E; ብካይ G; ዝበካይ N | መሪር] መሪረ A | ቀራንብቲክ] ቀራንቲክ A* |
20 አ(ዛቲ)] om. D; እስመ ፡ E | አውደቀቶሙ ፡ ለብዙኃን] tr. AN; ለብዙጎን ፡ አው
ደቀቶሙ D; ላብዙኃን ፡ እንተ ፡ አውደቀቶሙ G | ይቤሉ] ይብሉ A*; ይብሉ A^cN |
21 አዕማድ] አእመርነ G | ንስማዕ(ኬ)] ስማዕ D | በበጽታሁ] በበጽታሆሙ A; በበ ፡
ጽታሆሙ D; በበጽታሐሙ N | ድቀት] ድቀተ DM | 22 ኩሎሙ ፡ ድጎኑ] tr. E; ኩሎሙ
M | ንስሐ] ትሕትና DN | ትሕትና] ነስሆ D; ንስሐ N | 23 ስብክ] ሰብሕ ፡ ወ[] N |
ነነዌ] ነነዌ A | 24 ትትገፈታእ] ትትፈታዕ G*; ትትገፈታእኦ M | ወእእመረ ፡ ዮናስ]
om. D | 25 ይድጎኑ] ይድኃኑ N | ንስሐ] ሠናይ ፡ ንስሐ M | ተከዘ] ትካዘ G | 26 ርእሱ]
ርእሶም D | ይቤ] ይቤሎ AE | 27 ትምሕሮሙ] +እስክ ፡ A | ሰበኩ] ። N | ሎሙ]
om. M | አኮኑ] +አንተ ፡ A | 28 እከውን] እከው G | ሐሳዌ] ሐሳዊ M | 29 መሐርኩ]
ሖርኩ D; +ሕዝብየ ፡ M | ተግባርየ] ተገቢርየ D; ተግባርየ E | ሚላዕሌክ] ምላዕሌኬ E |
ዮናስ] om. M | ባእሰ] ባዕስ N | 30 ተጎጥአ] ኃጥአ A*; ጎጥአ E | 31 ረከበ] ረከቡ D |
ተርሴስ] ተርሴስ G | 32 ፈቀደ] ፈድፋደ G | ያስጥማ ፡ ለሐመር] ይሰጠም ፡ ላዕለ ፡
ሐመር A; ያስጥም ፡ ለሐመር D; ይሰጠም ፡ እምላዕለ ፡ መሐመር E; ያስጥማ ፡ ለ
M* | 33 ወረወክሙኒ] ወረወክሙ A; ወረድክሙኒ G | ኪያየ] om. DG; ኪያየ N |
ፈርሀ] ፈርሃ AN; ፈርሁ D | ይኩኖ] ይኩኖሙ D | 34 ሞቱ] ሞተ A; +እሉ ፡ M | ዝኬ]
+ውእቱ ፡ D; ill.+ N | 35 ቅድመ] om. E | ይድጎፁ] ድጎፁ AM; ይደነግጽ D | ይኔ
ስሑ] ይነስሑ A | በከመ] ወበከመ D | አድጎኖ] +ብካዩ ፡ D | 36 ብካዩ] ብካዮ A; om.
D; ብካዮ M | ሠለስተ] ሠለስቱ D; ፫ GMN | ጥምቀተ] ጥምቀት G[N] | ወሀቦ] ወሀበ
DGMN | እግዚእ] እግዚአ E; እግዚአብሔር M; እግዚእግዚእነ N | ፩] አሐደ AE; ፪ N

- በዮርዳኖስ : ወፎበአንብዕ : ወፎበስምዕ ። እስመ : ዘይበኪ : ዘእንበለ : ጽር
 ዐት : ይሠውዕ : ደሞ : ለእግዚአብሔር : ወይከውን : ሱታፌሆሙ : ለሰማ
 ዕት ። ወዘኒ : ይዜሙ : ዘእንበለ : ጽርዐት : በሥጋሁ : ዝኒ : ይሠውዕ : ደሞ :
 40 ለአጋንንት : ወይከውን : ሱታፌሆሙ : ለገነውት ። ወይቤልዎ : እሙንቱ :
 ሰብእ : ለዮናስ : መነሃ : ታመልክ : አብእሲ ። ወይቤሎሙ : አመልኮ :
 ለሰማያዊ : ወእምኒሁ : ጐየይኩ : (M: 85r)ወናሁኬ : እብለክ(D: 67r)ሙ :
 ለእመ : ኢወረውክሙኒ : ትትሐጐሉ : ወፈርሁ : ወአበይዎ : ወተወረወ :
 ለሊሁ : በፈቃዱ : ውስተ : ባሕር : ወውኅጠቶ : ዐንበሪ ። ከመዝኬ :
 45 ልማዶሙ : ለጻድቃን : ለአድኅኖ : ሰብእ : ይመክሩ : ወርእሶሙሰ : ይሜ
 ንኑ ። ወኃጥአንሰ : ለአድኅኖ : ርእሶሙ : ይመክሩ : ወለሐጐሉ : ባዕዳን ።
 ወዮናስሰ : ነበረ : ውስተ : ከርሠ : ዐንበሪ : ሠሉሰ : ዕለተ : ወሠሉሰ :
 ለያልየ : እስመ : ጸዋሬ : ትንቢት : ውእቱ : ለዘሀለዎ : ይትቀበር : ዮም :
 በኃልኃታ ። ወለዮናስሰ : ጐስዐ(A: 52r)ቶ : ዐንበሪ : ውስተ : ሀገረ : ነነዌ :
 50 ወሰበክ : ሎሙ : ግፍታኤ : እንዘ : ይትመሐለል : ሎሙ : ስርየተ ። እስመ :
 ኩሉ : ተግሣጽ : ያቴሕትኒ : ወያጠብብኒ : በከመ : አ(E: 153v)ጥበቦ : ለጴ
 ጥሮስ : ብካዩ ። አመ : ተስእሎ : እግዚእነ : ተንሢኦ : እምነ : ምውታን :

37 ፩በአንብዕ] ፩አንብዕ DE; ፩በንስሐ : ምስለ : አንብዕ [M]; ቩበዓንብዕ N*; በዓን
 ብዕ N^c | ወ፩በስምዕ] ወ፩ : በከዊነ : ስምዕ M; om. N | እስመ] +ዘየዓቢ : ; +ዘየዐቢ :
 E | ይበኪ] ይቤለክ D | ዘእንበለ] በ[ጎጢአቱ M | ጽርዐት] ጸርዓት A; ከመ M |
 38 ይሠውዕ] ዘይሠውዕ M | ይከውን] ይከውኑ D | ሰማዕት] ጻድቃን : ወለሰማዕት D;
 ሰማዕተ G | 39 ወዘኒ : ይዜሙ] ዝኒ : ዘይዜሙ N | ጽርዐት] ጸርዓት A; ጽራዕት M |
 ሥጋሁ] ሥጋ N | ዝኒ] ወዘኒ A; om. DG | ይሠውዕ] ከመ : ዘይሰውዕ M; ይሠወዕ N |
 40 ሱታፌሆሙ] ሱታፎሙ G; ሱታፌሁ N | ገነውት] አጋውተ A*; ጋነውተ A^c;
 ill. D; አጋንንት : ወለገነት G*; አጋንንት : ወለገነውት G^c; አጋንንት N | ወ(ይቤልዎ)]
 om. D | እሙንቱ] እሉቱ A; እሉንቱ E; እሎንቱ G | 41 ለዮናስ] om. DN |
 መነሃ] መነ DG^c; ወ G* | ይቤሎሙ] ill.+ D | 42 እምኒሁ : ጐየይኩ] እምድኅሬሁ :
 ጐየይኩ N | (ናሁ)ኬ] om. MN | 43 ለእመ] om. AE | ኢወረውክሙኒ] om. AE;
 ኢወገርክሙኒ : ኪያየ D; ኢወረድክሙኒ G*; ኢያውረድክሙኒ G^c; +ኪያየ : N |
 ትትሐጐሉ] ትሐጐሉ N | ተወረወ] ትወርው G; ተውርወ N | 44 ውኅጠቶ] ውሕጦ D;
 ውጡ E; ውኅጦ GM | ከመዝ] ወከመዝ EG | 45 ርእሶሙ] ርእሶሙ DMN |
 46 ኃጥአንሰ] ኅጥአንሰኬ N | አድኅኖ] አድኅነ G* | ወለሐጐሉ] ወለአሕጐሉ D;
 om. E | 48 ለያልየ] ሌሊተ E | እስመ] ዘእስመ A^c | ጸዋሬ] ለጸዋሬ N | ትንቢት]
 ትንቢቱ MN | ለዘሀለዎ] +ዮም : D; ለዘ G | ዮም] om. DM | 49 ኃልኃታ] ኃለኃታ D |
 ለዮናስሰ] ዮናስሰ A; ለዮናስ N | ጐስዐቶ] ጐስዐቶ D; ጐስዐ M | ውስተ] ውስተ
 A* | ሀገረ] ብሔረ DN | ነነዌ] ነነዌ A; ነነዌ N | 50 ግፍታኤ] ፍፍታዔ G | ይትመሐለል]
 ይትመሀለሉ A; ይትመሀለል D | ስርየተ] ስሬተ A; ሰሬተ N | እስመ] om. G |
 51 ኩሉ : ተግሣጽ : ያቴሕትኒ] ኩሎ : ተግሣጽ : ያቴሕትኒ D | ያጠብብኒ] ያጥብ
 ብኒ A; ያጠብብኒ D; ill. M | በከመ] ከመ G | አጥበቦ] አንበቦ G | ለጴጥሮስ : ብካዩ]
 ብካዮ : ለጴጥሮስ A; tr. D | 52 አመ] ወከመ A; ወአመ E; እስመ G | ተስእሎ]
 ተሰእሎ D; ተስእሎ M | ተንሢኦ] ተንሥኦ E; ተንሥኦ G*; ተንሢኦ G^c | እምነ :
 ምውታን] እምውታን AGN; እሙታነ E

ወይቤሎ ፡ ስምዖን ፡ ዘዮና ፡ ታፈቅረኒኑ ፡ ኢይቤኬ ፡ <ክ>መ ፡ ዮም ፡ በተ
መክሐ ፡ እወ ፡ አፈቅረከ ፡ አላ ፡ ይቤ ፡ አንተ ፡ ታኣምር ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ወሶበ ፡
ርእየ ፡ እግዚእን ፡ ትሕትናሁ ፡ ሢሞ ፡ ወወሀቦ ፡ መራኅተ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡
ሰማያት ፡ ወይቤሎ ፡ ረዐይኬ ፡ አባግዕየ ፡ አዛቲ ፡ ትሕትና ፡ ዘረሰዮቶሙ ፡
ለመሬታዊያን ፡ ሰማያዊያን ፡ ዕፀ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ለኩሎሙ ፡ ለእለ ፡
ይትመረገዝዋ ፡ እንተ ፡ ተዐርግ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ሉዓሌ ፡ እለ ፡ አጥረይዋ ፡ ለዛቲ ፡
ምስለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ተዓረ(N: 90v)ኩ ፡ እስመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚእን ፡
እስመ ፡ ኩሉ ፡ ዘአዕበየ ፡ ርእሶ ፡ ዮኀስር ፡ ወዘአትሐተ ፡ ርእሶ ፡ ይከብር ፡
ይቤ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ሀሎ ፡ አሐተ ፡ ዕለተ ፡ አባ ፡ መቃርዮስ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ጸሎት ፡
መጽአ ፡ ሕሊና ፡ ዘይብል ፡ ምስለ ፡ እንጦንዮስኑ ፡ (G: 50r)እትዓረይ ፡
ወሚመ ፡ ምስለ ፡ አውኪን ፡ ወእንዘ ፡ ይኄሊ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ስም(M: 85v)ዐ ፡
ቃለ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ማኅደርከሰ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ክልኤቱ ፡ አንስት ፡ በሰማያት ፡
እለ ፡ ሀለዋ ፡ በሰብሳብ ፡ ንጹሕ ፡ ምስለ ፡ አምታቲሆን ፡ አንስቲያሆሙ ፡
ለኖሎተ ፡ አልህምት ፡ ወሶበ ፡ ስምዐ ፡ አረጋይ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ነገረ ፡ ደንገፀ ፡
ወይቤ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ አይቱኑ ፡ ሀለዋ ፡ ወይቤሎ ፡ ኀሥሦን ፡ በምሥራቅ ፡
ወትረክቦን ፡ ወእምዝ ፡ ሖረ ፡ አረጋይ ፡ በጉጉአ ፡ ወረከቦን ፡ ለክልኤሆን ፡

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53 ኢ.(ይቤኬ)] ወኢ. AE | <ክ>መ] ከመ ADEGMN | በተመክሐ] በተመክሐ D;
ኢይትሜካህ N | አፈቅረከ] ill.+ D | 54 ይቤ] ይቤሎ E | ታኣምር] ill. D; ታኣምር
GN | 55 ርእየ] ርእየከ G* | እግዚእን] om. DN; እግዚአብሔር G | ወሀቦ] ወሀቦ G;
ወሀቦሙ M | መንግሥተ] ዘመንግሥተ M | 56 ሰማያት] ill.+ D | ወይቤሎ] om. M |
ረዐይኬ] ill. D; om. M | አባግዕየ] ill. D; አማግዕዮ E; om. M | አ(ዛቲ)] ወ M |
57 ለመሬታዊያን ፡ ሰማያዊያን] ለመሬታውያን ፡ ሰማውያን ፡ ወለመዋትያን ፡ ሕያዋነ
G; ሰማያዊያን ፡ ለመሬታዊያን ፡ ወለመዋቲያን ፡ ሕያዋነ M | ለኩሎሙ] ለኩሉ AE;
om. M | ለ(እለ)] D; om. GN | 58 ተዐርግ] ታኣምር ፡ ወተዓርግ D | እለ] ወእለ
M | ዛቲ] +ትሕትና ፡ N | 59 ምስለ] ዘምስለ M | ተዓረኩ] ተዓርኩ A; ተዐርኩ DE |
ይቤ] ለሊሁ M | 60 እስመ] ይቤ M | ኩሉ] ኩሎ D; om. GM | ዘአዕበየ] om. M |
ርእሶ] om. M | ዮኀስር] ይኃስር E; ዮኃሥር G; om. M; ያሐስር N | ወ(ዘአትሐተ)]
om. M | ርእሶ] ርእሱ N* | ይከብር] +ወዘአዕበየ ፡ ርእሶ ፡ ዮኀስር ፡ M | 61 ይቤ]
ወይቤ DMN | ዕለተ] +በውስተ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ AE | መቃርዮስ] መቃርስ DG; መቃሪስ N |
በውስተ ፡ ጸሎት] om. AE; አቡነ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ጸሎቱ G | 62 መጽአ ፡ መጽአ A;
መጽአ ፡ በውስተ ፡ N | ዘይብል] እንዘ ፡ ይብል AE | እንጦንዮስ] እንጦንስ AE | እትዓ
ረይ] ትትዓረይ D; እትዓረይ G | 63 ዘንተ] +መጽአ ፡ A; መጽአ ፡ መንፈስ E | ስምዐ]
ወስምዐ AE | 64 እንዘ ፡ ይብል] om. D; ዘይብል GM | ማኅደርከሰ] ማኅደርከ D;
ማኅደርሰ G; ሚኅደርከ N | በሰማያት] om. D; በሰማይት N* | 65 ሰብሳብ] ሰብሳብ E |
አምታቲሆን] እምታቲሆን ED | አንስቲያሆሙ] ወለአምታትይሆን A*; ወለአምታቲ
ይሆን A^c; ወአንስቲያሆሙ D; ወለአምታቲሆንስ E; om. N | 66 ለኖሎተ] ሎቶን A;
ቦሙ ፡ ብዙኃ E; ለኖሎት G; ለኖለተ M; ብዙኃ ፡ N | አልህምት] አልህምተ AE |
ወሶበ] om. E | ስምዐ] ወሰሚዖ E | አረጋይ] አረጋዊ D; om. E | ዘንተ ፡ ነገረ]
om. AE | 67 እግዚአ] om. D | አይቱኑ] አይቱ DM | ሀለዋ] +እግዚአ ፡ D | ኀሥሦን]
ኀሥን G | 68 ወ(ትረክቦን)] om. A | ሖረ] om. D | አረጋይ] አረጋዊ DE | ጉጉአ]
ጉጉዒ A*; ጉጉአ N | ለክልኤሆን] ለ፪ ፡ አንስት D; ወለክልኤሆን E

- እንዘ : ያስተዳልዋ : ድራረ : ለአምታቲሆን : እስመ : ፩አቡሆን : ለክልኤ
 70 ሆን : ወአሐቲ : እሞን ። ወአምታቲሆንሂ : ከማሁ : ፩አቡሆሙ : ወአሐቲ :
 እሞሙ ። ወሶበ : ርእያኒ : (D: 67v)ይቤላኒ : እምአይቲ : እንግዳ :
 ወእቤሎን : እምገዳም : ወባሕቱ : ሀባኒ : ማኅደረ : ወወሀባኒ ። ወሶበ :
 አተዉ : አምታቲሆን : ሖርኩ : ኅቤሆ(A: 52v)ሙ : ወእቤሎሙ : ደቂቅየ :
 75 መጻእኩ : ኅቤክሙ : በትእዛዘ : እግዚአብሔር : ከመ : ትንግሩኒ : ግዕዘ
 ክሙ : እስመ : አምላኪየ : ፈነወኒ ። ወይቤሎኒ : ንሕነ : ሰማዕናሁ : ለው
 እቱ : (E: 154r)ቃል : እንዘ : ይትናገረከ ። ወለነኒ : ይቤለነ : ናሁ : ይመ
 ጽእ : ኅቤክሙ : ዐምደ : ብርሃን : ወኢትኅብእዎ : ግብ<ረ>ክሙ ። ወንቤሎ :
 መኑ : ውእቱ : ዘይመጽእ : ኅቤነ ። ወይቤ : መቃርዮስ : ለባሴ : ገዳም :
 በኩሩ : ለእንጦንዮስ : ቅዱስ : በልብሰተ : አስኬማ ። ወባሕቱ : አሐደ :
 80 ይከውን : ማኅደርክሙ : በመንግሥተ : ሰማያት ። ወዘንተ : ብሂሎ :
 ተሰወረ : እምኔነ ። ወናሁ : ንነግረከ : በከመ : ተአዘዝነ : እምኅዳጥ :
 ምግባራቲነ : ዘአልቦ : በቁኑዐ ። ወሶበ : ሰማዕኩ : ዘንተ : እምአፉሆሙ :
 ደንገዕኩ : ወእቤሎሙ : በሉኬ : ደቂቅየ : ወአኅዊየ : ወአኃትየ : ንግሩኒ :

69 እንዘ—ክልኤሆን] om. G | ድራረ] ድረራ A*; ደራረ D; ደራራ N | ለአምታቲሆን] አምታቲሆን D; ለአምታቲሆን N | ለክልኤሆን] om. AE; ለ□ ሆን N | 70 ወአሐቲ : እሞን] ወእሞን A; ወሞን E | አምታቲሆንሂ] ለአምታቲሆን AE; አምታቲሆን M; አምታቲሆሂ N | ከማሁ] om. D | ፩] om. G; ወ፩ N | አቡሆሙ] አቡሆን E | አሐቲ] om. DMN | 71 ሶበ] ሶበኒ N | ርእያኒ] ርእያን D; ርእያሁ M | ይቤላኒ] ይቤለኒ DEN; ይቤላ M | እንግዳ] እንግድዓ G | 72 እቤሎን] እሎን D; ይቤሎን E; ሶበ : እቤሎን G | እም(ገዳም)] እ N* | ሀባኒ] ሀበኒ M; ኅባኒ N | ወሀባኒ] ወሀንኒ D; ወሀበኒ N | 73 አተዉ] አተወ E; ርኢኩ M | አምታቲሆን] አምታሆን M | ኅቤሆሙ] +ወኅቤሆን : G; ኅቤ ሆን N | እቤሎሙ] ይቤሎሙ G; ይቤሎን N | ደቂቅየ] አደቂቅየ M; ill. N | 74 መጻእኩ] መጻኩ G | ኅቤክሙ] om. N | ግዕዘክሙ] ግዕዛክሙ EM; ግዕዝክሙ D; ግእዘክን N | ፈነወኒ] ፈንወኒ G | ወይቤሎኒ] ወይቤላኒ G; ወይቤልዎ M; om. N | ንሕነ] ወንሕኒ A; ንሕነሰ E; ንሕነኒ N | ሰማዕናሁ] ሰማዕኖ DN | ውእቱ] +ለውእቱ : N | 76 ቃል] M* | ይትናገረከ] ይብለከ : ወይትናገረከ AE | ይቤለነ] ይበለነ D | 77 ኅቤክሙ] ኅቤክን GN | ወኢትኅብእዎ] ወኢትኅብአሁ : ዘከነ A*; ወኢትኅብ አሁ : ዘኮነ A*; ወኢትሕብሉ D; +ዘኮነ : E; ወኢትኅብአሁ G; ኢትሕብአሁ N | ግብ<ረ>ክሙ] ግብረክን AG; ግዕዝክሙ D; እምግባርክሙ E; []ብርክሙ M; ግብ ርክን N | ንቤሎ] ንብሎ D; ill. M | 78 ይመጽእ] ይማጽ[እ] M | ይቤ] ይበለነ DGM | ለባሴ] ለባሴ E; ለበሴ N | 79 በኩሩ] በኩሉ A; በኩሉ : በኩሩ E | እንጦንዮስ] እንጦ ንስ E; እንጦዮስ G; እንጦንዮስ N | ቅዱስ] om. E | አሐደ] አ፩ A; አሐዱ E; ፩ N | 80 ይከውን] ይኩን DN | ማኅደርክሙ] ማኅደርክሙ N | መንግሥተ] om. AE | ወዘንተ] om. N | 81 ተሰወረ] ተሳወረ D | ንነግረከ] ነገርናከ E | ኅዳጥ] ኅደጥ D; ዳኅጥ G | 82 በቁኑዐ] ባቁኑዓ AN; ባቁኑዕ EG | ዘንተ : እምአፉሆሙ] እምኤሆሙ AE; እምአፉሆሙ : ዘንተ : ነገረ D; እምአፉሆን : ዘንተ : ነገረ N | 83 ወ(እቤሎሙ)] om. N | በሉ] በኩሉ AE | ደቂቅየ] አደቂቅየ D | አኅዊየ] አኃው M | ወአኃትየ] om. DN; ወአኅትየ E; ወአሐትየ [M] | ንግሩኒ] +ነበኩሉ : በዘ : ኮንክሙ : A; om. D; +በኩሉ : በዘ : ኮንክሙ : ሰማዕተ : E; +ኮንክሙ : G

እስማዕ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ምድራዊያን ፡ ዘኮንክሙ ፡ ኅዳርያነ ፡ ውስ(M: 86r)ተ ፡
 ሰማይ ፡ በምግባርክሙ ፡ ወይቤሉኒ ፡ ንሕነ ፡ (N: 91r)ኣኀው ፡ ወኣንስቲያነ ፡ 85
 ኣኃት ፡ ወእምአመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ኢበላዕነ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ይዕርብ ፡ ፀሐይ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡
 በሰናብት ፡ ወበበዓላተ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ወሶበ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ሰርከ ፡ ለእመ ፡ ርኢነ ፡
 እንግዳ ፡ ንትፌሣሕ ፡ ወናስተፌሥሖ ፡ ወለእመ ፡ ኢአተወ ፡ እንግዳ ፡
 ንነሥእ ፡ ፫ኅብስተ ፡ ወ፩ጻሕበ ፡ ሐሊብ ፡ ወለእመ ፡ አልብነ ፡ ሐሊብ ፡
 ጻሕበ ፡ ማይ ፡ ነኅሥሥ ፡ ነዳያነ ፡ ወንሁቦሙ ፡ ወለእመ ፡ ኢረከብነ ፡ 90
 ነዳያነ ፡ ንጼውዕ ፡ ኣክልብተ ፡ ርኅባነ ፡ እለ ፡ ወለዳ ፡ ወንሁቦን ፡ ወነአቱ ፡
 ኅበ ፡ ድራርነ ፡ ወኢያርኩስነ ፡ ሥጋነ ፡ በዝሙት ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ኣንስቲያነ ፡
 ወእሎንሂ ፡ ከማሁ ፡ ወኢያብጠልነ ፡ ጸሎታተ ፡ ሰዓታት ፡ ዘለለ ፡ ጊዜሁ ፡
 ወሰጊደ ፡ ወለእመ ፡ ረከባ ፡ ትክቶ ፡ ለአሐቲ ፡ እኅታኒ ፡ ተኅድር ፡ ምስ
 ሌሃ ፡ ወኢትቀርብ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ብእሲሃ ፡ ወንሕነኒ ፡ ኣኀው ፡ ነኅድር ፡ ኅቡረ ፡ 95
 እንዘ ፡ ናኣኩቶ ፡ ለዘ ፡ ጸገወነ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ደቂቃ ፡ ለእን(A: 53r)ተ ፡ ትልህቅ ፡
 ይጠብዋ ፡ ጥባ ፡ ለእንተ ፡ ትንእስ ፡ ወደቂቃሂ ፡ ለእንተ ፡ ትንእስ ፡

84 እስማዕ] om. D; እስመ [M] | እንዘ] om. DGN | ምድራዊያን] +ወመሬታ
 ዊያን ፡ AE; እምድራዊያን DN; አምድራውያን G | ኅዳርያነ] ኃዳርያን AD | ውስተ]
 ምስለ AE | 85 ሰማይ] ሰማያዊያን AE; ሰማያት D | በምግባርክሙ] om. AE;
 በምግራክሙ D; በምግባረ ፡ ሠናይ [M] | ይቤሉኒ] ይቤሉ D | ወኣንስቲያነ] ወኣንስ
 ቲነ A; ወኣንቲያነ D; om. G; ወኣንስቲያነኒ M | 86 ኣኃት] ኣሐተ D[M]N; om. G |
 ወ(እምአመ)] om. ADN | ይዕርብ] ይርዕብ G | 87 በ(ሰናብት)] om. AE | ወበበዓላተ]
 ወዘእንበለ ፡ በዓላት A; በበዓለ D; ወበዓላተ E; ወወበበዓላት G*; ወበበዓላት G*N |
 እግዚእነ] እግዚእ D | ሰርከ] ሰርክ A; ill. M | ርኢነ] ረከብነ M | 88 ንትፌሣሕ]
 +ወንትሐሠይ ፡ G; ንተፌሣሕ N | ወናስተፌሥሖ] om. AE; ወናስተፌሥሖ ፡
 ለውእቱ ፡ እንግዳ D; ወናስተፌሥሖ N | ወለእመ] om. N | ኢ(አተወ)] om. D | 89 ፫]
 om. [M] | ፩] om. M | ሐሊብ] ሐሊብ AN; ወሐሊብ M | ወለእመ] +ኢረከብነ ፡
 ሐሊብ ፡ ለእመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ A; om. D; +ኢረከብነ ፡ ሐሊብ ፡ ወለእመ ፡ ኢተረከብነ ፡
 ሐሊብ ፡ ለእመ ፡ ኮነ ፡ E | አልብነ] ዘአልብነ AE; om. D; አልቦ MN | ሐሊብ]
 ንሕነ AE; om. D; ሐሊብ G | 90 ጻሕበ ፡ ማይ] om. ADE; ማየ N | ነኅሥሥ]
 ወናኅሥሥ D; ነኅሥሥነ E; ወነኃሥሥ G; ወነኅሥሥ M | ነዳያነ ፡ ወንሁቦሙ]
 ነዳየ ፡ ወነሐበሙ N | 91 ነዳያነ] ነዳየ N | ንጼውዕ] ንጸውዖሙ D | ንሁቦን] ንሆቦን G;
 ንሐቦን N | ነአቱ] ናኣቱ D | 92 ኅበ ፡ ድራርነ] ውስተ ፡ ድራር E | በዝሙት] om. AE;
 ለዝሙት G | 93 ከማሁ] ከማሆሙ N | ጸሎታተ] ጸሎተ M | ሰዓታት] ወሰዓታተ AEN;
 ሰዓታተ D | ዘለለ] ዘእንበለ A; ለለ D; ዘበበ E | 94 ሰጊደ] ሰጊዶ N | ወ(ለእመ)]
 om. A | ረከባ] ረከብነ D; ረከበኒ N | ትክቶ ፡ ለአሐቲ] ትክህቶ ፡ ለአሐቲ G; tr. M |
 እኅታኒ] አሐቲኒ ፡ ይእቲ A; ወአሐቲኒ ፡ ይእቲ E; አኅታ G; እኅታ N | ምስሌሃ]
 +ወኢተኃድር ፡ AE; ምስልህ N | ትቀርብ] ትቀረብ G | 95 ብእሲሃ] ምታ E | ንሕነኒ]
 ንኅነ A; ንሕነሂ G; ንሕነ N | ኣኀው] om. DN | ነኅድር] ናሐድር N | 96 ናኣኩቶ]
 ናኣኩቶ D; ነኣኩቶ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር E | ጸገወነ] ጸግወነ G | ደቂቃ] ወደቂቃ D;
 ወውሉዳ E | ትልህቅ] ትልሕቃ N | 97 ይጠብዋ] ያጠብው D | ጥባ] ጥበ AN; ill. D |
 ትንእስ—እንተ₂] om. E | ትንእስ] ትንዕሣ N | ደቂቃሂ] ደቂቃኒ A; ደቂቃ G;
 ለዘሂ N | ለእንተ] om. N | ትንእስ] ትንዕሥ ፡ ደቂቃ N

- ይጠብቅ ፡ ጥባ ፡ ለእንተ ፡ ትልህቅ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይልህቁ ፡ ደቂቆን ። (D: 68r;
E: 154v)ወአልቦ ፡ ጋእዘ ፡ ውስቴትነ ፡ ወኢተካፈልነሂ ፡ ንዋየነ ። ነዋኬ ፡
100 ከመዝ ፡ ሕይወትነ ። ወሶባ ፡ ሰማዕኩ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ እምአፋሆሙ ፡ እቤ ፡ ወይ ፡
ሊተ ፡ ወአሌ ፡ ሊተ ፡ እስመ ፡ አጎለቁ ፡ ኩሎ ፡ መዋዕለ ፡ ሕይወትየ ፡ በጽ
ርዓት ፡ ወእምዝ ፡ አተውኩ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ማጎደርየ ፡ እንዘ ፡ እበኪ ። ርእየኬ ፡
ከመ ፡ ኢትትመክሑ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትድጎኑ ፡ እምዘ ፡ ረከቦ ፡ ለጴጥሮስ ፡ በዛቲ ፡
ሌሊት ። ይቤ ፡ ወንጌላዊ ፡ ወእምዝ ፡ ወሰድዎ ፡ ለኢየሱስ ፡ እምጎባ ፡ ቀያፋ ፡
105 ጎባ ፡ ሐና ፡ ወአብእዎ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ውሳጤ ፡ ወይቤልዎ ፡ አምሐልናክ ፡
በእግዚአብሔር ፡ ሕያው ፡ ከመ ፡ ትንግረነ ፡ እመ ፡ አንተኑ ፡ (M: 86v)ክር
ስቶስ ፡ ወልዱ ፡ ለቡሩክ ። ወይቤሎሙ ፡ እወ ፡ አነ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ እምይእዜስ ፡
እነብ(N: 91v)ር ፡ በየማነ ፡ ጎይል ፡ ወእመጽእ ፡ በደመና ፡ ሰማይ ። ወሶባ ፡
ሰምዐ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ካህናት ፡ ሠጠጠ ፡ አልባሲሁ ፡ ወይቤ ፡ ምንተ ፡
110 ትፈቅዱ ፡ ሰማዕተ ፡ ናሁ ፡ ሰማዕክሙ ፡ እምአፋሁ ። ወተንሥኡ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡
በምልአሙ ፡ ወዘበ(G: 50v)ጥዎ ፡ ወአንበርዎ ፡ እስከ ፡ ይጸብሕ ። ወረከቦቶ ፡
አሐቲ ፡ ወለት ፡ ለጴጥሮስ ፡ ወትቤሎ ፡ አንተሂ ፡ እምኔሁ ፡ አንተ ፡
ወክሕደ ፡ ወይቤላ ፡ ኢያአምሮ ። አጴጥሮስ ፡ ኢወረደ ፡ ላዕሌክ ፡ ሰይፍ ፡
ወኢኩናት ፡ ወኢያግብኡክ ፡ ጎባ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ወመኳንንት ። አላ ፡ ሶባ ፡

98 ይጠብቅ] ያጠብቅ N | ጥባ ፡ ለእንተ] ጥባ ፡ ለዘ A | ትልህቅ] ትንዕሣ N |
እስከ] እስመ N | ይልህቁ] ልቁ A* ; ልጎቁ A° | ደቂቆን] ደቂቆሙ AE; ill. D |
99 አልቦ] አልቦሙ A; አልቦነ E | ጋእዘ] ጋዕዝ G | ውስቴትነ] ውስቴቶን ADEM N |
ወኢተካፈልነሂ—ሕይወትነ] om. N | ኢተካፈልነሂ] ትካፍላነ D; ኢተካፈላነ E;
ኢተካፈልነ G | ንዋየነ] ንዋየ M | 100 ከመዝ] በዝ D; ዘከመዝ M | እምአፋ-
ሆሙ] እምኔሆሙ D; እምአፋሙ M; እምኔሆን N | እቤ] ወእቤ AE | ወይ ፡ ሊተ]
አሌሊተ AE; +ወይሊተ ፡ N | 101 ወአሌ ፡ ሊተ] አሌሊተ AEGN | እስመ] ወ D |
አጎለቁ] አሐለቁ N | መዋዕለ ፡ ሕይወትየ] መዋዕልየ ፡ ወሕይወትየ N | ጽርዓት]
ጽራዓት D; ጽራዕት M | 102 ውስተ] ጎባ D | ማጎደርየ] ብሔርየ N | ርእየ] ርዩ G*;
ርኢ N | 103 ከመ] om. N | ትትመክሑ] ትመክሑ D | ትድጎኑ] ትድጋኑ AGN;
ትድጎኑ D | እምዘ ፡ ረከቦ] እምዘ ፡ ረከቦን N | 104 ይቤ] ወይቤ DM | ቀያፋ]
ሐና M | 105 ጎባ] om. G* | ሐና] ወሐና G; ቀያፋ M | ውሳጤ] ውሳጤት AE |
አምሐልናክ] እምሐልነክ D | 106 ትንግረነ] ትንግረኣ A | እመ] እስመ G* | አንተኑ]
አንተ[?] D; አንተሁ G; አንተ ፡ አንተ M | 107 እምይእዜስ] ወእምይእዜስ ፡
ወኢትሬእየኣ A* ; ወእምይእዜስ ፡ ወኢትሬእየኣ A° ; ወእምይእዜስ ፡ ትሬእይዎ ፡
እንዘ E | 108 እነብር] አነብር DE | 109 ዘንተ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ካህናት] ሊቀ ፡ ካህናት ፡
ዘንተ [D] | ሠጠጠ] ወሰጠጠ N | ወይቤ ፡ ምንተ] ይቤ ፡ መንተ N | 110 ትፈቅዱ]
+ሎቱ ፡ AE; ill. D | ሰማዕተ] ሰማዕት D | 111 በምልአሙ] በምልሆሙ AE; ቦም
ልሆሙ G | ይጸብሕ] ill. D; ይጸብሕ EG; ይበጽሕ N | ረከቦቶ] ርእየቶ DN |
112 እምኔሁ] ምስሌሁ D | አንተ] om. A; ill. D | 113 ወክሕደ] ወክህዳ A; ill. D |
ይቤላ] ይቤ GMN | ኢያአምሮ] ኢይአምሮ AE; ኢያአምሮ ፤ አንሰ G; ኢያአምሮ N |
አጴጥሮስ] +ናሁ ፡ AEN | ኢ(ወረደ)] ወኢ N | 114 ኢ(ኩናት)] om. GN | ሶባ]
om. AEM; ሰቦ D

ሐተተተክ : አሐቲ : ወለት : ትቤ : ኢያአምሮ : አኮኑ : አንተ : ሊቆሙ : 115
 ለአርዳኢሁ ። ናሁኬ : አሐደ : ጊዜ : ወደቀ : ኢትድግም : ካዕበ ። ወይቤ :
 ወንጌላዊ : ወቦ : ዘይወርቅ : ውስተ : ገጹ : ወቦ : ዘይጸፍቦ : ወይቤልዎ :
 ዘይነሥቶ : ለምኸራብ : ናሁ : በ፱ብሩር : ተሣየጥናክ : ወባዕድኒ : ብዙኅ ።
 ወፅአት : ካዕበ : እንታክቲ : ወለት : ወረከበቶ : ለጴጥሮስ : እንዘ : 120
 ይስሕን : ወትቤሎ : አማን : እብለክ : እምኔሁ : አንተ : ለዝንቱ : እሱር ።
 ወይቤላ : ኢያአምሮ : ለዘ : ት(E: 155r)ብሊ : አጴጥሮስ : ናሁ : ደገምክ :
 ክሒደ : ኢይደልወከኬ : አጴጥሮስ : ትፈጽም : ቃለክ : ዘትቤ : እሜጡ :
 ነፍሰየ : በእንቲ(A: 53v)አክ ። ናሁኬ : ኢመጠውክ : እዝነክ : ለጽፍዐት :
 ኅድግስ : ነፍሰክ : ትሜጡ : ዘባነከኒ : ኢመጠውክ ። ምንትኑ : ዘወረደ : 125
 ላዕሌክ : በዛቲ : ሌሊት : ዘከመዝ : ትደነግፅ : እምቅድመ : ገጸ : ለዛቲ :
 ወለት : ዘቆማ : ኢየአክል : ፪እመተ ። ተፈጸመ : ዘትቤ : ሐና : እመ :
 ሳሙኤል : ኢይትመካሕ : ኅያል : በኅይሉ : ወኢይትመካሕ : ባዕል :
 በብዕሉ : ወኢይትመካሕ : ጠቢብ : በጥበቡ : ወዘሰ : (M: 87r)ይትሜካሕ :

115 ሐተተተክ] ሀተተክ A; ሐተተክ DG; ተሐተተክ E; ሐተተክ G; om. M | አሐቲ] om. AE | ወለት] om. A; +ሐተተክ : M | ትቤ] ወትቤ AEM | ያአምሮ] ይአምሮ A; ያምሮ G; የአምሮ N | አኮኑ] አኮሁ AMN | አንተ : ሊቆሙ] tr. A | 116 ናሁኬ] ወናሁኬ E | አሐደ] ፩ AN; አሕያ E; አሐተ GM | ወደቀ] ወድቀ AG | ኢትድግም] ወኢትድግም ADE | ካዕበ] ካዕበ M | ወ(ይቤ)] om. AGN | 117 ወቦ : ዘይወርቅ] ቦዘይወርቁ D; ቦዘይወርቅ E; ቦዘይዌርቅ G; ወቦ : ዘይዌርቅ M; ወቦበ : ቦዘይወርቅ : ምራቀ : ርኩስ N | ይጸፍቦ] ጸፍኦ A; +ገጹ : D | ይቤልዎ] ይቤሎ E; ቦ : ዘይቤልዎ G | 118 ዘይነሥቶ : ለምኸራብ] om. DN | ናሁ] ወናሁ AE; om. D | በ(፱ብሩር)] om. A; ለ E | ፱] om. DN | ተሣየጥናክ] +ናሁ : D; ተሣየጥናሁ M | ባዕድኒ] ባዕድኒ AMN | ብዙኅ] ብዙኃ : ይጸርፉ : ላዕሌሁ A; ብዙኃ D; ብዙኃ : ይጸርፉ : ላዕሌሁ E; ብዙኅ G | 119 ወፅአት] ወወጽአት G; ወምጽአት M | እንታክቲ] እንታክቲት D | 120 ይስሕን] የኃዝን A; ይሐዝን E | ወትቤሎ] om. N | አማን] አማንየ GN | እብለክ] እብለ E; እብለኬ : ወትቤሎ N | ዝንቱ] ውእቱ DM | እሱር] እሁር A* | 121 ያአምሮ] ያምሮ G; የአምሮ N | ለዘ : ትብሊ] ትብልኑ AE; ለዘ : ትቤሊ N | ናሁ] ናሁኬ DG | 122 ክሒደ] ክሐድክ D; ከሂደ GN | ኢይደልወከኬ] ይደልወከኬ G; ይደልወክ M; ይደልወከኬ N | ትፈጽም] ፈጽም A; ፈጺሞ E; ትፈጽም N | ቃለክ] ቃለ D | 123 (ናሁ)ኬ] om. EM | ኢመጠውክ] ኢመጠክ G; አመጠውክ M | እዝነክ] እዝነክ D | 124 ነፍሰክ] ነፍሰክ D | ትሜጡ] ትሜጡ A*; ኢትመጡ G | ዘባነከኒ] ዘባነከሂ D; እዝነከኒ E; ዘባነከሂ M | መጠውክ] ትሜጡ AE; መጠክ G; +ለዝብጠት M; ትሜጡውክ N | ምንትኑ] ምንቱ A; ምንት D | 125 ዘከመዝ] ከመዝ AE | ትደነግፅ] ድንጋሃ D; ትነግፅ G* | እምቅድመ] ቅድመ M; እመቀድመ N | ዛቲ] om. AE | 126 ዘቆማ] ill. M | ኢየአክል] om. A; ኢይአክል D; ኢያአክል E; ኢየአክል G | ፪እመተ] ፪እመት AD; ፪ቱ : በእመት G; ፪ : እመታ M | ሐና] ናሁ A; +ነቢይት : N | 127 ይትመካሕ] ይትሜካህ A; ይትሜካሕ D; ይትሜከሕ E; ይትሜሕ N | ወኢይትመካሕ] ኢይትሜካህ A; om. D; ኢይትሜከሕ E; ወኢይትሜከሕ M; ወእትሜከሕ N | ባዕል] om. D; ብዕል G | 128 በብዕሉ] om. D | ወኢይትመካሕ] ወይትሜካህ A*; ወኢይትሜካህ A^c; ወኢይትሜካሕ DEM; ኢይትመካሕ N | ወ(ዘሰ)] om. E

- በእግዚአብሔር ፡ ለይትመካሕ ፡ ርቱዕኬ ፡ ኢንትመካሕ ፡ አላ ፡ ንበል ፡
 130 ኢታብአነ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መንሱት ፡ (D: 68v)ወ(N: 92r)ይቤ ፡
 ወንጌላዊ ፡ ሥልሰመ ፡ ተጠየቀቶ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ወለት ፡ ወአስተጋብአት ፡ አበ
 ዊሃ ፡ ወካልአነኒ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ተአኅዘቶ ፡ ርግምት ፡ ወለት ፡ ዘመደ ፡ ሄሮ
 ድያዳ ፡ እስመ ፡ አእመረቶ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይደነግፅ ፡ ወትቤሎ ፡ አማን ፡ እብለከ ፡
 እምኔሁ ፡ አንተ ፡ ወይቤላ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ወይቤሎ ፡ አሐዱ ፡ እምእለ ፡ ምስሌሃ ፡
 135 አማንየ ፡ እብለከ ፡ ከመ ፡ ርኢኩከ ፡ ታሕተ ፡ ገነት ፡ ምስሌሁ ፡ ለዝ ፡
 ሰዓሬ ፡ ሰንበት ፡ እስመ ፡ ርእዮ ፡ ዝብእሲ ፡ ለእግዚእነ ፡ አመ ፡ ፈወሶ ፡
 ለመፃኅዕ ፡ በሰንበት ፡ ወአኅዘ ፡ ይትረገም ፡ ጴጥሮስ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢያአምሮ ፡
 ለእግዚእነ ፡ ወሶቤሃ ፡ ነቀወ ፡ ዶርሆ ፡ ወተዘከረ ፡ ጴጥሮስ ፡ ወበከየ ፡
 መሪረ ፡ ወተመይጦ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ወርእዮ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይበኪ ፡ ወይቤሎ ፡
 140 ኢትፍራህ ፡ አጴጥሮስ ፡ ሰረይኩ ፡ ለከ ፡ ዝኪ ፡ ዘኮነ ፡ አኮ ፡ እምልብከ ፡
 አላ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ክብረ ፡ ቃልየ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይትሐሰው ፡ እስመ ፡ እቤለከ ፡
 ሥልሰ ፡ ትክሕደኒ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ተዘኪረከ ፡ አጴጥሮስ ፡ ለእመቦ ፡ ዘአበሰ ፡
 ወመጽአ ፡ ኅቤከ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይንሣእ ፡ ንስሐ ፡ ኢትክልአ ፡ ስርየተ ፡ እስከ ፡
 145 ፪ ፡ በበ ፡ ሰብዕ ፡ ዝኪ ፡ ፬፻፺ወ፭ ፡ (E: 155v)አማኅበረ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስ
 ቲያን ፡ ሶበ ፡ ይመጽእ ፡ ኅቤክሙ ፡ ኃጥእ ፡ ግሙራ ፡ ኢትክልእዎ ፡ ስም

129 ይትመካሕ] ይትሜካህ A; ይትሜካሕ DN; ይትሜካሕ EM | ርቱዕኬ] om. D |
 ኢንትመካሕ] om. D; ኢንትሜካሕ E; ኢንሜካሕ N | ንበል] +አቡነ ፡ ዘበሰማያት ፡ E;
 +አቡነ ፡ N | 130 ኢታብአነ] ወኢታብአነ N | እግዚአ] om. GN; እግዚአ M |
 መንሱት] መናት E; +እግዚአ ፡ [N] | ወ(ይቤ)] om. G | 131 (ሥልሰ)መ] om. AEDG |
 ወለት] om. D | ወ(አስተጋብአት)] om. AE | አበዊሃ] እምአኃዊሃ A; አበዊሂ D;
 እምአኅዊሃ E; አእበሊሃ M | 132 ካልአነኒ] ካልአነሂ A; ካልአነሂ E; ካልአኒ N |
 ተአኅዘቶ] ወተአኃዘቶ A; ወአኃዘቶ D; ወተአሐዘቶ E | ወለት] ወለተ DM; om. GN |
 ዘመደ] om. DM; ዘማዱ(?) N | ሄሮድያዳ] ሄሮድያድ G; ለሄሮደያዳ N | 133 አማን]
 አማንየ D[N] | እብለከ] +ከመ ፡ EN; om. M | 134 እምኔሁ] እመኔሁ N | ይቤላ]
 ይቤ G | ይቤሎ] ይቤ AE | አሐዱ] ፩እምኔሁ A; ፩ EGMN | እለ] እሉ N | ምስሌሃ]
 ምስልሃ N | 135 አማንየ] አማን M; ሰማን N | ከመ] om. DN | ታሕተ] በታሕተ D |
 ምስሌሁ] om. N | 136 ሰዓሬ] ሰዐረ A | ሰንበት] ሰንበተ A | እስመ] om. M | ዝ(ብእሲ)]
 ለዝ DN; ዝንቱ M | ፈወሶ] ፈወሶ G | 137 አኅዘ] ኅዘ M | ይትረገም ፡ ጴጥሮስ]
 ይትረገም DN; tr. M | ኢያአምሮ] ኢይአምሮ A; ያእምሮ E; ኢየአምሮ G |
 138 እግዚእነ] እግዚነ M | ተዘከረ] ተዘከር A*; ተከረ N | ወ(በከየ)] om. D | 139 ይበኪ]
 ይቤኬ N | 140 ኢትፍራህ ፡ አጴጥሮስ] tr. D | ዝኪ] አኮ AE; ዠ D; ዝኒ G | አኮ]
 om. AE; አምልኮ G | እምልብከ] እምብከ D; እብልብከ E; ዘእምልብከ N | 141 ከመ]
 ክመ M | ይትሐሰው] ይትሐው A; ይትሐሰዉ DE; ይትሔሰዉ G; ትሐሰዉ N |
 142 ዘንተ ፡ ተዘኪረከ] ተዘከርኬ AE; ዘንተ ፡ ተዘከረከ M* | አጴጥሮስ] om. DN |
 ዘአበሰ ፡ ወመጽአ] አበሰ ፡ ወመጽአ D; ዘመጽአ ፡ ዘአበሰ E | 143 ኅቤከ] om. DEN |
 ይንሣእ] ይነስሕ DM | ትክልአ] ትክለእ D; ትክል G* | ስርየተ] ስራየተ E | 144 ፬፻፺ወ፭]
 ፴፻፺ወ፭ A; ፬፻፺ M; ፬፻ወ፺ N | አማኅበረ] ማኅበረ D; እማኅበረ N | 145 ይመጽእ]
 ይመጽኡ D | ኃጥእ] ኃጥአን D; ኅጥአን E; om. M; ኅጥዕ N | ትክልእዎ] +ንስሐ ፡
 DEN

ዕየ : መንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ዘኅዱር : ምስሌክሙ : ወላዕለ : ኩልክሙ : ከመ :
 አልቦ : ኅጢአት : ዘይኔይላ : ለንስሐ ። ስብሐት : ለመርዓዊሃ : ለዘ :
 ወሀባ : ኅይለ ። ወእለስ : አበዩ : ንስሐ : በዝየ : (A: 54r)በኅብስት : ወማይ :
 ወበዔው : ወበአሕማላት : እንዘ : ያንፈሰፍስ : ሎሙ : ነፋስ : በህየ :
 ይሁብዎሙ : ንስሐ : ካህናተ : ገሃነም : እሉ : እሙንቱ : ዕፅያተ : ገሃነም : 150
 እለ : ኢይነውሙ : እለ : የዐብዩ : ፈድፋድ : (M: 87v)እምአዕዋመ :
 ዝዓለም ። ወአትማኒሃ : የዐብዩ : አርእስቲሆሙ : እምአድባረ : ዝዓለም ።
 ወነጌያት : እለ : ቆሞሙ : ይበጽሕ : እስከ : ደመናት : ወጽንጽንያ :
 ገሃነም : ወትንንያሃ : የዐብዩ : እምአዕዋፈ : ዝዓለም : (N: 92v)ወካልአንሂ : 155
 እለ : አልቦሙ : ፕልቄ : በከመ : ይቤ : ነቢይ : ዛቲ : ባሕር : ዐባይ :
 ወረሐብ : ህየ : ዘይትሐወስ : ዘአልቦ : ፕልቄ ። ባሕርስ : ይእቲ : ገሃነም :
 ዘድልው : መዋግዲሃ : ለአስጥም : ጊጉያን ። በከመ : ይቤ : ሄኖክ : አልቦ :
 ሰማይ : ዘይጼልል : ላዕሌሃ : ወኢምድር : ታሕቲሃ : አላ : ባሕረ : እሳት :
 ይእቲ : ጸናፊት : እምኸሉ : ፍጥረ(G: 51r)ት : ወየዐውዳ : ጽልመት :
 ፍጹም : ወእሳትኒ : አኮ : ዘያንበለብል : ላዕ(D: 69r)ለ : ከመ : እሳተ : 160
 ዝዓለም : አላ : ያንበለብል : ታሕተ ። ወቦ : በውስቲታ : ከመ : እቶን :

146 ምስሌክሙ] ላዕሌክሙ DN; om. GM | ወ(ላዕለ) om. GM | ኩልክሙ] ኸሎሙ D | 147 ኅጢአት] om. D; ኅጢአተ N | ይኔይላ] ይኔይሎ A; ይሄይሎ E | ንስሐ] +ለከ : AE | መርዓዊሃ] መዓርጊሃ E | 148 ወሀባ] ወሀበአ[?] D; ወሀበ GN | ወእለስ] አመሰ D; እለስኬ G; እመሰ N | 149 ወበዔው] ወዔው AEM; በዔው D | አሕማላት] አኅማለት A; ኃይላት D; ሐምለት E; አሕማላት M | ያንፈሰፍስ] ያስተና ፍስ AE; ይነፍስ N | ሎሙ] ቦሙ AE | ነፋስ : በህየ] ነፍስ : በህየ A; tr. D; አኅማላት : በህየ M | 150 ይሁብዎሙ] ይሁብዎ ADE | ካህናተ] ካህናት A; ካናተ N | እሉ—ገሃነም] om. M | እሙንቱ] om. AE | ዕፅያተ] ጽንፀያተ D | 151 ይነውሙ] ይነውሙ N | እለ] አላ G | የዐብዩ] ያዐቢዩ D; ያዐብዩ M | ፈድፋድ] om. AE | አዕዋመ : ዝ] አዕ : ዝንቱ A*; አዕዋመ : ዝንቱ A*; አእዋመ : ዝንቱ E; አመ : ዝ N | 152 አትማኒሃ] አትናማሂ AE; አዕዋፈሃ N | የዐብዩ] ያዓቢ D; ያዐብዩ M | አድባረ : ዝ] አባረ : ዝንቱ A; አድባረ : ዝንቱ EN | 153 ወነጌያት] ወነቢያት A; ወነገያተ D; ወትኒንያ : ገሀነም M; om. N | ቆሞሙ : ይበጽሕ] ቆሞሙ : ወይበጽሐ A; tr. G; ቆሙሙ : ይበጽሕ M* | እስከ] ኅበ GN | ጽንጽንያ] ጽንጽያተ D; ጽንጽያሃ E; ፅንፅ ንያተ N | 154 ገሃነም] om. AE | ትንንያሃ] ill. D; ትኒንሃ M | አዕዋፈ] አእዋፍ A[D]; አዕፈ G* | ዝዓለም] ዝንቱ : ዓለም AE | ካልአን] ካልአ N | 155 ፕልቄ] ጉልቁ G | 156 ዘ(ይትሐወስ)] om. GN | ፕልቄ] ፕልቁ A; ጉልቁ G | ባሕርስ] ወባሕቲስ D; ባሕርስኬ M | ይእቲ] ዘይቤ : ዓለም : ውእቱ AE; ይእቲኬ G | 157 ጊጉያን] ill. D; ጊጉያን N | 158 ሰማይ] ill. D; ሰማየ EM | ላዕሌሃ] ዲቤሃ D | ወኢምድር : ታሕቲሃ] ወኢምድር : በታሕቲሃ AE; om. D | ባሕረ] ill. D; ባሕር E | 159 ይእቲ] ውእቱ AE | ጸናፊት] ጸናፍት A; ill. D; ወጸናፊት G; ጸናፊ : ጽልመት M; ጽንፈሃ N | ወየዐውዳ] ወየዓውዳ AG; ill. D; ወያሕውዳ E; ዘየዓውዳ N | 160 ፍጹም] ill. D; ፍጹም GM | እሳትኒ] እሳታኒ DM | ከመ] ወከመ AE | 161 ያንበለብል] ያንበለቢል D | (ወ)ቦ] om. D | በውስቲታ] በውስቲቱ A*; በውስቲቱ A*EG; ውስ ቲታ D; በውስቲተ M | ከመ] om. DN

- ወከመ : ቅጽርኒ : ወከመ : ዐዘቅትኒ : ወከመ : ግብኒ : ወከመ : ጸላዕትኒ :
 ወከመ : ንቅዐታትኒ : ወከመ : አድባርኒ : ዐበይት : ወከመ : አውግርኒ :
 ንኡሳት : ወከመ : አጽዳፍኒ : ወከመ : ደደክ : ወውስቴቱ : ቍረ : እሳት :
 165 ዘየአኪ : እምዋዕይ : ወከመ : (E: 156r)መርቄሂ : ወህየ : ዋዕይ ። ወከመ :
 አፍላግ : ዐበይት : ፈድፋደ : እምአፍላግ : ዝዓለም : ወህየ : ይውሕዝ :
 ፍሕም : ዕራቁ ። ወ<ይከልእ> : ፈለገ : ነድ : ዕራቁ ። ወዐ : ፈለግ :
 ዘይውሕዝ : ቀለምጽጽ : ዕራቁ ። ወዐ : ፈለግ : ዘይውሕዝ : ውስቴቱ :
 170 ጢስ : ጽልመት : ዘጺአቱ : የአኪ : እሞት ። ወዐ : ፈለግ : ዘይውሕዝ :
 ውስቴቱ : አስሐቲያ ። ወዐ : ፈለግ : ዘእምኔሁ : ይውሕዝ : ሕምዘ :
 እሳት ። ወውስተ : አድባርሃ : ወአውግሪሃ : አራዊት : ወአክይስት : ወአቃ
 ርብት : እለ : አልዐሙ : ፕልቄ : እንዘ : ይስእሉ : ጎበ : እግዚአብሔር :
 ሲሳዮሙ : ወለእመ : (M: 88r)ረከቡ : አሐደ : ሰብአ : ይገ(A: 54v)ብሩ :
 ባእስ : በበሊዖቱ : ወከመ : ቅጽበት : ይትፈአምዎ : ወየሐውሩ ። እስመ :
 175 አስናኒሆሙ : ኩሉ : አስይፍት : ወኩያንው ። ወሶቤሃ : ከመ : ቅጽበት :
 የሐዩ : ውእቱ : ብእሲ : ዘተበልዐ ። ወይመጽኡ : ካልአን : ወይበልዕዎ :

162 ወ(ከመ)] om. N* | ዐዘቅትኒ] ዐዘቅት E | ወከመ—ጸላዕትኒ] om. M | ከመ]
 om. N | ጸላዕት] ጸልዓት D | 163 ንቅዐታት] ንቀዓት D; ንቅዓት N | ዐበይት] ዐቢ
 ያን E | አውግር] አድባር D | 164 ንኡሳት] ንኡሳን DM; ንኡሳነ E | ወከመ] om. D |
 አጽዳፍኒ] አፅዳፍኒ : ወከመ : አውግርኒ A; om. D; +ወከመ : አውግርኒ : E; አጽ
 ዳፍ GM | ደደክ] ደደክኒ N | ወውስቴቱ] ውስቴቱ AE; ወውስቴታ DN; ዘውስ
 ቴቱ GM | ቍረ] +አስሐቲያ : N | 165 የአኪ] ያአኪ D | እምዋዕይ] ዋዕዩ A; እምዋ
 ዕዩ E | (መርቄሂ] om. DN | ወህየ] om. A*; ህየ A*E; ወዐ M | ዋዕይ] +ህየ : M;
 ዋዒ N | ወ(ከመ)] om. D | 166 አፍላግ] አፍላግኒ AE | ፈድፋደ] አፈድፈደ N |
 ዝ(ዓለም)] ዝንቱ : AEN | 167 ፍሕም] om. G | ወ<ይከልእ>—ዕራቁ] om. ADEN |
 <ይከልእ>] ካልኡሂ G; ካልእሂ M | ፈለገ] ፈለግ M | ወዐ—ዕራቁ] om. DEN |
 (ወ)ቦ] ካልኡሂ M | 168 ዘይውሕዝ] om. M | ቀለምጽጽ] ቀለምጽጸት A; ቀለም
 ጸጽ G | ይውሕዝ] ይውዝ A*; ይሕዝ N | ውስቴቱ] om. AEG; ውስቴታ N |
 169 ጢስ] ጢስ G | ጽልመት] እሳት : ዘጽልመት AE | ዘጺአቱ] ወጺዓቱ AG; ወፂ
 አቱ E | የአኪ] ያአኪ N | እሞት] ሞት G | ዘይውሕዝ—ፈለግ] om. E | 170 ውስቴቱ]
 om. G; እምውስቴቱ M | ወዐ : ፈለግ] ወበአፍላግ N | ዘእምኔሁ] om. M; ዘእምን
 ሃንም N | ይውሕዝ] ዘይውዝ D; ዘይውሕዝ G; ዘይውሕዝ : እምኔሁ : M; ዘውሕ N |
 ሕምዘ] om. D | 171 ውስተ] ሶ : ፈለግ : ወውስተ A; ሶ : ፈለግ : ወውስቴቱ E;
 ውስቴታ N | አድባርሃ : ወአውግሪሃ] አውግሪሃ : ወአድባርሃ E | አራዊት] አራዋት D |
 172 ፕልቄ] ጎልቀ G | እንዘ] እለ DN | 173 ሰብአ] ብእሲ [D] | ይገብሩ] ዘይ
 ገብሩ A; ይወግሩ E | 174 ባእስ] om. AE; ባዕለ G | በበሊዖቱ] በእሳት AE | ቅጽበት]
 +ዓይን : A; ዐይን : ቅጽበት : ይውሕጥዎ E | ይትፈአምዎ] ይትወፍዎ : ለበሊዖተ A;
 ill. D; ወይትወከፍዎ : ለበሊዖቱ E; ይትፈዓምዎ G; ይተፍእዎ N | 175 አስናኒሆሙ]
 አስናናቲሆሙኒ A; አስናኒሆሙኒ E | ኩሉ] እሳት A; ከመ D; ዘእሳት E; om. M |
 ኩያንው] ኩናት AEN; ill. D; ኩንያው G | ቅጽበት] ill. D; ቅጽቦ G | 176 ካልአን]
 ill. D; ካልአነ E | ይበልዕዎ] ill. D; ይቤልዎ G*; ይቤልዕዎ G^c

ወካዕበ : የሐዩ ። ዝኬ : ንብረቶሙ : ለቀታልያን ። ወካልኣንሰ : ቦዘይ
ትወደዩ : ውስ(N: 93r)ተ : እቶን ። ወቦ : ውስተ : ዐዘቅት : ወቦ : ውስተ :
ባሕር : ወቦ : ውስተ : አፍላግ : ወኸሎሙ : እሳት : ፍጹም ። ቦእስከ :
ጽፍሩ : ዘይትወደይ : ሀሎ : ወቦ : እስከ : ሰኩናሁ : ወቦ : እስከ :
ብረኪሁ : ወቦ : እስከ : ሐቋሁ : ወቦ : እስከ : ክሳዱ ። ወቦ : ዘይትወሐጥ :
ኸለንታሁ : ወቦ : ዘይወርድ : ውስተ : ማዕምቅት : መትሕተ : ታሕቲት :
ወበህየ : ይበልዕዎ : ሐርገጸት : ወዓሣተ : እሳት ። ወዘሰ : ኢይሁብ : ስብ
ሐተ : ለፈጣሪሁ : ይበውእ : ውስተ : አፋሁ : ቈርናንዓተ : እሳት ። ወገሃነም
ሰኬ : ዐባይ : ወግርምት : ባሕር : ይእቲ : ዘርኅበታ : የዐቢ : እምዝ :
ዓለም : ወዕመቃ : የዐቢ : እምድር : እስከ : ሰማይ : ወድምፃ : የዐቢ : እም
ነጉድጓደ : ዝዓለም : ወጥሕረታ : እመብረቅ ። ጥዩቅኬ : አል(E: 156v)ቦ :
ሰማይ : ዘይጼልል : ላዕሌሃ : ወኢምድር : ታሕቲሃ : ከመ : ሰማይ :
ወምድር : ለሊሃ : ዛቲኬ : ዐባይ : ዘታገምር : ዘንተ : ኸሎ : ወታነፍሶ :

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177 ወካዕበ : የሐዩ] ill. D; ካዕበ : ወየሐዩ G | ካልኣንሰ : ቦዘይትወደዩ] ለካልኣንሰ :
ቦዘይትወደዩ D; ካልኣንሰ : ቦዘይትወደዩ G; ካልኣንሰቦ : ዘይትወደዩ M | 178 ውስተ]
ውስቴቱ AE | እቶን] ለእቶን AE; እሳት D | ቦ : ውስተ] ቦ : ኅበ AE; ወውስተ D;
ወበውስተ N | ውስተ] ኅበ AE | 179 ወኸሎሙ] ወኸሎ AE; ወኸሎሙ N | ፍጹም]
ፍጹም M | ቦእስከ] ወቦ : እስከ DGN | 180 ጽፍሩ] እግሩ M | ዘይትወደይ : ሀሎ]
om. AE | ሰኩናሁ] ዘይትወደይ A; ይትወደይ E | ወቦ : እስከ : ብረኪሁ] om. AE |
181 ክሳዱ] [?]ብዱ N | ዘይትወሐጥ] እስከ : ይትወሐጥ N | 182 ኸለንታሁ] ኸል
ንታሁ ADEN | ማዕምቅት] ማእምቅተ A; ማዕምቅ D; ማዕምቀት E; ማዓምቅት M;
ማዕምቅተ N | መትሕተ] ወታሕተ ADE | ታሕቲት] ታሕቲተ N | 183 ወበህየ :
ይበልዕዎ] om. AE | ሐርገጸት] ሐራግጽ A; ሐራግዕ E; አራግዕት G; ሐራግጽት M;
ሐርገጸት N | ዓሣተ] ዓሣት AEN; አክይስተ D | እሳት] om. AE | (ወ)ዘሰ] om. N |
ኢይሁብ] ይሁብ D; ኢይሁ M; ኢይሁቡ N | ስብሐተ] ስብሐት DG | 184 ፈጣሪሁ]
ፈጣሪ A; ፈጠሪሆሙ N | ይበውእ] ኢይበውኡ D; ይበውኡ M | ውስተ : አፋሁ]
om. E; ውስተ : አፋ M | ቈርናንዓተ] ቈርናዕነዓት D; ቊርናነኣተ E; ቈርናነዓት G;
ቈርናንዓት N | ገሃነምሰኬ] ገጋምኬ A*; ገጋምሰኬ A*; ገሃነምሰ D; ገህነምኬ M;
ገሃነምኬ N | 185 ዐባይ] ዐቢይ A; ዓቢይ D | ግርምት] ግርምተ D | ይእቲ] om. M |
ዘርኅበታ] ዘርኅባ AE; ርሕባ D; ዘርኅበተ G*; ርህባታ N | የዐቢ] ዐቢይ A*;
የዐቢይ A*; የዓኪ G | እምዝ] እምዝንቱ AE | 186 ዕመቃ] እመቃ A | እምድር]
om. E; እምሰማይ N | እስከ : ሰማይ] ወምድር N | የዐቢ] ያዓቢ N | እምነጉድጓደ :
ዝ] እምነጉድጓደ : ክረምት : ዘዘናመ : ዝ A; እምነጉድጓደ : ዘዝ D; እምነጉድጓደ :
ክረምት : ዘዘናመ : ዝ E; እምነ : ነጉድጓደ : ዝ G; እምነጉድጓደዝ; እምነጓዳጓዳ :
ዝ N | 187 ጥሕረታ] ጽሕርታ A; ጽህርታ E | እመብረቅ] እምነ : መባርቅት D;
የዐቢ : እመብረቅ E; +ከማሁ : M | ጥዩቅ] ጥዩቀ MN | 188 ሰማይ] ሰማየ AM;
om. E | ዘይጼልል : ላዕሌሃ] om. AE; ዘይጼልል : መልዕልቴሃ M; ዘይጼልል :
ሰማይ : ዘይጼልል : ላዕሌሃ N | ወኢምድር : ታሕቲሃ] ወምድረ : በታሕቲሃ : ወኢ
ሰማየ : በላዕሌሃ : ዘይጼልል A; ምድር : በታሕቲሃ : ወኢሰማየ : በላዕሌሃ : ዘይጼ
ልል E | ከመ—ለሊሃ] ከመ : ዝንቱ : ሰማይ AE; om. M | 189 ዐባይ] ዓቢይ N |
ዘታገምር : ዘንተ : ኸሎ] om. AE; ዘንተ : ኸሎ : ዘታገምር D; ዘተገምር :
ኸሎ M | ታነፍሶ] ታነፍሶ D; ነፍሰ G; ተነፍሶ M

- 190 እመዓቱ ፡ ለአምላክ ፡ ስብሐት ። እስመ ፡ አመቱ ፡ ይእቲ ፡ ወገባሪተ ፡
ፈቃዱ ፡ ወማሕጐሊቱ ፡ ለዲያብሎ(D: 69v)ስ ፡ መምህራ ፡ ለዝ ፡ ኩሉ ፡
መንሱት ። ይመስለከኑ ፡ ኦብእሲ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ወአጋንንት ፡ ባሕቲቶሙ ፡
ዘይትወደዩ ፡ ሚመጠነ ፡ ሀለው ፡ ፍጥረታት ፡ ካልአን ፡ እለ ፡ ቦሙ ፡
ሥጋሂ ፡ ወዘእንበለ ፡ ሥጋሂ ። ወሶበ ፡ ተናገርነ ፡ በእንቲአሆሙ ፡ ይነውጎ ፡
195 ነገ(M: 88v)C ። ይመስለከኑ ፡ ኦብእሲ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ትሰምዕ ፡ እንዝ ፡ ይብል ፡
መጽሐፍ ፡ እለ ፡ ኢነስሑ ፡ በዝየ ፡ በህየ ፡ ይኔስሑ ። ይመስለከኑ ፡
በ፪ሱባዔ ፡ አው ፡ በ፫ሱባዔ ፡ ዘየኅልቅ ፡ ንስሐ ፡ በህየ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ከማሁ ፡
ንስሐ ፡ በህየ ፡ ፲፫ዓመት ፡ ለእለ ፡ (N: 93v)ኢኮኑ ፡ ውፁኣነ ፡ እመርዔተ ፡
ክርስቶስ ፡ በሕይወቶሙ ። ወዓዲቦ ፡ ለዘይፈ(A: 55r)ደፍዶ ፡ ወቦ ፡ ለዘ
200 ይውጎዶ ። በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ጳውሎስ ፡ ወእለስ ፡ ዘበሕግ ፡ አበሳሆሙ ፡
ዘበሕግ ፡ ኩነኔሆሙ ፡ ወእለስ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ሕግ ፡ አበሳሆሙ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡
ሕግ ፡ ኩነኔሆሙ ። ወካልአንስ ፡ እምክርስቲያን ፡ እለ ፡ ኮኑ ፡ ውፁኣነ ፡
በምግባራቲሆሙ ፡ እምዝ ፡ ዓለም ፡ እመርዔተ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ንጹሓን ፡
ወኮኑ ፡ ከመ ፡ አረሚ ፡ በእበዶሙ ፡ በህየኒ ፡ ይከውኑ ፡ ውፁኣነ ፡ እምኩነኔ ፡

190 እመዓቱ] +ዘታገምር ፡ ኩሎ ፡ A; እምዓቱ D; እምዐቱ E; om. M | ስብሐት] +ዘታገምር ፡ ኩሎ E; +እመዐቱ M | አመቱ] መዓቱ DN; መዐቱ E | ገባሪተ] ገበሪተ N |
191 ፈቃዱ] +ይእቲ ፡ E | ማሕጐሊቱ ፡ ለዲያብሎስ] ማኅጐሊተ ፡ ዲያብሎስ AEN | መምህራ] መምህር AE; መምህሩ G; መመምሕራ N | ለዝ ፡ ኩሉ] ለኩሉ D; ለሳቲ G |
192 ይመስለከኑ] ይምስለከኑ E; ወይመስለከኑ N | ባሕቲቶሙ ፡ ዘይትወደዩ] ዘይት ወደዩ ፡ ባሕቲቶሙ ፡ አላ DN; +ውስተ ፡ ገህነም ፡ M | 193 ሚመጠነ] ምመጠነ A*; ሚመጠን DG | ሀለው] +እስፍንቱ ፡ D; ሀለዉ M; +ወእስፍንቱ ፡ N | ፍጥረታት] ፍጥረታት N | ካልአን] ካልአንስ AE | እለ] om. D | ቦሙ] አልቦሙ DM; በውስተ N |
194 ሥጋሂ] ሥጋ AEM | ወዘእንበለ ፡ ሥጋሂ] ወዘእንበለስ ፡ ሥጋሂ AE; ወዘእንበለ ፡ ሥጋ D; om. M | ተናገርነ] ተናገር D | በእንቲአሆሙ] በእንቲሆሙ M | ይነውጎ] ይውጎዝ A; ይበዝሕ E | 195 ኦብእሲ] ኦብሲ A; እሰብእ N | ሶበ] om. D | ትሰምዕ] ትሰማዕ D; ትምእ N* | 196 እለ] om. N | ኢነስሑ ፡ በዝየ] ይነስሑ ፡ በበዝየ G | በህየ] om. DE | ይኔስሑ] ይትኔስሑ AE; የሀብዎሙ ፡ ንስሐ D; ይነስሑ G; ይሑብ ዎሙ ፡ ንስሐ N | ይመስለከኑ] om. G; +ኦብእሲ ፡ M | 197 ፪ሱባዔ] ፪ጉባኤ A | ፫ሱባዔ] ፫ጉባኤ A; ፫ G | በህየ] በህየሰ M | አልቦ ፡ ከማሁ] አልቦኬ ፡ ከማሁስ D | 198 ንስሐ] ንስሐስ DN; ወንስሐስ M | በህየ] +አላ ፡ A; አላ E | ዓመት] ዓመተ AN | ለ(እለ)] om. AE | ኢ(ኮኑ)] om. E | ውፁኣነ] ውፁዓን G | 199 በሕይወቶሙ] እግዚአብሔር ፡ በሕይወቶሙ E; ለሕይወትነ N | ሶ ፡ ለዘይፈደፍዶ] ለዘይፈደፍዶ D; +ኩነኔ ፡ E | ሶ] ዐዲ ፡ ሶ N | ለዘይውጎዶ] ዘይውጎዶ E | 200 ጳውሎስ ፡ ወእለስ ፡ ዘበሕግ] ጳውሎስ ፡ ወእመስ ፡ ዘሕግ N | 201 ዘበሕግ] በሕግ D; ዘሕግ N | ኩነኔሆሙ] ይትኬነኑ AE; ኩነኔሆሙ N | ወእለስ—ኩነኔሆሙ] om. E | እለስ] እመስ N | ዘእንበለ—ኩነኔሆሙ] om. G | ዘእንበለ] እንበለ M | አበሳሆሙ—ሕግ] om. G | አበሳሆሙ] om. D | ዘእንበለ ፡ ሕግ] om. A | 202 ኩነኔሆሙ] ይትኬነኑ A; ኩነኔሆሙ N | ወካል አንስ] ዘካልአንስ A; ዘወካልአንስ G; ወካልአን M | እም(ክርስቲያን)] om. D | ኮኑ] ኢኮኑ G | 203 እምዝ] እዝ M | እመርዔተ] ለመርዔተ D | ንጹሓን] ንጹሐነ D | 204 ከመ ፡ አረሚ] አረሜ AE; +በምግባሮሙ ፡ D | በእበዶሙ] ወበእዶሙ D | በህየኒ] ወህየኒ G; በዝየኒ N | ውፁኣነ] ውፀኣነ E | ኩነኔ] ኩሉ DN

ክርስቲያን ፡ ወይትኳነኑ ፡ ምስለ ፡ አረሚ ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ወበገሃነምስ ፡ 205
 ኢያቦውሐነ ፡ ንጸውዕ ፡ ስሞ ፡ ለአምላክ ፡ ምሕረት ፡ እምብዝኅ ፡ ምንዳቤ ፡
 በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ እስመ ፡ አልቦ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ሞት ፡ ዘይዘከረከ ፡
 ወበሲኦልኒ ፡ መኑ ፡ የአምነከ ፡ ንፍራህ ፡ እን(G: 51v)ከ ፡ ወኢንኅድግ ፡
 ትእዛዞ ፡ ከመ ፡ ንባእ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ዕረ(E: 157r)ፍቱ ፡ ዘሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ 210
 እስከ ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ፡ አንትሙሰኬ ፡ መምህራነ ፡ ቤተ ፡
 ክርስቲያን ፡ መሀርዎሙ ፡ ለኃጥአን ፡ እንዘ ፡ ትብሉ ፡ ዐምደ ፡ ብርሃን ፡
 ዘይጸውር ፡ ኩሎ ፡ ዓለመ ፡ ወዲቤሁ ፡ ሕኑጽ ፡ ሰማያት ፡ ወምድር ፡
 ወውስተ ፡ ልሳኑ ፡ መራኅተ ፡ መንግሥተ ፡ ሰማያት ፡ ወስሙኒ ፡ ኩኩሕ ፡
 ጽኑዕ ፡ ዘኢያንቀለቅል ፡ ናሁኬ ፡ ወድቀ ፡ ዮም ፡ ሥልሰ ፡ በዛቲ ፡ ሌሊት ፡ 215
 ወተንሥኦ ፡ በብካይ ፡ ወኮነ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ሐዋርያት ፡ ነስሑኬ ፡ እለ ፡ ወደቅሙ ፡
 (M: 89r)ከመ ፡ ትኩኑ ፡ መዋርስቲሁ ፡ ለጴጥሮስ ፡ ወትወርሱ ፡ ሀገረ ፡
 ዘኢትከውን ፡ ዛቲ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ሄጠ ፡ ርእዮታ ፡ ሄኖክ ፡ ወኅርኅርዮስ ፡
 ወጳውሎስ ፡ ወዮሐንስ ፡ ወቅዱስ ፡ እንጦንዮ(D: *finit ex abrupto*)ስ ፡
 ወእለ ፡ ምስሌሆሙ ፡ እለ ፡ ርእዩ ፡ ዕቢያቲሃ ፡ ለመንግሥተ ፡ (N: 94r)ሰማ
 ያት ፡ ወጸሐፉ ፡ ለነ ፡ ኢያንብሬስ ፡ ወሄጳሊጦስ ፡ ዳግማዊ ፡ ወበርተ
 ሎሜዎስ ፡ ወሄኖክመ ፡ ወኅርኅርዮስ ፡ ወጳውሎስ ፡ ወዮሐንስ ፡ ወእለ ፡ 220
 ምስሌሆሙ ፡ እለ ፡ ርእይዎ ፡ ለገሃነም ፡ ወጸሐፉ ፡ ለነ ፡ ምግባራቲሃ ፡ ወኩ
 ሎሙ ፡ ነቢያት ፡ ምስለ ፡ አዳም ፡ አቡሆሙ ፡ እሙንቱስ ፡ ነበሩ ፡ ውስተ ፡
 ሲኦል ፡ እስከ ፡ ይትከዐው ፡ ዝደም ፡ ዘቆመ ፡ ቅድመ ፡ ጲላጦስ ፡ ወአሜሃ ፡

205 ይትኳነኑ] ይትኳነኑ D | ምስለ ፡ አረሚ] om. M | በገሃነምስ] በገሃነምስኬ DN;
 በውስተ ፡ ገሀነምስ M | 206 ያቦውሐነ] ይትከሀል ፡ ከመ M; +ከመ ፡ N | ንጸውዕ]
 ይጸውዑ M | ምሕረት] ስብሐት M | ብዝኅ] ብዝኃ AG; ዝሐ N | 207 ይቤ] om. D |
 ይዘከረከ] ይዘከረከ A | 208 (ሲኦል)ኒ] om. D | እንከ] om. D | ኢንኅድግ] ንኅድግ E;
 ኢሕድግ M | 209 ትእዛዞ] ትእዛዛ E | ዘ(ሎቱ)] om. AE | 210 እስከ] om. ADE |
 ዓለመ] om. EN | አንትሙሰኬ] ወአንትሙሰኬ D; አንትሙኬ E; ወአንትሙሰ MN |
 211 ትብሉ] om. N | 212 ዓለመ] om. D | ዲቤሁ] ዲቦ DN | ሕኑጽ] ill. D;
 ተኅን] M; ሕፅኑ N | ሰማያት] ሰማይ DG | 213 ወ(ውስተ)] ill. D; om. G[N] |
 214 ሥልሰ] ሰልሠ E | 215 ተንሥኦ] ተንሣኦ AE; ill. M; ተንሥኦ N | ብካይ]
 +ወበንስሕ ፡ [M] | ሊቀ ፡ ሐዋርያት] ሊለሐዋርያት G | 216 ትወርሱ] ill. D; ትረሱ GM |
 217 ሄጠ] ሄጣ AE | ርእዮታ] ርእዮ A; ርእዮሙ E; ርእየታ M | ሄኖክ] ሄኖክመ M |
 218 ወ(ጳውሎስ)] om. AE | ወቅዱስ ፡ እንጦንዮስ] እንጦንስ AE; ቅዱስ ፡ ወእንጦ
 ንዮስ ፡ ቅዱስ M; ወቅዱስ ፡ ዕንጦንዮስ ፡ ወቅዱሳን N | 219 እለ] ርእዩ A | ዕቢያቲሃ]
 አብያቲሃ AE | 220 ወጸሐፉ] ጸሐፉ G*; ጸሐፉ G° | ኢያንብሬስ] እለ ፡ ኢያንበሬስ A;
 እለ ፡ ኢያንብሬስ E; ወኢያንበሬስ G; ill. N | ሄጳሊጦስ] ቁላጦስ A; ሂጳሊጦስ M;
 ሄጳሊጦስ [N] | ዳግማዊ] ዳግማይ N | 221 ወሄኖክመ] om. A; ወሄኖክ EG | ወኅር
 ኅርዮስ] om. N | ወ(እለ)] om. G | 222 ርእይዎ] ርእዩ N | ወጸሐፉ ፡ ለነ] ጸሐፉ G |
 223 ነቢያት] ነቢያትስ G | ምስለ] +ኩሎሙ ፡ AE | አዳም ፡ አቡሆሙ] ወአዳም ፡
 አቡሆሙ E; tr. N | እሙንቱስ] ወእሙንቱስ AN; ወእንቱስ E; እሙንቱ M |
 224 ደም] ድም N | አሜሃ] አሚሃ A

- 225 ወፅኡ ፡ ኩሎሙ ፡ እምሲኦል ፡ እመሰ ፡ ነበሩ ፡ እንዘ ፡ የሐሙ(A: 55v) ፡
 ወእንዘ ፡ ኢየሐሙ ፡ እንዳዒ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ያአምር ። ንግባእኬ ፡ ኅበ ፡
 ቀዳሚ ፡ ነገርነ ፡ እስመ ፡ አምላክነ ፡ እሱር ፡ ይቀውም ፡ ሀሎ ፡ ቅድመ ፡
 ጲላጦስ ። ወኢቦኡ ፡ አይሁድ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ዐውድ ፡ እስመ ፡ ጸብሐ ፡ ዐርብ ፡
 ከመ ፡ ኢይርኩሱ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ርኩሳን ፡ እሙንቱ ። ንስምዖኬ ፡ ለነቢይ ፡
 230 እንዘ ፡ ይበኪ ፡ ወይብል ፡ እፎ ፡ ኮነት ፡ ሀ(E: 157v)ገረ ፡ ጽዮን ፡ ዘማ ፡
 ምእመን ፡ ወከዓዊተ ፡ ደም ። አስጥሞሙ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ ወምትር ፡ ልሳናቲ
 ሆሙ ፡ እስመ ፡ ርኢኩ ፡ ዐመፃ ፡ ወቅስተ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሀገር ፡ ወኅጢአት ፡
 ማእከላ ። ወገሃደ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ በእንተ ፡ መድኅኒነ ፡ ወበእንተ ፡ ሕዝበ ፡
 235 አይሁድ ። ለምንት ፡ አንገለጉ ፡ አሕዛብ ፡ ወሕዝብኒ ፡ ነበቡ ፡ ከንቶ ፡
 ወተንሥኡ ፡ ነገሥተ ፡ ምድር ፡ ወመላእክትኒ ፡ ተጋብኡ ፡ ምስሌሆሙ ፡
 ኅቡረ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወላዕለ ፡ መሲሑ ። አማን ፡ ተጋብኡ ፡
 ሕዝበ ፡ አይሁድ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ መሲሑ ፡ ለእ(M: 89v)ግዚአብሔር ፡ በዛቲ ፡
 ዕለት ፡ ወአኅዝዎ ፡ ወአሰርዎ ፡ ወወሰድዎ ፡ ኅበ ፡ ጲላጦስ ፡ ወኅበ ፡ ሄሮ
 ድስ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብሉ ፡ ረከብናሁ ፡ ለዝ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ያዕልዎሙ ፡ ለሕዝብነ ፡
 240 ወይክልኦሙ ፡ ኢየሀቡ ፡ ጸባሕተ ፡ ለቂሣር ፡ ወይሬሲ ፡ ርእሶ ፡ ክርስቶስሃ ፡
 ንጉሠ ፡ እስራኤል ። ቦዘይረውጽ ፡ እንዘ ፡ የኅሥሥ ፡ ስምዐ ፡ ሐሰት ፡
 ወያ(N: 94v)ስተሴፉ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ንሁበክሙ ፡ በበፂብሩር ። ወቦ ፡
 ዘይረውጽ ፡ ከመ ፡ ያብስር ፡ ለሄሮድስ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ናሁ ፡ ተረክበ ፡

225 እመሰ] እስመ AE; ወእመሂ M | ነበሩ] +ኩሎሙ ፡ E | እንዘ] እን N | የሐሙ] የሐምሙ M; ያሐምምሙ N | 226 ወእንዘ ፡ ኢየሐሙ] ወእንዘ ፡ ኢይሐሙ A; om. GMN | ያአምር] የአምር AG; ill. N | 227 ነገርነ] ነገር M; ill. N | እሱር] A; እሱሩ GM | ሀሎ] om. AEN | 228 ውስተ ፡ ዐውድ] om. AEG; ቅድመ ፡ አውድ N | ጸብሐ] በጽሐ A | ዐርብ] ይብልዑ ፡ ፍሥሐ M | 229 ይርኩሱ] ያርኩሱ AEM; ያርኩሱ N | እንዘ] እስመ ፡ እስመ N | እሙንቱ] እሙን N | 230 ይበኪ ፡ ወይብል] ይብል ፡ ወይብል A; ይብል E | ኮነት] +ዘማ ፡ M | ዘማ ፡ ምእመን] ዘበአማን AE; ምእመን ፡ ወኮነት M | 231 ወከዓዊተ] ከዐዊተ AE; ከዓዊተ M | አስጥሞሙ] ወይቤ ፡ አስጥሞሙ E; ወካዕበ ፡ ረገሞሙ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ አስጥሞሙ M | ምትር] መትር N | 232 ርኢኩ] ርእዩኩ A | ቅስተ] ቅስት M; ቅሥት N | ሀገር] +ዐመፃ ፡ ወጉሕሉት ፡ A; +ወጉሕሉት ፡ E; +ወዐመፃ ፡ E | ወኅጢአት] ወሥራኅ M; ኅጢአት N | 233 ገሃደ] ገሃደመ N | በእንተ] ወበእንተ N | መድኅኒነ] መድኅነ N* | ሕዝበ ፡ አይሁድ] ሕዝብ ፡ አይሁድ N | 234 ለምንት] ወይቤ ፡ ለምንት AE; ill.+ N | ሕዝብኒ] ሕዝብኒ A | 235 መላእክትኒ] ለመላእክትኒ N | 236 አማን—መሲሑ] om. N | 237 በዛቲ] ወበዛቲ M | 238 ዕለት] ሌሊት G | ወ(አኅዝዎ)] om. M | ሄሮድስ] +ብእሲ ፡ G | 239 ያዕልዎሙ] የዕልዎሙ A; የዓልዎሙ N | ሕዝብነ] ሕዝብ E | 240 ይክልኦሙ] ይክልኦሙ N | የሀቡ] ይሀቡ A; ሀሎ G* | 241 ቦዘይረውጽ ፡ እንዘ] ወቦ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይረውጽ N | የኅሥሥ] ወየሐሥሥ N | ስምዐ] ሰማዕተ EN | ሐሰት] ሐሰተ A | 242 ያስተሴፉ] ያሴፍዉ A; ያስተፍዉ E; ያስተሰፍሙ N*; ያስተሰፍዎ N* | ይብል] ይብሉ AEGN | በበፂብሩር] ብሩረ A; ብሩር E; ፂ ፡ ብሩር M | 243 ያብስር] ያብስሮ N | ይብል] ይብሉ N | ተረክበ] ትረክብ N

በመዋዕሊከ ፡ ዘኅሣዎ ፡ እኅኑከ ፡ ሄሮድስ ፡ ወሶበ ፡ ኢረከበ ፡ ቀተሎሙ ፡
 ለ፲፬፻፹፱ኛዓናት ፡ በእንቲአሁ ። ወሶበ ፡ ሰምዐ ፡ ሄሮድስ ፡ ከመ ፡ ተእነዝ ፡
 እግዚእን ፡ ተፈሥሐ ፡ እስመ ፡ ይሰምዕ ፡ ነገሮ ፡ እምጉንዱይ ፡ ዕለት ፡
 ወይፈቅድ ፡ ይርአይ ፡ ተአምረ ፡ በላዕሌሁ ፡ ዘይገብር ። ወአብጽሕዎ ፡
 ሶቤሃ ፡ ለኢየሱስ ፡ ኀበ ፡ ጲላሞስ ፡ አሲሮሙ ። በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ነቢይ ፡
 ወአኀዙኒ ፡ አስዋር ፡ ስቡሓን ። ወይቤሎሙ ፡ ጲላሞስ ፡ ምንት ፡ ጌጋዩ ፡
 ወይ(E: 158r)ቤልዎ ፡ ይሜህር ፡ በገሊላ ፡ ወበይሁዳ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡
 ንጉሥ ፡ አነ ። ወሐተቶ ፡ ጲላሞስ ፡ ለኢየሱስ ፡ ወኢተሰጥዎ ። ወተፈጸመ ፡
 ዘይቤ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ ኢከሠተ ፡ አፉሁ ፡ በሕማሙ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ለዓለመ ፡
 ዓለም ፡ አሜን ።

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244 ጎሠዎ] ኃሠዎ A; ኃሠወ G | ወሶባ] ዘንተ : ሶባ AE | ረከባ] ረከባ E | 245 ፲ወ፬፻
፲ወ፬፻ወ፵፻ EG; ፬፻ [N] | በእንቲአሁ- እንዘ : ይመስሎ : ዘይረከብ : ኪያሁ M |
ተአጎዝ] አጎዝ E; አኃዝዎ G; ትእሕዝ N | 246 እግዚእን ለእግዚእን G | ጉንዱይ]
ጉዱይ G*; ጉንዱይ N | ዕለት] om. GM; መዋዕል N | 247 ወ(ይፈቅድ)] om. N*;
ዘ N° | ይገብር] ይንብር E; ገብረ N | አብጽሕዎ] አብአብጽሕዎ N | 248 ኢየሱስ]
እግዚእን : ኢየሱስ M | 249 ወአጎዙኒ] አሓዙኒ N | ስቡሓን] ስብሃን N* | ምንት :
ጌዶ] ምንት : ጌዶ : ለዝ : ብእሲ M | 250 ወይቤልዎ] om. N | ይሜህር] ይሜር N |
በ(ይሁዳ)] om. AE | 251 ለኢየሱስ] om. M | ተሰጥዎ] ትሠጥዎ G | 252 ነቢይ] በ/
በ.ይ. N | ኢከሠተ] ውእቱስ : ኢከሠተ M | ሎቱ] ዘሎቱ MN | ስብሐት] +ወክብር : M;
ቢይ N | 253 አሜን] አሜን : ወአሜን : ለይኩን : A; አሜን : ወአሜን : ወአሜን : E;
አሜን : አሜን : ወአሜን : G; አሜን : አሜን : ወአሜን : ለይኩን : ለይኩን : M

¹A homily which Retu‘a Hāymānot composed about how Peter denied (Jesus).

²The evangelist said, “Then our Lord said to his apostles, ‘Where I am going you are not able to follow me now’.”⁶⁰ ⁴When he spoke to them like this, Peter rose up, girded his loins, and began shouting ‘Why, O Lord, am I not able to follow you? I will hand over my life for you!’⁶¹ ⁷The diviner of hearts said to him, ‘O Peter, will you (really) hand over your life for me?’ ⁸Today, on this very night before the rooster crows, you will deny me like one who does not know me three times.’⁶² ⁹When he spoke to him like this, (Peter) did not keep silent, but began to declare his own steadfastness and the weakness of his brothers, for he said, ‘(Even) if all of them deny you, I shall not deny you.’⁶³ ¹²‘O Peter, why are you speaking like this, speech which is not worthy to emerge from the mouths of the Lord’s servants, that they might hold themselves innocent and defame their companions?’ ¹⁴You might correctly say instead, ‘I myself will not deny you, O Lord, and likewise my brothers will not deny you’, your kindness guarding me. ¹⁵You did not speak like this, with humility and love, but came with boasting and no love for your brothers. ¹⁷Now listen to this terrifying thing! Truly, I say to you, O Peter, you will deny me three times before a rooster crows.’⁶⁴ ¹⁹In truth, such bitter weeping will fall upon you until your eyelids are salty’.”⁶⁵

²⁰O this boasting cast down many after they said “We are pillars”. ²¹Let us therefore listen to each kind of downfall which found our fathers; yet all of them were saved through proper repentance and humility.

²³The Lord said to Jonah, “Go, preach to the Ninevites saying ‘Your city will be overthrown’!” ²⁴Jonah knew through the Holy Spirit dwelling upon him that they would be saved through repentance. ²⁵Jonah was concerned about his own prestige – that he would not become a liar – and said, “Why, O Lord, will you show them mercy after I preach to them about the overthrow? Will I not be a liar

⁶⁰ John 13:36

⁶¹ John 13:37

⁶² Luke 22:34

⁶³ Matt 26:33

⁶⁴ Cf. Matt 26:34

⁶⁵ Cf. Matt 26:75; Luke 22:62

(then)?” ²⁸The Lord said to him, “What is it to you if I show mercy?”

²⁹So Jonah made a quarrel with the Lord and fled from before the face of the God of Israel. ³¹He found men who were going to Tarshish and was loaded upon their ship. ³²But rough seas rose up and threatened to sink the ship. Jonah said to them, “If you do not cast me overboard, you will not be spared”, for he was afraid lest it be a sin when they died on account of his sin.

³⁴Now this is the custom of the saints: at first they stumble and then they repent, like Peter’s weeping saved him. ³⁶For the Lord gave him three baptisms: one in the Jordan, one through tears, and one through martyrdom. ³⁷Since the one who weeps ceaselessly sacrifices the blood of the Lord and is a partner of the martyrs, so too the one who fornicates ceaselessly with his body sacrifices the blood of demons and is a partner of pagan priests.

⁴⁰Those men said to Jonah, “Who do you worship, O man?” ⁴¹He said to them, “I worship the Celestial One, but ran away from him. ⁴²Now then I tell you, if you do not cast me overboard, you will perish!” ⁴³They were afraid and unwilling to do it, so he intentionally threw himself into the sea, and a sea creature swallowed him.

⁴⁴Now such is the custom of the righteous: they plot the salvation of men, but cast themselves aside. ⁴⁶Conversely, sinners plot their own salvation and the ruin of strangers.

⁴⁷Jonah dwelt three days and three nights in the sea creature’s belly, for he is the bearer of the prophecy concerning the one who was to be buried this day at Golgotha. ⁴⁹The sea creature vomited Jonah into the city of Nineveh, and he preached to them (about) the overthrow while earnestly seeking a pardon for them.

⁵⁰Since every admonition both makes humble and gives wisdom,⁶⁶ Peter’s weeping likewise made him wise. ⁵²When our Lord, having risen from the dead, enquired of him and said, “Simon Bar-Jona, do you love me?” he did not <ju>st say (that) day with boasting “Yes, I love you” but “You know, O Lord”.⁶⁷ ⁵⁴Then our Lord saw his humility, and he gave him the keys to the kingdom of heaven⁶⁸ and charged him, saying “Tend my sheep”.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Cf. Prov 16:17

⁶⁷ Cf. John 21:15–16

⁶⁸ Cf. Matt 16:19

⁶⁹ Cf. John 21:15–17

⁵⁶O this humility which turned earthly creatures into heavenly ones! ⁵⁷It is a tree of life to all who lean on her,⁷⁰ which rises up to the heights. ⁵⁸Those who obtain this are friends with the Lord,⁷¹ for our Lord said, “For everyone who exalts himself will be humbled, but the one who humbles himself will be honoured.”⁷²

⁶¹It says, “When Father Macarius was in prayer one day, the thought arose (in his mind): ‘Have I become the equal of Antony or Awgin⁷³?’” ⁶³While pondering this, he heard a voice saying, ‘But your abode in the heavens will be alongside two women, the wives of cattle-herders, who are in a chaste marriage with their husbands.’ ⁶⁶When the elder heard this statement, he was perturbed and said, ‘O Lord, where are they?’ ⁶⁷It said to him, ‘Look for them in the East and you will find them.’ ⁶⁸The elder then went (there) in a hurry and found both of them preparing dinner for their husbands, because they both had the same father and mother. Their husbands similarly had one father and mother.⁷⁴ ⁷¹When (the women) saw me, they said to me, ‘From where (do you come) stranger?’ ⁷²I said to them, ‘From the desert; nevertheless, give me lodging.’ And they gave (it) to me. When their husbands came home, I went to them and said, ‘My children, since my God sent me, I came to you at the Lord’s command so that you might tell me about your conduct.’ ⁷⁵They said to me, ‘We heard that (same) voice which was speaking to you; to us it said, “Behold, a pillar of light is coming to you and you should not hide your conduct from him.”’ ⁷⁷We said to it, “Who is coming to us?”” ⁷⁸It said, “Macarius, wearer of the

⁷⁰ Prov 3:18

⁷¹ Cf. Wisd 7:14

⁷² Luke 14:11

⁷³ The Ethiopic form of this name, Awkin, does not appear in any of the standard apophthegmata collections in the Ethiopian tradition, but this monk is referenced in the abbreviated form of Dadisho’ Ʋaṭraya’s *Commentary on the Paradise of the Fathers*, which circulates under the name *Filkesyus*. Cf. Uhlig and Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, II:542. Although it cannot be precluded that Awgin was included in some other presently unknown Ethiopian monastic compendium, if his presence here depends upon the *Filkesyus*, that text’s translation from Arabic into Ge’ez in the time of Abbā Salāmā II (cf. van Lantschoot, ‘Abbā Salāmā,’ 400) would allow for a *terminus post quem* for the composition of this homily to be affixed in the mid-fourteenth century.

⁷⁴ I.e. the women were siblings and the men were siblings.

desert, the first-born of St. Antony, in monastic dress. ⁷⁹However, your abode in the kingdom of heaven will be the same.” ⁸⁰Upon saying this, it disappeared from us. ⁸¹Now we will tell you as we were commanded for our few deeds are useless.’ ⁸²When I heard this from their mouths, I was perturbed and said to them, ‘Speak then my children! My brothers and sisters, tell me! Let me hear! Although earthly creatures, you became heavenly residents because of your behavior.’ ⁸⁵They said to me, ‘We are brothers and our wives are sisters. ⁸⁶From the beginning of (our marriage), we have not eaten before sunset except on the Sabbath and on feasts of our Lord. ⁸⁷When it is evening, if we see a stranger we rejoice and make him comfortable; if the stranger does not go home, we take (him) three loaves of bread and a pitcher of milk. If we have no milk, we seek out a pitcher of water (for) the destitute and give (it) to them. ⁹⁰If we do not find the destitute, we summon the hungry dogs who are pregnant and give (it) to them. And (then) we return home to our dinner. ⁹²We have not defiled our bodies with sex apart from (with) our wives, and these (women have done) similarly. We have not reduced the hourly nighttime prayers, each with its proper time and prostration. If one (woman) begins to menstruate, her sister dwells with her and does not draw near to her husband. ⁹⁵We brothers dwell together, praising the one who granted us this (gift). ⁹⁶The children of the elder (sister) suckle the breast of the younger (sister), and the children of the younger (sister) suckle the breast of the elder (sister) until their children are grown. ⁹⁹There is no strife among us, and we have not even divided up our possessions. Behold, our life is indeed like this!’ ¹⁰⁰When I heard this from their mouths, I said, ‘Oh my! Woe to me, because I have wasted all the days of my life with laziness!’ Then I went home to my abode weeping.”

¹⁰²Therefore, see that you do not boast in order that you might be spared from that which befell Peter on this night!

¹⁰⁴The evangelist said, “Then they led Jesus from Caiaphas to Annas, and brought him into the interior (of the building). ¹⁰⁵They said to him, ‘We adjure you by the living God to tell us if you are the Christ, the son of the Blessed One.’ ¹⁰⁷(Jesus) said to them, ‘Yes, I am he. But from now on I will sit at the right hand of power and come with the cloud(s) of heaven.’ ⁷⁵ ¹⁰⁸When the high priest heard this, he tore his

⁷⁵ Cf. Matt 26:64; Mark 14:62; Luke 22:69

clothes and said, 'What need have you of (further) testimony? Behold, you have heard (it) from his own mouth!'⁷⁶ ¹¹⁰All of them rose up together and smote him, and they continued until it grew light. ¹¹¹A certain girl came across Peter and said to him, 'You yourself are for him.' He denied (it) and said to her, 'I know him not'.⁷⁷

¹¹³O Peter, neither sword nor spear came down upon you, nor did they hand you over to rulers and magistrates. ¹¹⁴But when only one girl questioned you, you said, "I know him not." Are you not the chief of his disciples? ¹¹⁶Now then, you have fallen one time: do not repeat (it) again!

The evangelist said, "Someone spit in his face and someone slapped it. ¹¹⁷They said to the annuler of the temple, 'Behold, we bought you with thirty pieces of silver', as well as much else."⁷⁸ ¹¹⁹That girl went out again, came across Peter warming himself, and said to him, 'Truly, I say to you, you are for this prisoner.' ¹²¹He said to her, 'I do not know the one of whom you speak'.⁷⁹

O Peter, now you have repeated the denial! ¹²²Should you not, O Peter, in fact fulfill the words which you spoke: "I will hand over my life for you"?⁸⁰ ¹²³Yet now you did not (even) hand over your ear for a blow. ¹²⁴How much more is it to hand over your life? You did not even hand over your back. What has come over you like this tonight? ¹²⁵You are terrified before the face of this girl whose height does not amount to two cubits. ¹²⁶What Hannah, Samuel's mother, said has been fulfilled: "Let not the mighty man boast in his might; and let not the wealthy man boast in his wealth; and let not the wise man boast in his wisdom; but the one who boasts in the Lord, let him boast."⁸¹

¹²⁹It is therefore proper for us not to boast; instead, let us say, "Do not lead us, O Lord, into temptation."⁸²

¹³⁰The evangelist said, "A third time that girl recognized him and she gathered her male relatives as well as other men. ¹³²Because she realized that (Peter) was terrified, the cursed girl, a relative of

⁷⁶ Cf. Matt 26:65

⁷⁷ Cf. Matt 26:69–70

⁷⁸ Cf. Luke 22:65

⁷⁹ Cf. John 18:25

⁸⁰ John 13:37

⁸¹ Cf. 1 Sam 2:10

⁸² Cf. Matt 6:13; Luke 11:4

Herodias, accosted him and said, 'Truly, I say to you, you are for him.' He said to her, 'No.' ¹³⁴One of those with her said to him, 'My own truth I will speak to you, that I saw you with this Sabbath-breaker below the garden,'⁸³ for this man had seen our Lord when he healed the paralytic on the Sabbath. ¹³⁷Peter began cursing that he did not know our Lord, and immediately the rooster crowed. ¹³⁸Peter remembered (what Jesus had said) and wept bitterly.⁸⁴ ¹³⁹Our Lord turned around, saw him weeping, and said to him, 'Lest you fear, O Peter, I have forgiven you. ¹⁴⁰Indeed, what happened was not from your heart, but for the glory of my word, that it would not be shown false since I said to you, "You will deny me three times". ¹⁴²Keeping this in mind, O Peter, if someone sins and comes to you so that he might receive penance, do not refuse him absolution up to seventy times seven: this is 495'⁸⁵."

¹⁴⁴O congregation of the church, when a sinner continually comes to you, do not impede him. ¹⁴⁵My witness⁸⁶, the Holy Spirit, is the one who dwells with you and upon you all, so that there is no sin which prevails over repentance. ¹⁴⁷Praise be to the bridegroom who gave it power. ¹⁴⁸To whomever refuses penance here – through the bread and wine⁸⁷, through salt and through herbs – while they still have life, the priests of Gehenna will offer penance there. ¹⁵⁰These are the worms of Gehenna who do not sleep, who are much larger than the trees of this world. ¹⁵²Its snakes' heads are larger than the mountains of this world. ¹⁵³The height of (its) elephants reaches up to the clouds, and the flies of Gehenna and its mosquitoes are larger than the birds of this world. ¹⁵⁴(There are) innumerable others also, as the prophet said, "This great and wide sea; there creeping things innumerable."⁸⁸

⁸³ Cf. John 18:26

⁸⁴ Cf. Matt 26:74–75; Luke 22:60–62

⁸⁵ Cf. Matt 18:22. Some manuscripts have corrected the calculation, but the total of 495 goes back to the archetype. Moreover, a citation of the same verse followed by the same sum total of 495 is found in Retu'a Hāymānot's *Homily on the baptism of Jesus* (e.g. EMMML 7028, ff. 27v–28r), further indicating that this figure is intended.

⁸⁶ As contextually the speech of Jesus has ended in the previous section, "my witness" represents a solecism, one attested in all manuscripts and possibly going back to the original text.

⁸⁷ Literally "liquid".

⁸⁸ Psalms 103:25 LXX

¹⁵⁶The sea is Gehenna, whose waves are ready to drown transgressors. ¹⁵⁷As Enoch said, "There is no sky which covers over it and no earth underneath it."⁸⁹ ¹⁵⁸But the sea of fire is the outermost part of all creation, and total darkness encompasses it. ¹⁶⁰The fire does not emit flames upwards like the fire of this world, but emits flames downwards. ¹⁶¹Within it, there is such a furnace, as well as such a fortress, dungeon, abyss, and cavern; such crevices, as well as such big mountains, little hills, and cliffs; such a chilly place – in it, the fire is cold, which is worse than the heat – as well as such a torrid place – but the heat is there; ¹⁶⁵as well as such rivers, much bigger than the rivers of this world. ¹⁶⁶Bare embers flow there and <transform> (into) a river of bare flame. ¹⁶⁷There is a river in which bare sparks flow. ¹⁶⁸There is a river in which smoke flows, a darkness whose stench is worse than rotting flesh.⁹⁰ ¹⁶⁹There is a river in which ice flows. ¹⁷⁰There is a river from which a fiery poison flows. ¹⁷¹On its mountains and hills are innumerable reptiles, snakes, and scorpions asking the Lord for their sustenance. ¹⁷³If they find a man, they have a fight for the right to eat him; then, in a flash, they feed on him and depart. ¹⁷⁴For "their teeth are all swords and spears."⁹¹ ¹⁷⁵Then, in a flash, that man who was consumed is healed; others come and eat him and again he is healed. ¹⁷⁷This is the murderers' existence. As for the others, some are placed in the furnace, some in the dungeon, some in the sea, and some in the rivers: all of them are fire-filled. ¹⁷⁹One is placed nail-deep, another heel-deep, another knee-deep, another hip-deep, and another neck-deep. ¹⁸¹Another is swallowed entirely, and someone else descends to the deep, the bottom of the underworld, and crocodiles and fish of fire eat him there. ¹⁸³However, he cannot give praise to his creator: a frog of fire enters his mouth. Gehenna, therefore, is a great and terrible sea whose width is greater than (that of) this world, whose depth is greater than (the distance) between earth and heaven, whose sound is louder than the thunder of this world, and whose roaring (is louder) than a thunderbolt. ¹⁸⁷It is therefore certain that "there is no sky which covers over it and no earth underneath it"⁹² like the sky and the earth themselves. ¹⁸⁹Now this great one

⁸⁹ Cf. *1 En.* 18:12

⁹⁰ Literally "death".

⁹¹ Cf. *Psalms* 56:5 LXX

⁹² Cf. *1 En.* 18:12

encompasses this all, and gives one respite from the wrath of the God of glory, since (Gehenna) is his maidservant, the worker of his will, and the destroyer of the devil, its instructor for all this affliction.

¹⁹²Does it seem to you, O man, that only men and demons are put (there)? How many other created things are there, both corporeal and incorporeal! ¹⁹⁴When we conversed about them, the discourse was long.⁹³ ¹⁹⁵When you listen, O man, does it seem to you the book says, “Whoever did not repent here will repent there”? ¹⁹⁶Does it seem to you that in two or three weeks one is finished (their) penance? ¹⁹⁷It is not so in that place. ¹⁹⁸Penance there is a thousand years for those who are not apostates from the flock of Christ in life. ¹⁹⁹Still, there are some which exceed (this sum) and some less than it, as Paul said: “Those who transgress with the Law are judged through the Law, but those who transgress without the Law are judged apart from the Law.”⁹⁴ ²⁰²Yet others from the Christians are apostates from the flock of Christ – the pure ones – through their worldly deeds, and they are like the heathens in their foolishness. ²⁰⁴Likewise, there they will be apostates from the Christian judgment, and they will be punished with the pagans forever.

²⁰⁵But he shall not concede us to Gehenna. ²⁰⁶Let us proclaim the name of the God of mercy from much affliction, as the prophet said, “Because in death there is no one who mentions you; and in Sheol who will profess you?”⁹⁵ ²⁰⁸So let us be afraid and not forsake his commandment so that we might enter into his rest.

²⁰⁹To him be the glory forever and ever. Amen.

²¹⁰So then, church teachers, instruct sinners saying, “A pillar of light holds up the entire world: heaven and earth are built on it and the kingdom of heaven’s keys are in its tongue. Its reputation is (as) a strong rock which does not shake.” ²¹⁴Now then, he fell today – three times on this night – and rose up weeping! ²¹⁵And he was the chief of the apostles! Therefore, you who have fallen, repent so that you might become Peter’s heirs and inherit the city whose value this world does not see! ²¹⁷Enoch, Gregory, Paul, John, St. Antony, etc. saw the glories of the kingdom of heaven and wrote (about them) to us. ²²⁰Jambres, Hippolytus the second, Bartholomew, the same Enoch, Gregory, Paul,

⁹³ Reference to the homily of Retu‘a Hāymānot on the four heavenly creatures.

⁹⁴ Cf. Rom 2:12

⁹⁵ Psalms 6:6 LXX

John, etc. saw Gehenna and wrote to us (about) its operations. ²²²All the prophets along with their forefather Adam dwelt in Sheol until this blood – of he who stood before Pilate – was poured out, and at that time all of them came forth from Sheol. ²²⁵I do not know if they dwelt (there) being afflicted but not suffering; the Lord knows.

²²⁶Let us therefore return to our original topic. ²²⁷Our bound Lord is going to stand before Pilate. ²²⁸Since Friday had dawned, the Jews did not enter the court so that they would not be unclean⁹⁶ – though they are unclean. ²²⁹Let us now listen to the prophet weeping and telling how the city of Zion is a reliable whore and a spiller of blood: ²³¹“Drown them, O Lord, and interrupt their tongues, because I saw lawlessness and dispute in the city; and sin within it.”⁹⁷ ²³³The prophet clearly said about our saviour and the Jewish people: ²³⁴“Why did the nations band together and the peoples utter vain things? The kings of the earth rose up, and the rulers jointly assembled with them, against the Lord and against his Anointed One.”⁹⁸ ²³⁶(It is) true: the Jewish people assembled against the Lord’s Anointed One on this day. ²³⁸They seized, bound, and took him to Pilate and to Herod saying, “We found this (man) misleading our people, forbidding them to pay taxes to Caesar, and considering himself the Christ, the king of Israel.”⁹⁹ ²⁴¹One ran around seeking out false testimony and made promises saying, “We will give you each thirty pieces of silver.” ²⁴²One ran to announce the good news to Herod saying, “Behold! In your days the one whom your kinsman Herod sought has been found; when he did not find him, he killed 140,000¹⁰⁰ infants because of him.” ²⁴⁵When Herod heard that our Lord had been seized, he rejoiced because he was hearing word of (Jesus) after a long time and desiring to see a miracle performed by him.¹⁰¹ ²⁴⁷Having bound Jesus, (the Jews) then brought him to Pilate. ²⁴⁸As the prophet said, “And fat bulls seized me.”¹⁰² ²⁴⁹Pilate said to them, “What is his crime?”

⁹⁶ Cf. John 18:28

⁹⁷ Cf. Psalms 54:10–11 LXX

⁹⁸ Psalms 2:1–2

⁹⁹ Luke 23:2

¹⁰⁰ Some manuscripts read the “correct” figure of 144,000, but this is almost certainly the result of revision.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Luke 23:8

¹⁰² Psalms 21:13b LXX

²⁵⁰They said to him, “He is teaching in Galilee and in Judea saying ‘I am a king’.”¹⁰³ ²⁵¹Pilate questioned Jesus, but he did not answer him.¹⁰⁴ What the prophet said was fulfilled: “He did not open his mouth on account of his suffering.”¹⁰⁵

²⁵²To him be the glory forever and ever. Amen.

Close examination of this homily reveals a particularly challenging situation for the task outlined above. While Retu’a Hāymānot references a variety of biblical and non-biblical writings, slavish citations are rare and seem nearly limited to the gospels and Psalms. Much more commonly we encounter looser levels of textual dependence, such as the repeated reference to *I En.* 18:12, a text introduced as a formal quotation, but one whose relationship to the source would likely go overlooked without this formula.¹⁰⁶ Likewise, while the section about Jonah is loosely indebted to the canonical book, Retu’a Hāymānot has rather significantly adapted the contents and structure of the story to suit his own purposes.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, the Macarius narrative, effectively introduced as a block quotation in the text, is derived from the *Life of Macarius the Great*, but although following its contours, much of the material is different; for example, Macarius speaks at length with the husbands in the homily, whereas he only meets their wives in the *Life*.¹⁰⁸ Thus if Retu’a Hāymānot references

¹⁰³ Cf. Luke 23:5

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Luke 23:9

¹⁰⁵ Isa 53:7

¹⁰⁶ “There is no sky which covers over it and no earth underneath it” (አለቦ : ሰማይ : ዘይጌልል : ላዕሌ፡ ወኢምድር : ታሕቲ፡) as opposed to *I Enoch* 18:12 itself: “It did not have the sky’s firmament above it nor earth’s foundation below it” (ወኢጽንዐ : ሰማይ : ላዕሌሁ : ወኢመሰረተ : ምድር : በታሕቲሁ). The idea is the same, but the vocabulary and sentence structure quite different.

¹⁰⁷ For example, in the canonical book the sailors throw Jonah into the water after he tells them to do so, whereas in Retu’a Hāymānot’s retelling they refuse to do so and Jonah casts himself overboard instead.

¹⁰⁸ For the story in the Bohairic, Syriac, and Arabic versions of the *Life of Macarius the Great*, see S. Toda, *Vie de S. Macaire l’Egyptien* (Piscataway, 2012) 430–35 and B. Pirone, *Vita di San Macario* (Cairo and Jerusalem, 2008) 86–87. An Ethiopic translation of this hagiography, which Retu’a

the *Apocalypse of Peter* in our homily, there is little chance of this taking the form of a slavish citation.¹⁰⁹

Some potential points of contact can be readily dismissed. The worm or worms who do not sleep (ll. 150–151; *EthApPet* 9:2) is such a widespread image in apocalyptic literature that dependence on any particular source barring congruity with its supplementary elements cannot be entertained. The river of fire is of a similar character, especially since Retu‘a Hāymānot also includes multiple other rivers with dissimilar natures (ll. 165–171). Gehenna being a place of darkness (ll. 159–160; *EthApPet* 9:1) should also not be pursued. Likewise, at the end of his section on Gehenna, Retu‘a Hāymānot exhorts his audience to “not forsake his (God’s) commandment” (ll. 208–209: **ወኢንጎድግ : ትእዛዞ**), while “those who forsake the commandment of God” (10:7: **የጋድጉ : ትእዛዞ : እግዚአብሔር**) and those who “did not observe the commandment of God” (prologue: **ኢዓቀቡ : ትእዛዞ : ለእግዚአብሔር**) are subjected to punishment in the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Yet, once again, such an exhortation is simply too general to suggest that a specific source occasioned it.

Other elements are a bit more promising. One of these is the biting question that Retu‘a Hāymānot asks his audience: “When you listen, O man, does it seem to you the book says, ‘Whoever did not repent here will repent there’?” (ll. 195–196) In certain respects this parallels a passage towards the end of the second-century *Apocalypse of Peter* (13:4–5):

In one voice all of those who are in punishment will say, “Have mercy on us because now we have understood the judgment of God... [But the angel of Tartarus] will say to them, ‘Now you would repent, when there is no time left for repentance, and no life has remained.’”¹¹⁰

Hāymānot clearly read, is known from a few manuscripts, including EMML 1844, ff. 114v–136v, but has yet to be published.

¹⁰⁹ Such a lack of precise congruity certainly allows for more things to be considered, but also less definitive conclusions since many motifs or ideas are found in multiple texts. This is particularly acute in this case, since Retu‘a Hāymānot knows the *Apocalypse of Paul*, which covers ground similar to the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Lacking the Ethiopic version of the latter, however, it can be impossible in cases to adjudicate which one of the two more likely served as the source.

¹¹⁰ Here and below all translations from the *Apocalypse of Peter* and its broader pseudo-Clementine framework derive from the contribution of Eric Beck in this volume.

While this might therefore be an allusion to the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the *Apocalypse of Paul* (ch. 43) expresses a similar sentiment from the mouth of Michael. Given the short and parodic character of the statement in the homily, neither option can be eliminated, nor can the book mentioned be limited to these two texts.

As the homily transitions from focusing on Peter's denial to Gehenna and the need for repentance, a potentially significant confluence of elements with one section of the *Apocalypse of Peter* emerges. One of the most pointed and unusual additions to the basic narrative of Peter's denials is its culmination in an accusation by a man who saw Jesus when he healed the paralytic on the Sabbath, immediately whereupon the apostle commits his third and final disavowal, leading to his bitter weeping (ll. 134–139). Earlier in the text, Retu'a Hāymānot states that "Peter's weeping saved him, for the Lord gave him three baptisms: one in the Jordan, one through tears, and one through martyrdom" (ll. 35–37). All of these elements – weeping, repentance, and the healing of the paralytic – appear together in close proximity in the pseudo-Clementine framework of the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter* (26:4, 6): "When I had wept bitterly for many hours, the lover of repentance turned to me, saying to me... 'They complained about me when I healed the sick on the Sabbath. When I said to the paralytic...'" Such a combination might bespeak some sort of interrelationship given that this miracle and Peter weeping are not associated in the canonical gospels.

Only one class of wrongdoers, the murderers, has their specific form of punishment described in the homily, unlike in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, which outlines them for a wide array of sinners, including usurers, crafters of idols, fornicators, etc. The latter text also includes the murderers, stating that they and "those who associate with them, they will be put in fire that is full of venomous animals and they will be punished without rest" (*EthApPet* 7:9). Perpetual torture by venomous creatures is also their lot in the homily, albeit in far greater detail (ll. 171–177):

On its mountains and hills are innumerable reptiles, snakes, and scorpions asking the Lord for their sustenance. If they find a man, they have a fight for the right to eat him; then, in a flash, they feed on him and depart. For "their teeth are all swords and spears." Then, in a flash, that man who was consumed is healed; others come and eat him and again he is healed.

This represents a possible interpretation of the passage in the *Apocalypse*, especially because the parallel with venomous animals is so specific.

Retu'a Hāymānot expresses a clear belief in penance. This occurs not only in the homily published here, which says that it lasts a thousand years – or a little more or less – for Christians (ll. 198–200), but in at least two others. In his *Homily on the washing of the disciples' feet*, he makes the following statement:¹¹¹

This is those who died having denied the holy faith of baptism: they have no life. As Hermas said, “For the tree which has withered completely – it has nothing verdant upon it – it is therefore deserving of the fire (cf. *Sim.* IV 4 [53.4]). But the one which has verdant foliage, if they put it in the fire, it does not burn, but extinguishes its fire.” Likewise, therefore, if a Christian dies with his baptism, if he has not repented here, he will do penance there, in Gehenna; but he, having perished, will not be destroyed.

In a similar vein, his *Homily on the Incarnation* says:¹¹²

Behold, it is known that not a single Christian will ever perish, if he dies with his baptism intact. If he dies while in sin, before penance, he will be given penance in hell in the measure of his deeds. He will then be saved for the sake of the name of Christ.

The idea of penance is uncommon in medieval Ethiopia, and there are few known sources from which it might be derived. The *Apocalypse of Peter* stands as one of the best candidates. Although modern scholarship considers it to express apokatastasis rather than penance, it is not difficult to imagine the repeated emphasis on eternal damnation for sinners (e.g. 6:6, 6:9, 8:1, 10:3, 11:8–9, 13:2) combining with God's mercy on sinners later in the text (esp. ch. 31) to result in not universal forgiveness, but salvation limited to repentant Christians.¹¹³

¹¹¹ As published in Erho and Lee, ‘References to the *Shepherd of Hermas*’, 459–60.

¹¹² Uhlig and Bausi (eds), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, IV:383.

¹¹³ E.J. Beck, ‘The Apocalypse of Peter: The Relationship of the Versions’, in M.T. Gebreanayye, L. Williams, and F. Watson (eds), *Beyond Canon* (London, 2021) 117–30, at 120–24 offers several important observations on the form of apokatastasis found in the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter* and how it diverges from that attested in the antecedent Greek version. While traces

It therefore seems as likely as not that Retu‘a Hāymānot encountered the *Apocalypse of Peter*. Indeed, his *Homily on Peter’s denial* contains not only the aforementioned points of contact, but basically serves as the outworking of a statement found in the broader Ethiopic *Apocalypse* (32:6): “But as for you, prioritize the gift of repentance for sinners and instruct concerning the judgment of burning fire.” The publication of further segments of Retu‘a Hāymānot’s works will doubtless allow for a more nuanced examination of this question. If, however, it is true that he was directly acquainted with the *Apocalypse of Peter*, we may push its arrival in Ethiopia back to the fourteenth century, and his lasting impact as a theologian, as attested by the wide diffusion of his writings, would mean that it played an impactful role in Ethiopian Orthodoxy, particularly if it served as the basis for the idea of penance.

Appendix

With the dual aims of making more transparent some of the claims above and trying to facilitate further scholarship on the corpus of the important and much neglected Retu‘a Hāymānot, presented below are catalogue entries for the seventeen primary witnesses to the Retu‘a Hāymānot homiliary currently available to scholars.¹¹⁴ While some

of this doctrine may exist in the Ethiopic text, they nonetheless remain extremely difficult to isolate, and the same theological conclusion probably would not be reached without recourse to other materials, none of which, of course, would have been available in late medieval Ethiopia. Indeed, the statement quoted by Beck (*ibid.*, 122) as evidence of apokatastasis can only be understood as supporting such a position if two groups are sequentially referenced, first the sinners who believed in Jesus (31:2–3), and second all sinners (31:4–8). Yet, given the return to those who believed in Jesus thereafter (31:9), it remains possible to interpret this entire chapter as relating to sinful Christians, or Christians who died in sin, rather than a grouping limited to them as well as a universal grouping in which they only constitute a portion. Such an interpretation provides a relatively clear lens through which the idea of penance might emerge.

¹¹⁴ Minor fragments of the homiliary, such as those at Gunda Gundē (cf. Erho and Lee, ‘References to the *Shepherd of Hermas*’, 455) are not treated here. It should be noted, however, that the bifolium in Rylands Ethiopic MS 44 supposedly containing material from this homiliary (thus

form of catalogue has been published for half of them, fresh inspection of the manuscripts has revealed many of these to be in need of correction. For example, although having been catalogued in triplicate, no published description of MS A has hitherto noted a number of displaced and missing leaves, and proper collation reveals part of an additional homily.

The following entries, prepared from full collations, focus on the original production units and provenances of the manuscripts, omitting *additiones* and occasional other minor details. Rather than providing extended titles for each homily, consistent abbreviated forms are utilized, which together with the Table above will allow for easy identification and reference to all witnesses found within these codices. Each manuscript has also been assigned an alphabetic siglum in accordance with its approximate sequential availability to (Western) scholarship, a series that can straightforwardly be added to as others become accessible. These will hopefully allow multiple scholars to work on the Retu‘a Hāymānot material without the emergence of a cacophony of conflicting independent systems, and encourage the publication of more of this corpus.

(siglum A) **Éthiopien d’Abbadie 80**

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France

Parchment, 38.5 × 30 cm, i+155 ff., 2 cols., 27–32 lines, wooden boards partially covered with leather, 15th/16th cent.

ff. 3r–155r: **Retu‘a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 3r–6v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 7r–15v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 15v–24v: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 25rv, 42rv, 40rv, 26r–27r: Start of Lent; ff. 27v–30r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 30r–32r: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 32v, 41rv, 33r: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 33r–35v: Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 35v–38v: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 39rv, mutilous: Sixth Sunday in Lent; acephalous, ff. 44r–51r: Washing of the disciples’ feet; ff. 51r–55v: Peter’s denial; ff. 56r–62r: Trial before Pilate; ff. 62r–71v, 43rv,

S. Delamarter and Demeke Berhane, *A Catalogue of Previously Uncatalogued Ethiopic Manuscripts in England* [Oxford, 2007] 26) is in fact derived from a manuscript of the funeral ritual (*Genzat*) – not Retu‘a Hāymānot – from the reign of Emperor Takla Hāymānot II (1769–1777).

72r: Homily of Cyriacus, bishop of al-Bahnasā, on the glory and lamentation of Mary¹¹⁵ 1:1–5:1; ff. 72r–84r: Death of Jesus; ff. 84v–95v: Easter; ff. 95v–96v, 98r–102r: Ascension; ff. 102r–104v, 97rv, 105r–111v: Pentecost; ff. 112r–115r: Twelve apostles; ff. 115r–119v: Transfiguration; ff. 120r–122v, 127r–128v, 123r–126v, 129r–133r: Mary; ff. 133r–138r: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 138r–143v: Archangel Michael; ff. 143v–155r: Incarnation)

Harag: ff. 3r, 7r, 15v, 25r, 27v, 32v, 33r, 35v, 39r, 112r

Bibliography: A. d'Abbadie, *Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens* (Paris, 1859) 93–94; M. Chaîne, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection Antoine d'Abbadie* (Paris, 1912) 53–54; C. Conti Rossini, “Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d'Abbadie,” *JA* ser. 11, vol. 2 (1913) 5–64, at 15–16

(siglum B) **Ma IX 2**

Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen, Tübingen, Germany

Paper, 24.5 × 19 cm, i+197+i ff., 1–2 cols., 23–37 lines, European binding, dated April 24, 1840 CE

ff. 2r–196v: **Retu'a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 2r–8r: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 8r–24r: Birth of Jesus; ff. 24r–41r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 41r–49v: Start of Lent; ff. 49v–55r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 55r–59v: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 59v–63r: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 63r–86v: Rite of adoration at the end of Pentecost¹¹⁶; ff. 86v–106v: Incarnation; ff. 106v–110r: Palm Sunday; ff. 110r–125r: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 125r–139v: Death of Jesus; ff. 139v–145v: Ascension; ff. 145v–158v: Pentecost; ff. 158v–163r: Twelve apostles; ff. 163r–169v: Transfiguration; ff. 170r–189r: Mary; ff. 189v–196v: Four heavenly creatures)

Completed in Ankobar on 16 Miyāzyā in the year of the evangelist John on Good Friday (=April 24, 1840 CE), with copying having commenced on 12 Terr (January 21), f. 197r

¹¹⁵ CANT 74

¹¹⁶ Cf. EMMML 2358, ff. 138r–154r.

Copied by Habta Šellāsē for Yoḥannes Krāpf (i.e. Johann Ludwig Krapf), ff. 106v, 110r, 125r, 129v, 145v, 158v, 163r, 169v, 189r, 196v

Ownership note of Yoḥannes Krāpf (i.e. Johann Ludwig Krapf), f. 196v

Gift of (Johann) Ludwig Krapf to the University of Tübingen library on February 1, 1841 CE; sent by Krapf from Ankobar and arrived at Tübingen July 1, 1842 CE, f. 1r

Bibliography: H. Ewald, “Ueber die Aethiopischen Handschriften zu Tübingen,” *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 5 (1844) 164–201, at 197

NB: Copied from EMMML 2375 (siglum I)

(siglum C) **Or. 786**

British Library, London, United Kingdom

Parchment, 36.5 × 26.8 cm, 168+ii ff., 3 cols., 25 lines, wooden boards, between 1806–1813 CE

ff. 5r–167v: **Retu‘a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ገደማኖት]

(ff. 5r–10v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 10v–24v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 24v–40r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 40r–47r: Start of Lent; ff. 47r–51r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 51r–54v: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 54v–57r: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 57r–72r: Rite of adoration at the end of Pentecost; ff. 72r–88v: Incarnation; ff. 88v–92v: Palm Sunday; ff. 92v–109v: Washing of the disciples’ feet; ff. 109v–124v: Death of Jesus; ff. 125r–132v: Ascension; ff. 132v–148v: Pentecost; ff. 148v–153v: Twelve apostles; ff. 154r–160v: Transfiguration; ff. 160v–167v: Four heavenly creatures)

Harag: f. 5r

Copied by Asba Giyorgis, ff. ff. 62v, 92v, 109v, 167v, for Šāhla Šellāsē, ff. 24v, 40r, 62v, 88v, 92v, 109v, 124v, 132v, 148v, 153v, 160v, 167v

Ownership note of Šāhla Šellāsē, king of Šawā (reigned 1806–1847 CE), his father Wasan Sagad (d. 1812/3 CE), and his mother Iyāsīmēr, f. 167v

Bibliography: W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired Since the Year 1847* (London, 1877) 231–32

(siglum D) **Ms. orient. quart. 1165** and **Ms. orient. quart. 1166**
Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany

Parchment, 35 × 24 cm, 62+68 ff., 2 cols., 27–35 lines, European bindings, 15th cent.

Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 2r–63v and Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 2r–69v: **Retu‘a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(acephalous, Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 2r–5r: On the theology of the incarnation; Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 5r–7v, wanting leaf, 8rv, 60rv, 10r–11v, 35rv, 13r–14v: Birth of Jesus; Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 14v, 12rv, 16r–24v: Baptism of Jesus; Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 25r–34v, 37r: Incarnation; Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 37rv, 53rv, 36r: Palm Sunday; Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 36v, 38r–47v, 9rv: Washing of the disciples’ feet; Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 9v, 54rv, 50r–52v, 55r–56v, 48r–49v, 57r–59r: Death of Jesus; Ms. orient. quart. 1165 ff. 59rv, 15rv, 61r–63v, mutilous: Ascension; acephalous, Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 2r–6r: Transfiguration; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 6r–21r: Mary; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 21v–27v: Four heavenly creatures; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 27v–32v: Archangel Michael; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 33r–38r: Start of Lent; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 38r–41r: First Sunday in Lent; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 41r–43r: Second Sunday in Lent; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 43v–45r: Third Sunday in Lent; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 45v–48r: Fourth Sunday in Lent; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 48r–52r: Fifth Sunday in Lent; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 52r–55v: Sixth Sunday in Lent; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 55v–60r: Death of Joseph¹¹⁷; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 60v–66r: Trial before Pilate; Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 66r–69v, mutilous: Peter’s denial)

Name of commissioner effaced on Ms. orient. quart. 1166 ff. 21r, 32v

Bibliography: E. Hammerschmidt and V. Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften 1: Die Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (Wiesbaden, 1983) 267–71

¹¹⁷ CAVT 116 and 117. Cf. A.M. Butts *et al.*, ‘Notes on the History of Joseph (CAVT 113, 114) and the Death of Joseph (CAVT 116, 117)’, *Apocrypha* 28 (2017) 233–37.

(siglum E) **Ṭānāsee 142**

(also microfilmed later as EML no. 8382)

Monastery of Dāgā Estifānos, Goğgām, Ethiopia

Parchment, 34 × 25 cm, 159 ff., 2 cols., 25–30 lines, broken wooden boards, 15th cent.

ff. 4r–158r: **Retu‘a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 4r–8v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 9r–20r: Birth of Jesus; ff. 20v, 22r–33v: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 33v–47v: Incarnation; ff. 48r–50v: Palm Sunday; ff. 51r–61v, 21rv, 62r–64v: Washing of the disciples’ feet; ff. 64v–78r: Death of Jesus; ff. 78v–84r: Ascension; ff. 84v–95v: Pentecost; ff. 96r–99r: Twelve apostles; ff. 99r–104r: Transfiguration; ff. 104r–119r: Mary; ff. 119r–124v: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 125r–130v: Archangel Michael; ff. 131r–136r: Start of Lent; ff. 136r–139r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 139r–141v: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 141v–143r: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 143r–146r: Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 146r–149v: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 149v–152r: Sixth Sunday in Lent; ff. 152r–158r: Peter’s denial)

Harag: f. 4r

Bibliography: V. Six, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee Teil 3* (Stuttgart, 1999) 159–65

NB: ff. 46v–47r not microfilmed in Ṭānāsee 142

(siglum F) **EML no. 1194**

(also microfilmed earlier as UNESCO 5.25)

Holy Trinity Cathedral, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Paper, 35 × 22.5 cm, ff. i+153+x, 2 cols., 41 lines, hard paper covers, mid-20th cent.

ff. 1r–153v: **Retu‘a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 1r–5v: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 5v–10r: Archangel Michael; ff. 10r–15r: Book which came from Jerusalem¹¹⁸; ff. 15r–18v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 18v–27v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 28r–37r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 37r–41v: Start of Lent; ff. 41v–44r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 44r–46r: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 46v–48r: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 48r–50r:

¹¹⁸ Cf. EML 1763, ff. 63v–69r.

Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 50r–52v: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 53r–55r: Sixth Sunday in Lent; ff. 55v–57v: Palm Sunday; ff. 57v–67r: Incarnation; ff. 67r–76v: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 76v–81r: Peter's denial; ff. 81r–86v: Trial before Pilate; ff. 86v–96r: Homily of Cyriacus, bishop of al-Bahnasā, on the glory and lamentation of Mary 1:1–5:1; ff. 96r–106r: Death of Jesus; ff. 106r–115v: Easter; ff. 115v–120r: Ascension; ff. 120v–131r: Pentecost; ff. 131r–135r: Twelve apostles; ff. 135r–139v: Transfiguration; ff. 139v–153v: Mary)

Copied by Qalama Warq Lawtē (baptismal name Gabra Ḥeywat) of Ašāmā Qirqos and Gondar, ff. 52v, 86v, 153v

Commissioned by/for Ḥāyla Šellāsē and *mamher/abuna* Ḥabta Māryām, ff. 86v, 153v

Bibliography: *Catalogue of Manuscripts Microfilmed by the UNESCO Mobile Microfilm Unit in Addis Ababa and Gojjam Province* (1970); Getatchew Haile, *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, Vol. IV: Project Numbers 1101–1500* (Collegeville, MN, 1979) 150–51

NB: Textual descendant of UNESCO 8.9 (siglum G)

(siglum G) UNESCO 8.9

Church of Bečanā Giyorgis, Goğğām, Ethiopia

Parchment, 34.5 × 25 cm, ff. 93, 3 cols., 36–38 lines, wooden boards, late 18th cent.

ff. 4r–92v: **Retu'a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 4r–6v: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 6v–9r: Archangel Michael; ff. 9r–12r: Book which came from Jerusalem; ff. 12r–14r: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 14r–19v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 19v–25r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 25r–27v: Start of Lent; ff. 27v–29r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 29r–30v: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 30v–31v: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 31v–32v: Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 32v–34v: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 34v–36r: Sixth Sunday in Lent; ff. 36r–37r: Palm Sunday; ff. 37v–43r: Incarnation; ff. 43r–49r: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 49r–51v: Peter's denial; ff. 51v–55r: Trial before Pilate; ff. 55r–60v: Homily of Cyriacus, bishop of al-Bahnasā, on the glory and

lamentation of Mary 1:1–5:1; ff. 60v–66r: Death of Jesus; ff. 66r–71v: Easter; ff. 71v–74v: Ascension; ff. 74v–80r: Pentecost; ff. 80r–82r: Twelve apostles; ff. 82r–85r: Transfiguration; ff. 85r–92v: Mary)

Copied by Ḥāyła Šellāsē for Walda Gabre'ēl, f. 92v; name of owner Arsānyos, ff. 55r, 57v, 92v

Bibliography: *Catalogue of Manuscripts Microfilmed by the UNESCO Mobile Microfilm Unit in Addis Ababa and Gojjam Province* (1970)

NB: f. 1r not microfilmed

(siglum H) **EMML no. 12**

(also digitized later as EMIP 1293)

Qeddus Mārḳos Church, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Parchment, 34.5 × 29.5 cm, ff. 147, 3 cols., 28 lines, leather over wooden boards covered with cloth, early 20th cent.

ff. 1r–145r: **Retu'ā Ḥāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 1r–5r: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 5r–9r: Archangel Michael; ff. 9r–13v: Book which came from Jerusalem; ff. 13v–18r: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 18r–27r: Birth of Jesus; ff. 27r–36r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 36r–40v: Start of Lent; ff. 40v–43r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 43r–46r: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 46r–47v: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 47v–49^{bis}r: Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 49^{bis}r–51v: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 51v–54r: Sixth Sunday in Lent; ff. 54r–56r: Palm Sunday; ff. 56r–65v: Incarnation; ff. 65v–75v: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 76r–80v: Peter's denial; ff. 80v–86r: Trial before Pilate; ff. 86r–95v: Homily of Cyriacus, bishop of al-Bahnasā, on the glory and lamentation of Mary 1:1–5:1; ff. 95v–104v: Death of Jesus; ff. 104v–113v: Easter; ff. 113v–117v: Ascension; ff. 117v–126v: Pentecost; ff. 126v–129v: Twelve apostles; ff. 129v–133v: Transfiguration; ff. 133v–145r: Mary)

Copied by Walda Sinodā of Dabra Ṣemmunā for (future Emperor) Ḥāyła Šellāsē and for *mamher* Walda Māryām, ff. 86r, 90v, 145r
According to later anachronistic notes, the manuscript was given by Emperor Ḥāyła Šellāsē to Qeddus Mārḳos Church in 1918 EC (1925/6 CE), ff. 2r, 81r, 145r

Bibliography: W.F. Macomber, *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm*

Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library, Collegeville, Vol. I: Project Numbers 1–300 (Collegeville, MN, 1975) 14

NB: Descendant of UNESCO 8.9 (siglum G); nos. 14 and 44 skipped in foliation and an unnumbered leaf after f. 49; ff. 134v–137r not microfilmed

(siglum I) **EMML no. 2375**

Church of Ankobar Mikā'ēl, Šawā, Ethiopia

Parchment, 29 × 26 cm, 128 ff., 2 cols., 22–30 lines, broken wooden boards, 18th cent.

ff. 3r–127v: **Retu'a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 3r–8r: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 8r–18v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 18v–31r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 31v–36v: Start of Lent; ff. 36v–39r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 39r–41r: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 41r–42v: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 42v–54r: Rite of adoration at the end of Pentecost; ff. 54r–65r: Incarnation; ff. 65r–67v: Palm Sunday; ff. 67v–78v: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 78v–89r: Death of Jesus; ff. 89r–93r: Ascension; ff. 93v–101v: Pentecost; ff. 101v–104r: Twelve apostles; ff. 104r–108r: Transfiguration; ff. 109r–122r: Mary; ff. 122r–127v: Four heavenly creatures)

Harag: ff. 3r, 109r

Copied for Abulidis, ff. 18v, 31r, 42v, 46v, 65r, 67v, 78v, 89r, 93r, 101v, 104r, 108r, 122r, 127v

Bibliography: Getatchew Haile and W.F. Macomber, *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, Vol. VI: Project Numbers 2001–2500* (Collegeville, MN, 1981) 451–57

(siglum J) **EMML no. 2584**

Church of Mascā Māryām, Šawā, Ethiopia

Parchment, 24 × 20.4 cm., 126 ff., 2 cols., 22 lines, wooden boards, 18th cent.

ff. 3r–123r: **Retu'a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 3r–7v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 7v–24v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 24v–27r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 27r–39r: Incarnation;

ff. 39r–42r: Palm Sunday; ff. 42r–56r: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 56r–67r: Death of Jesus; ff. 67r–73r: Ascension; ff. 73r–84v: Pentecost; ff. 84v–89r: Twelve apostles; ff. 89r–94v: Transfiguration; ff. 95r–110v: Mary (incompletely copied); ff. 110v–117r: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 117r–123r: Archangel Michael)

Ownership notes of Ḥāyala Krestos, f. 123r, *bālāmbārās* Kabbada Feśšeḥa, ff. 2v, 124v, and *dabtarā* Walda Yoḥannes, ff. 124v, 125v–126r

Bibliography: Getatchew Haile and W.F. Macomber, *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, Vol. VII: Project Numbers 2501–3000* (Collegeville, MN, 1983) 38

NB: The antigraph of this manuscript or another of its predecessors was defective, resulting in major omissions of textual material on ff. 10v, 25r, 63v, 66r, and 78v, and most of the homily on the baptism being copied as part of the homily on the birth of Jesus (ff. 17r–24r).

(siglum K) **EMML no. 7019**

Monastery of Ġar Šellāsē, Šawā, Ethiopia

Parchment, 32.5 × 22 cm., 168 ff., 2 cols., 24–34 lines, wooden boards, 15th cent.

ff. 1r–168v: **Retu‘a Ḥāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 1r–6r: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 6r–11r: Archangel Michael; ff. 11v–15v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 16r–28v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 28v–41v: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 42r–47v: Start of Lent; ff. 48r–50v: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 51r–53v: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 53v–55r: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 56r–59r: Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 59r–63r: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 63v–66v: Sixth Sunday in Lent; ff. 66v–69r: Palm Sunday; ff. 69v–80v: Incarnation; ff. 80v–93r: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 93r–97v: Peter's denial; ff. 98r–104r: Trial before Pilate; ff. 104v–115r: Homily of Cyriacus, bishop of al-Bahnasā, on the glory and lamentation of Mary 1:1–5:1; ff. 115r–125v: Death of Jesus; ff. 125v–135r: Easter; ff. 135v–140r: Ascension; ff. 140r–150r: Pentecost; ff. 150v–153v: Twelve apostles; ff. 153v–157v: Transfiguration; ff. 157v–160v, 165r–166v, 161r–164v, 167r–168v: Mary)

Harag: f. 1r

NB: Nos. 31, 105, and 137 skipped in foliation and nos. 60 and 101 repeated on consecutive leaves (foliation given above as per actuality, not as written); ff. 105 and 111 later replacement leaves

(siglum L) **EMML no. 7028**

Church of Ešatan Märyām, Wallo, Ethiopia

Parchment, 35 × 24 cm, ff. 177+i, 2 cols., 27–33 lines, wooden boards, Part I (ff. 1–129) dated 1397/8 CE, Part II (ff. 130–177) 14th/15th cent.

- 1) ff. 1r–126v: **Retu‘a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]
(ff. 1r–6r: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 6v–20r: Birth of Jesus; ff. 20v–34v: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 35r–38r: Palm Sunday; ff. 38r–53r: Washing of the disciples’ feet; ff. 53v–67v: Death of Jesus; ff. 68r–75r: Ascension; ff. 75r–90r: Pentecost; ff. 90v–95r: Twelve apostles; ff. 95v–102r: Transfiguration; ff. 102v–114v, missing leaf, 115r–119v: Mary; ff. 120r–126v: Archangel Michael)
- 2) ff. 130r–167r: **Life of Hripsime** [ገድለ : አርሲማ]
- 3) ff. 167v–177v: **History of Mary the Egyptian**, for 7 Miyāzyā; cf. British Library Or. 686, ff. 168v–173r; EMML 8458, ff. 43r–54v

Harag: ff. 95v, 102v

The first part of the manuscript (ff. 1–126) was commissioned by *abuna* Nob and completed in the 50th year of mercy (1397/8 CE), f. 126v. The Life of Hripsime is copied in the same hand as the first part of the manuscript.

NB: f. 1r not microfilmed

(siglum M) **EMML no. 7638**

Unidentified library, Šawā, Ethiopia

Parchment, 36 × 24 cm, 166 ff., 2 cols., 28–31 lines, wooden boards, 15th cent.

- 1) ff. 1r–157v, 160r–166v: **Retu‘a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]
(ff. 1r–6v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 7r–20r: Birth of Jesus; ff. 21r–32r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 32r–37v: Start of Lent; ff. 37v–40v: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 40v–43v: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 43v–45v: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 45v–48v: Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 48v–52v: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 52v–55v: Sixth

Sunday in Lent; ff. 55v–58r: Palm Sunday; ff. 58v–70v: Incarnation; ff. 71r–83v: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 84r–89v: Peter's denial; ff. 90r–96v: Trial before Pilate; ff. 96v–108r: Easter; ff. 108r–113v: Ascension; ff. 114r–127r: Pentecost; ff. 127v–131v: Twelve apostles; ff. 132r–137v: Transfiguration; ff. 138r–154v: Mary; ff. 154v–157v, 160r–163r: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 163r–166v, mutilous: Archangel Michael)

- 2) ff. 158r–159v: **2 Samuel** 6:5–7:21, displaced leaves from a 15th-century manuscript

Harag: ff. 1r, 7r, 21r

NB: ff. 36v–37r not microfilmed

(siglum N) **EMML no. 8459**

Monastery of Ṭānā Qirqos, Gondar, Ethiopia

Parchment, 30 × 21.5 cm, 96 ff., 2 cols., 25–38 lines, wooden boards, 15th cent.

- 1) ff. 1r–58v, 60r–96v: **Retu'a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት], mutilous
(ff. 2rv, 1rv, 3r–6v: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 6v–10v, 13r–14v: Archangel Michael; ff. 15r–16v, 11r–12v, 17r–18r: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 18v–30v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 31r–40v: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 41r–45v: Start of Lent; ff. 45v–48r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 48v–52r: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 52v–53v: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 54r–55v: Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 56r–58v: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 60r–61v, 49r–50v: Sixth Sunday in Lent; ff. 50v, 62r–63v: Palm Sunday; ff. 63v–76r: Incarnation; ff. 76r–89r: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 89r–94v: Peter's denial; ff. 94v–96v, mutilous: Trial before Pilate)
- 2) ff. 59rv: **Life of Cyricus and Julitta** [ጊድላ : ቂርቆስ], displaced leaf from a late-14th century manuscript

Harag: ff. 2r, 48v, 63v, 94v

(siglum O) **EMML no. 8913**

Church of Atkanā Giyorgis, Gondar, Ethiopia

Parchment, 34.5 × 25 cm., 122 ff., 2 cols., 29–31 lines, without covers, 15th cent.

ff. 1r–122v: **Retu'a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 1rv, 90r–93v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 94r–95v, 2rv, 61r–70v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 70v–75v, 96r–102v: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 102v–105v, 76r–84r: Incarnation; ff. 84v–87r: Palm Sunday; ff. 87r–89v, 3r–4v, 113rv, 106r–112v: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 112v, 114r–122v, 5r–8r: Death of Jesus; ff. 8v–14v: Ascension; ff. 14v–20v: Pentecost; ff. 21r–25r: Twelve apostles; ff. 25v–29v, mutilous: Transfiguration; acephalous, ff. 30r–46r: Mary; ff. 46v–53v: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 54r–60v: Archangel Michael)

Harag: ff. 1r, 8v, 21r, 25v, 46v, 54r, 70v, 84v, 94r, 112v

Name of scribe or commissioner effaced, f. 60v

National inventory no. H₂-IV-617

(siglum P) **EMML no. 9084**

Church of Berber Māryām, Gāmo Gofā, Ethiopia

Parchment, 32 × 24.5 cm., 236 ff., 2 cols., 26 lines, wooden boards, late-14th/early-15th cent.

ff. 1r–236v: **Retu'ā Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]

(ff. 1r–9v: Four heavenly creatures; ff. 11r–18r: Archangel Michael; ff. 19r–25r: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 26r–42r: Birth of Jesus; ff. 43r–59v: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 61r–68v: Start of Lent; ff. 69r–73r: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 74r–77v: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 78r–80v: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 81r–85r: Fourth Sunday in Lent; ff. 85r–90v: Fifth Sunday in Lent; ff. 90v–94v: Sixth Sunday in Lent; ff. 95r–98v: Palm Sunday; ff. 100r–115v: Incarnation; ff. 116r–131r: Washing of the disciples' feet; ff. 132r–139r: Peter's denial; ff. 140r–148r: Trial before Pilate; ff. 149r–163v: Homily of Cyriacus, bishop of al-Bahnasā, on the glory and lamentation of Mary 1:1–5:1; ff. 165r–179r: Death of Jesus; ff. 180r–193v: Easter; ff. 195r–201v: Ascension; ff. 203r–215v: Pentecost; ff. 217r–236v: Mary)

Full-page miniatures: ff. 10v, 18v, 25v, 42v, 60v, 73v, 99v, 131v, 139v, 148v, 164v, 179v, 194v, 202v, 216v

Harag: ff. 1r, 11r, 19r, 26r, 43r, 61r, 69r, 74r, 78r, 81r, 85r, 90v, 95r, 100r, 116r, 132r, 140r, 149r, 165r, 180r, 195r, 203r, 217r

NB: Severe water damage to the first half of the manuscript, with the first leaves totally illegible on the microfilm; significant portions of text on each page are affected until well after the midpoint

Bibliography: E. Haberland, *Altes Christentum in Süd-Äthiopien: Eine vergessene Missionsepoche* (Wiesbaden, 1976) 21 (and plate)

(siglum Q) **EMIP no. 816**

Church of Čalaqot Šellāsē, Tegrāy, Ethiopia

Parchment, 23.7 × 20.4 cm, 137 ff., 2 cols., 22 lines, wooden boards covered with stamped leather, 18th/19th cent.

- 1) ff. 2r–121v: **Retu‘a Hāymānot** [ርቱዕ : ሃይማኖት]
(ff. 2r–7v: On the theology of the incarnation; ff. 7v–19v: Birth of Jesus; ff. 20r–32r: Baptism of Jesus; ff. 32r–38r: Start of Lent; ff. 38r–41v: First Sunday in Lent; ff. 41v–44v: Second Sunday in Lent; ff. 45r–47r: Third Sunday in Lent; ff. 47r–60r: Incarnation; ff. 60r–62v: Palm Sunday; ff. 62v–75v: Washing of the disciples’ feet; ff. 75v–88r: Death of Jesus; ff. 88r–94r: Ascension; ff. 94r–106v: Pentecost; ff. 106v–111r: Twelve apostles; ff. 111r–116r: Transfiguration; ff. 116r–121v: Four heavenly creatures)
- 2) ff. 122r–137v, mutilous: **Homily of Cyriacus, bishop of al-Bahnasā, on the glory and lamentation of Mary** 1:1–9:2 [ላክ : ማርያም]; cf. M.-A. van den Oudenrijn, *Gamaliel: Äthiopische Texte zur Pilatusliteratur* (Freiburg, 1959)

Name of original owner effaced, ff. 2r, 7v, 19v–20r, 32r, 38r, 41v, 44v–45r, 47r, 60r, 62v, 75v, 87v, 94r, 106v, 111r, 116r, 121v–122r
Acquired by Emperor Tēwodros for his church of Madhānē Ālam at Magdala, where it was acquired by the British Army in April 1868, which presented this and hundreds of other manuscripts to the church of Čalaqot Šellāsē the following month, cf. f. 2r

National inventory no. C₄-IV-221

XV. Translation of the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter* including the Pseudo-Clementine Framework¹

ERIC J. BECK

Prologue The second coming of Christ and the resurrection of the dead, which he told to Peter, who die for their sin because they did not observe the commandment of God, their creator. And this he reflected upon so that he might understand the mystery of the Son of God, the merciful and lover of mercy.

¹And when he was sitting on the Mount of Olives, his followers approached toward him.

And we worshipped and entreated him privately. ² And we asked him, saying to him, “Tell (us) what are the signs of your coming and of the end of the world, that we may know and understand the time of your coming and we may instruct those who come after us, ³ to

¹ Parts of this text, the prologue; 1–17; 30:5–33:1a; 40:5–7, have been edited and reprinted with the publisher’s permission from E.J. Beck, *Justice and Mercy in the Apocalypse of Peter. A New Translation and Analysis of the Purpose of the Text* (Tübingen, 2019) 66–73, 76, 78–79, 81–86, 88–90, 157–159. For a discussion on some of the methodologies employed in this translation, see pages 59–65 of the same volume. I would also like to thank the Centre for Advanced Studies, “Beyond Canon” at the University of Regensburg for their invaluable aid in acquiring resources without which this translation would not have happened. The translation is based on the manuscripts P and T described in more detail by Thomas Kraus within this volume and in A. Bausi, ‘Towards a re-edition of the Ethiopic dossier of the “Apocalypse of Peter”’, *Apocrypha* 27 (2016) 179–96. Furthermore, the edition, translation and remarks of Grébaut to manuscript P have been consulted. See S. Grébaut, ‘Littérature Éthiopienne. Pseudo-Clémentine’, *ROC* 12 (1907) 139–51; *ROC* 13 (1908) 166–80, 314–20; *ROC* 15 (1910) 198–214, 307–23, 425–39.

whom we will proclaim the word of your gospel and establish in your church. That they, having heard, may be watchful so that they might perceive the time of your coming.”

⁴And our Lord answered us, saying to us, “Take care not to be deceived lest you become doubters and worship other gods. ⁵ Many will come in my name saying, ‘I am the Christ.’ Do not believe them and do not approach them. ⁶ As for the coming of the Son of God, it will not be revealed, except like lightning, which flashes from the east to the west. Likewise, I will come on a cloud from heaven with great power in my glory while my cross will go before my face. ⁷ I will come in my glory shining seven times brighter than the sun. I will come in my glory with all my holy angels when my father will place a crown upon my head that I may judge the living and the dead ⁸ and recompense everyone according to his deeds. ²¹ But as for you, learn from the fig tree its lesson. As soon as its sprout emerges and its branches bud at that time will be the end of the world.”

² And I, Peter, answered him and said to him, “Explain to me about the fig tree and how we should understand it, ³ since each of its seasons the fig tree sprouts and each of its years its fruit is gathered for its masters. What is the fig tree’s lesson? We do not understand.”

⁴ And the master answered me and said to me, “Do you not understand that the fig tree is the house of Israel? ⁵ It is like a man (who) planted a fig tree in his garden and it did not produce fruit. And he sought its fruit many years, but he did not find it. And he said to his gardener, ‘Uproot this fig tree so that it won’t make our soil worthless for us.’ ⁶ And the gardener said to the master of the land, ‘Send (us). We will weed it and dig ashes beneath it and irrigate it with water. And if it does not bear fruit this time we will remove its roots from the garden and plant another in its place.’

⁷ Did you not perceive that the fig tree is the house of Israel? And indeed, I have told you, when its branches bud in the end, false messiahs will come. ⁸ And he will promise, ‘I am the Christ who has come into the world.’ And when they see his evil deeds, they will turn away. ⁹ And they will reject him who is called ‘the glory of our ancestors’, who crucified the first Christ and erred exceedingly. ¹⁰ But this liar is not the Christ. And when they resist him, he will wage war with the sword. And there will be many martyrs. ¹¹ Then at that time when the branches of the fig tree, this alone is the house of Israel, have budded, there will be many martyrs by his hand. And they will die and they will

be martyrs. ¹² Indeed, Enoch and Elijah will be sent in order to instruct them that this is the deceiver who will come into the world and perform signs and wonders to deceive it. ¹³ Therefore, all who die by his hand will be martyrs and will be counted in the company of the good and righteous martyrs who pleased God with their life.”

³¹ And he showed me in his right hand every soul and in the palm of his right hand the image of that which will be accomplished on the last day. ² And how the righteous and sinners will be separated and how the upright in heart will act and how the wicked will be rooted out for ever and ever. ³ We saw how the sinners will weep in great affliction and sorrow to the extent that everyone who has seen it with their eyes will weep, whether the righteous or angels, or even he himself.

⁴ And I asked him, saying to him, “O Lord, permit that I may proclaim your word about these sinners, because ‘it was better for them when they had not been created.’”

⁵ And the Savior answered me, saying to me, “O Peter, why do you speak in such a way: ‘Non-creation were better for them’? In fact, (it is) you who opposes God. ⁶ And it is not you who shows them, his formation, mercy rather than he. For he created them and brought them forth where they did not exist. ⁷ But when you saw the grief that will happen to the sinners in the last days and because of this your heart was sorrowful. But they who have transgressed against the Most High, I will show you their works.

⁴¹ And behold now what will happen to them in the last days when the day of God comes. ² And (on) the day of punishment, which is the judgment of God, from the east to the west all of humanity will be gathered before my father, who lives eternally. ³ And he will command Gehenna that it open its bars of steel and return everything that there is within it.² ⁴ And also to the animals and the birds he will command that they return all the flesh that they ate when he requires that people appear. ⁵ For nothing is lost for God and nothing is impossible for him. Everything in this way is his. For everything (will happen) on the day of punishment, on the day of judgment, with the expression of God. ⁶ And everything will happen in accordance with how he creates. The world and everything that is in it he commanded (to be) and everything was. Thus (it will be) in the last days, ⁷ because

² **ዘቡቱ** could also be translated in a possessive manner as suggested by Buchholz: “...everything that he (God) has within it.”

everything is possible for God. And thus it says in the Scripture: ‘The Son of Man prophesied upon each of the bones ⁸ saying to the bone, “Bone to bones in limbs, sinew and muscle and flesh and skin and hair (be) onto it.”’ ⁹ And soul and spirit [and] the great Uriel will give at the command of God. For God established him over his resurrection of the dead on the day of judgment.

¹⁰ And look and understand the seeds which were sown in the earth. Like a withered thing that does not have a soul they are sown in the earth and live and bear fruit. ¹¹ And the earth will give back in accordance with the deposit that was put under its protection. And this is that which dies: the seed that was sown in the earth and lives and is given life is people. ¹² How much more for those who believe in him and his elect, for whose sake God made (the world). He will cause them to rise on the day of punishment. ¹³ And the earth will give everything back on the day of punishment, for it (the earth) will be required on it (the day of punishment) to be judged at the same time and also heaven with it.

⁵¹ And it will happen on the day of judgment (to) those who pervert the faith of God and to those who have committed sin. ² Cataraacts of fire will be opened and there will be gloominess and darkness and it will clothe and cover the whole world. ³ And even the waters will be transformed and will be given into coals of fire and everything that is in it will burn and even the ocean will become fire. ⁴ From below heaven will be bitter fire that cannot be extinguished and flows for the judgment of wrath. And the stars also will be dissolved in a flame of fire like they had never been created. ⁵ And the firmaments of heaven from lack of water [and] will depart and become as what was not created. And the lightning of heaven will not exist. And because of their exorcism they will terrify the world. ⁶ And the spirit of the dead will be made like them and will become fire at the command of God. And then all creation has dissolved.

⁷ And humans who are in the east will flee to the west. Those (in the west) will flee to the east. And those in the south will flee to the north. And those (in the north) to the south. ⁸ And in every direction the terrible wrath of fire will find them while a flame that cannot be extinguished will drive them out. It will offer them for the judgment of wrath in a river of fire that cannot be extinguished.³ A fire that

³ Both manuscripts continue, saying, “And it will offer them for judgment and wrath in a river of fire that cannot be extinguished.”

flows while it burns [in it]. ⁹ But when the waves separate, boiling, [and] there will be much gnashing of teeth for humanity.

⁶¹ And all of them will see when I come on an eternal, bright cloud and the angels of God who are with me will sit (on) the throne of my glory at the right hand of my heavenly father. ² And he will place a crown on my head. When the nations see it, each of their nations will weep. And he will command them to pass through the middle of the river of fire. ³ And each one of their deeds will stand before them. Each one according to his deeds. ⁴ But each of the elect who have done well, they will come to me and they will not see death by the devouring fire. ⁵ But the wicked and sinners and hypocrites will stand in the midst of a pit of darkness that cannot be extinguished and their punishment will be fire. ⁶ And the angels will bring their sin and they will prepare for them a place where they will be punished forever each one according to their transgression. ⁷ And the angel of God, Uriel, will bring the soul of those sinners who perished in the flood and all who existed in every idol, in every molten statue, in every love, and in pictures. ⁸ And they who dwell in all the high places and stone and in every path, who were called gods. ⁹ They will be burned with them in an eternal fire. And after all of them and their places where they dwell come to an end, then they will be punished forever.

⁷¹ And then men and women will come to the place that they deserve. ² By their tongue with which they blasphemed the way of righteousness they will be hung, being split for them, which cannot perish, so that they might be torn apart perpetually.

³ And behold another place. And there is a pit, large and full. In it are those who have rejected righteousness. ⁴ And the angels of punishment will keep watch [and] there in it and light the fire of their punishment.

⁵ And furthermore, other⁴ women will be hanging by their neck and their hair. They will be cast into the pit. ⁶ And these are those who braid braids, and not for a beautiful disposition but going around for fornication so that they might ensnare the soul of people for

⁴ This follows Buccholz's suggestion to read ካልእት (other) rather than ካልኡቱ (two). See D. Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened. A Study of the Greek (Ethiopic) Apocalypse of Peter* (Atlanta, 1988) 198.

destruction.⁷ And the very men who lie with them in fornication will hang by their thigh in that place which burns.⁸ And they will say among themselves, 'We did not know that we would come to be in eternal punishment.'

⁹ And [for] those who kill life and even those who associate with them, they will be put in fire that is full of venomous animals and they will be punished without rest while their suffering is revealed to them.¹⁰ And their worm will increase like a black cloud. And the angel Ezrael will bring the soul of those they killed, and they will be shown the punishment (of those who) killed them.¹¹ And they will say to them among themselves, 'Righteousness and justice is the judgment of God. For, we heard but we did not believe that we would come to this eternal place of judgment.'

⁸¹ And near this flame will be a very large and deep pit. And into it will flow everything from everywhere: judgment and horror (and) excreta.² And their women will be swallowed up to their necks and will be punished in great anguish. Now, these are those who vanquish their children and destroy the work of God, which he formed.³ And opposite them is another place where will sit their children who they prevented living.⁴ And they will cry out to God and lightning will come [and] from the infants, a drill in the eyes of those who in this fornication have brought about their destruction.

⁵ Other men and women will stand naked above there and their children will stand there opposite them in a place of delight.⁶ And crying out, [and] they will groan and cry out to God about their parents: 'These are those who despised and cursed and violated your commandment and died.'⁷ And they cursed the angel who formed (us) and they hung us up and were stingy with the light. But you gave (it) to everyone.'⁸ The milk of their mothers will flow from their breast and it will congeal and putrefy.⁹ From within it will be flesh-eating animals and they will emerge and turn and punish them forever with their husbands because they forsook the commandment of God and killed their children.¹⁰ But as for their children, they will be given to a care-taking angel. But those who killed them, they will punish them forever because it is the thing that God has required.

⁹¹ The angel of his wrath, Ezrael, will bring men and women who are partially burning and place them in a place of darkness, which is the Gehenna of men.² And a spirit of wrath will chastise them with every chastisement. And a worm that does not rest will

devour their bowels. They are the persecutors and refuters of my righteous ones.

³ And near to those there are other men and women. And they will gnaw their tongues and they will be tormented with a fiery iron and their eyes will be burned. These are [those] the blasphemers and renouncers of my righteousness.

⁴ But as for other men and women, their deeds are fraudulent. Their lips will be cut off, and fire will enter into their mouths and their bowels: those who killed the martyrs (with) a lie.

⁵ And near to those who were presented is a place by a stone column of fire, and the pillar is sharper than a sword. ⁶ (There are) men and women who will be clothed in worn out clothes and filthy rags, and they will be placed on it so that they might be judged with judgment, anguish that will not end. ⁷ These are those who trust in their riches and neglected the widows and women (with) orphans, against God.

10¹ And (there is) another place near to it, [and] full of excreta. And men and women will be put into it up to their knees. These are those who lend and take usury.

² And other men and women from a high (place) will throw themselves and again they will return and run and demons will drive them. These are [they] the idolaters. ³ And they will drive them to the edge of reason and they will cast themselves down and they will do this in this way continuously. They will be punished forever. ⁴ These are those who cut their flesh, men who copulate with men, and women who were with them. And in it are men who as women defile one another.

⁵ And near to those [*hel*]⁵ and below them the angel Ezrael will make a place of much fire and every idol of gold and silver, every idol made by human hands, and which resembles the image of cats and lions, the image of reptiles, and the image of animals. ⁶ And also those men and women who made their images will be in chains of fire (with) which they will beat themselves on account of their mistake before them. And such will be their judgment forever.

⁷ And near to them will be other men and women and they will burn in the flame of judgment. Their punishment is forever. These are

⁵ Unknown word.

those who forsake the commandment of God and followed [*faqət*]⁶ demons.

11¹ And another place, extremely high, (will be) teaching and [*hel*]⁷. (There will be) fire inside that which burns. It (will come) over the edge (of) that which burns.² Men and women who stumble while it rolls will descend upon that which is trembling. And again, while what is made flows, they will ascend and descend and repeat. Thus, according to its rolling so they will be punished forever.³ These then are they who do not honor their father and mother and of their own accord abandon them. Therefore, they will be punished eternally.

⁴ And furthermore, Ezrael the angel will bring children and virgins so that they might be shown those who are punished. They will be judged with anguish and with hanging and with many wounds, which flesh-eating birds will cause.⁵ These are those who believe in their error. They do not obey their parents and the instruction of their ancestors they do not follow and their elders they do not honor.⁶ With them will be ten virgins and they will wear darkness as clothing and they will be judged with judgment and their flesh will disperse.⁷ These are those who do not preserve their virginity until they are given in marriage. And they also will be judged the very same judgment while it is revealed to them.

⁸ And furthermore, (there will be) other men and women who gnaw their tongues without rest while they are punished in eternal fire.⁹ These then are slaves who do not obey their masters. This then will be their eternal judgment.

12¹ And near this punishment will be men and women blind and deaf and their clothes will be white. And consequently, they will crowd (into) one another and fall onto coals of fire that cannot be extinguished.² These are those who practice almsgiving and say, 'We are righteous before God.' (But,) they have not pursued righteousness.

³ The angel of God, Ezrael, will bring them out of the flame and carry out the judgment of punishment. This then will be their judgment:⁴ a river of fire will flow and every punishment will descend in the midst of the river.⁵ And Uriel will establish them. And he will give a wheel of fire and men and women will be hanging on it by the force of its whirling.⁶ The ones in the pit will burn. These then are

⁶ Unknown word.

⁷ Unknown word.

they: sorcerers and sorceresses. ⁷ This wheel will be in every punishment in limitless fire.

13¹ And then they will bring my elect and my righteous, the ones perfect in all righteousness, while angels carry them in their hands while they announce the clothes of life from above. ² And they will see those who cursed⁸ him while he takes vengeance on them ³ (with) punishment forever, each one according to his work. ⁴ In one voice all of those who are in punishment will say, 'Have mercy on us because now we have understood the judgment of God, which he previously proclaimed to us but we did not believe.' ⁵ And the angel of Tartarus will come and rebuke them with more punishment. And he will say to them, 'Now you would repent, when there is no time for repentance and no life has remained.' ⁶ And all of them will say, 'Just is the judgment of God, for we have heard and understood that his judgment is fair because we have received recompense, each one according to our deeds.'

14¹ And then I will give to my elect and to my righteous ones the baptism and salvation that they have asked of me in the field of Acherusia, which is called Elysium. ² A portion of the righteous ones has bloomed and I will depart when I will rejoice with them. I will lead the nations into my eternal kingdom. ³ And I will do for them what I promised them eternally, I and my heavenly father.

I have told you, Peter, and informed you. ⁴ Go, therefore, and depart for the city in the west to the vineyard of which I will tell you so that, because of the suffering of my son who is without sin, the work of desolation may be sanctified. ⁵ But you, however, are the elect one according to the promise that I promised you. Therefore, [and] send into all the world my message in peace. ⁶ Because he rejoiced, my voice has poured out the promise of life and suddenly the world was torn."

15¹ And my lord, Jesus Christ our king, said to me, "Let us proceed to the holy mountain." And his disciples came with him while they were praying. ² And behold, (there were) two people. And we were powerless to look at their face, because from one of them was coming a light that was shining more than the sun. ³ And even their clothes were bright, and it is not possible to say. And there is nothing that can

⁸ Could also be "hated".

be compared with them here in the world. ⁴ And a mouth is not able to say (in) simplicity the beauty of their splendor, because their appearance was stupefying and a wonder. ⁵ And the other, great I say, was shining more than snow in his appearance. Like a rose was the beauty of his appearance and his flesh ⁶ and the hair on his head. And down from his shoulders and upon their foreheads were garlands of spikenard woven with beautiful flowers. Like a rainbow in water was his hair. ⁷ Thus was the charm of his face. And (he was) adorned with every adornment. And when we saw them suddenly, we marveled.

16¹ And I approached near to God, Jesus Christ, and I said to him, “Lord, who is this?” And he said to me, “This is Moses and Elijah.” And I said to him, “(What about) Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the other righteous fathers?” ² And he showed us an open, large garden full of fruitful trees and blessed fruit, full of the aroma of perfume. Its aroma was delightful. ³ And its aroma was coming to it and from within it I saw a wonder: abundant fruit. ⁴ And my Lord and my God, Jesus Christ, said to me, “[And] You have seen the nation of the fathers, and thus is their rest.” ⁵ And I rejoiced and believed such will be “the honor and glory for those who were persecuted for my righteousness.” ⁶ And I understood that which was written in the book of my Lord, Jesus Christ. ⁷ And I said to him, “My Lord, do you want me to make three tabernacles here, one for you, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah?” ⁸ And he said to me in anger, “Satan is attacking you and has veiled your understanding, and the affairs of this world are overcoming you.” ⁹ Now your eyes are uncovered and your ears are open that (there is) one tabernacle, which was not made by people’s hands, (but) which was made by my heavenly father for me and for the elect.” And when we saw (it) we were rejoicing.

17¹ And behold a voice came suddenly from heaven while saying, “This is my son whom I love and I have delighted in my commandment. ² And a cloud came over our heads great of size and very white, and it carried off our Lord, and Moses, and Elijah. And I trembled and was terrified. ³ And we looked and this heaven was opened and we saw people who were in the flesh, and they came and welcomed our Lord, and Moses, and Elijah. And they departed into the second heaven. ⁴ And the word of Scripture was accomplished: This generation sought him and sought the face of the God of Jacob. ⁵ And there was great fear and great dread in heaven. The angels were

crowding so that the word of Scripture might be accomplished that says, "Open the gates, princes." ⁶ And then this heaven that was opened was closed. ⁷ And we prayed and descended from the mountain while praising God who has written the names of the righteous in the book of life in the heavens.

18¹ And he opened his mouth and said to me, "Listen, my son Clement. Everything that he created is for his glory. ² He created angels and archangels; rulers and authorities and thrones and powers and chiefs; cherubim and seraphim: a thousand, ten thousand, and thousands of thousands. ³ And furthermore, he arranged the nations, each into their territory, and put kings over each of their subjects, and governors and judges and prophets and apostles in order to educate and teach those who obey the word of God. ⁴ However, those who did not obey, their judgment will be punishment. But if they did obey and endure, their reward will be joy and pleasure in the kingdom of heaven while they glorify and praise him with angels and with every righteous soul, glorifying God always and giving honor and glory to the one who created everything. ⁵ He created the heavens and the earth, the sea and the rivers and the animals and everything that is visible. In fact, everything that he created will glorify him, and his glory will also continue forever. ⁶ But, the one who has stumbled and been negligent regarding his glory has fallen according to God's will and glory. ⁹ And those who fear God will not ever be kept silent regarding his glory. They will glorify God. ⁷ The sea and the rivers, the springs and the fire and the dew, that which has a soul and that which does not have a soul will glorify God.

19¹ He even created the devil for his glory, ² and in his negligence he was cast down from his honor with all of his followers under his authority who glorify him, who were created with him and are called demons because God in the beginning created them (to be) a race of angels for his glory. ³ When he rebelled, a race of angels remained with his followers.

⁴ Afterwards, Adam was created for the glory of God. ⁵ And he gave him the earth, out of it he was created, and he gave him everything that is upon it so that he will glorify him on it with his

⁹ Could also read "have fallen upon God's goodwill and glory".

children. ⁶ Indeed, they were not created for vanity, but for the glory of God. But, the devil was created for vanity, and he became an enemy of God who was negligent of his glory. ⁷ If someone was a child of God, they would glorify his holy name. But the one who has been negligent has fallen from the glory of God.

⁸ His glory is not deficient, because the heavens and the earth are full of the holiness of his glory. No one is able to count it. ⁹ Do not be negligent regarding the glory of God, because he created (everything) for the sake of his glory. Remain prepared and wait, being joyful. ¹⁰ And if you do not stop praising him and glorifying him, (you will receive) that which does not end.¹⁰ But if you are negligent, you will fall from your honor. ¹¹ The glory of God is not deficient. Your honor is for God. And as for those who serve here a little bit, their days will be long. Glorify and sing during the day and night. Their glory will remain. (Their) days will be long.

20¹ Glorify and sing (to) the one who will not leave (and) has come, for it says, ‘Those who persevere with me will inherit the earth. And my chosen will inherit the mountain of my sanctuary. ² And I will give them eternal joy as I see their glory when he sits on the mountain of my sanctuary, when he raises me up in my dismay, ³ the one who built the earth and planted paradise upon it, and spread out the sky and planted the sun upon it, and extended the sea and made the animals in it, ⁴ who caused the winds to blow and mixed fire and blew on it, who washed away the ancient world, which was decrepit, in the water of the flood and restored it. ⁵ At his coming he will cause the dead to rise by having heard his voice. And he will make my righteous ones seven times brighter than the sun. ⁶ And he will make their crowns bright like snow and like a rainbow of the rainy season that is made with spike-nard, which it is not possible to be ascertained, ⁷ with colorful jasper, bright emerald luster, and topaz which, having been intertwined with mother-of-pearl, shines like the stars in the heavens above and like a ray of sunlight that sparkles and that is not possible to look at.

21¹ And the eyes of the dead have perceived (that) because they glorified their creator without measure, he will also honor them. ² And as they glorified him in affliction, to the same extent they will praise him with glorification¹¹. ³ Indeed, the honor of the glory of my

¹⁰ The verb for the apodosis is entirely missing.

¹¹ Or “hymns”.

righteous ones, who glorified God in their lifetime (and) who honored him, is not conceived by the heart and is hidden from the mind of the dead. ⁴ And he will also exalt them. Indeed, he will make them rulers. ⁵ And just as the Father who is in heaven is honored, likewise (will be) the honor of my righteous ones in the presence of God.'

22¹ The faces of his angels are brighter than the sun; and their crowns are like a rainbow of the rainy season (that is made) with spike-nard; and their eyes are as bright as the morning star. ² The beauty of their appearance is ineffable, and the melody of their hymns is like the sound of a harp. Their hymns are pleasant. Their language is beautiful and delightful to hear. ³ Above all, their joy is unending. And their clothes are not woven; they are white as those of one who washes clothes, like I saw on the mountain in the presence of Moses and Elijah.

⁴ And our Lord showed through the transfiguration the clothes of the last day at the time of the resurrection to Peter, and to James, and to John the son of Zebedee. ⁵ A bright cloud made shade, and we heard the voice of the Father saying to us, 'This is my Son, whom I love. I delight in him. Listen to him.' ⁶ And while we were frightened, we forgot all who are here in the flesh, ⁷ and we did not know what we were saying on account of the great terror of that day and of that mountain, upon which he showed us the second coming in the kingdom that will not end.

23¹ Likewise, the Father has altogether committed to Christ the judgment of heaven and earth. ² As it is said, 'The Father will not judge anyone but has committed his judgment to his Son, so that he will give all who believe in him eternal life in the kingdom of heaven.' ³ (Such is) the reward of the righteous who fled this world, were strong in the spiritual fight, became friends with angels while walking on earth in a body, (and) fled the wide path¹² through which the multitudes go. ⁴ Worshiping idols, copulating with the wife of man, murdering, blowing false witness, hating a male neighbor, anger, indignation, theft, loving money, injustice, robbery, slander, strife, quarrel, fornication, and falsehood: this is the wide path. ⁵ But, the righteous go through the narrow door. Humility, love, gentleness, compassion, peace, purity of body, not angry at another, comfort of neighbor,

¹² Both manuscripts actually refer to the "narrow place" (ለመጽብብ), but, similar to Grébaut suggestion, the context necessitates that this is an error and should be replaced with ለስፍላት፡ ፍኖት from a few lines below.

hope, and faith: this is the door through which the righteous go. ⁶ But sinners are unable to go through it.”

24¹ “Nevertheless, do not forget me regarding sinners when you will have mercy on them on the last day and when there will be nothing because of¹³ your goodness and the greatness of your majesty and your mercy. ² Tell me about what I asked you regarding those who will become sinners: it would have been better for them when they were created not to have been created at that time, because they will die two deaths. ³ Their first death is like all creation, for the righteous and for the sinners, for livestock and for wild animals, in accordance with death being prescribed for all that exists (and) being enveloped in intercourse for all carnal beings. ⁴ And furthermore, it is enveloped in suffering and infirmity. Moreover, it is enveloped upon the clean and the unclean, the righteous and the sinners, the good and the evil. ⁵ Did you not, my Lord the Messiah, Son of God, receive suffering in the body even though you did not experience death or infirmity of divinity? ⁶ For you are the Word of the Father, the living God, the primary creator of the heavens and earth. ⁷ You who have no beginning and no end, in the company of your Holy Spirit, as you previously told me when I asked you about your nature and the throne of your glory from before the world was created. ⁸ And you said to me, ‘There is no place that can contain us, but we perceive every place through the power of our divinity.’

⁹ But the second death of sinners will be after the resurrection of souls and bodies. Once more they will be consumed in fire. ¹⁰ It would have been better for them to arise to see his glory; the adornment of heaven and the slaves¹⁴ of the earth; the sun, the moon, and the stars; the mountains and the hills; (and) the wild animals and the livestock, from which they lived lives of pleasure. ¹¹ They transgressed and they died. This is the first death. Because of their sin, they received recompense. ¹² Therefore, this is the verdict: judgment and punishment from you, O Lord.

25¹ Once more you will achieve your will (through) resurrection. ² Having renewed (them), you will bring them forth from the earth, and you will wake up those who sleep and lie down in the soil. ³ Their bodies are worn out and their bones are crushed and became dust. ⁴ And after you raise the dead, (who) are renewed in soul and body, from sleep,

¹³ There may be a word missing between **አልቦ** and **በእንተ**.

¹⁴ Grébaut, perhaps rightly, changes **ገብረ** (slave) to **ግብረ** (product).

you will give them the second death through judgment. ⁵ The second verdict, death, is upon sinners. ⁶ Out of my futile heart I was poured out in terror while speaking about their sin (and) their second death. ⁷ After the resurrection, this death for sinners, which is worse, finds them."

⁸ And my Lord answered me and said to me, "Is the first (revelation) that I told you evident to you? It is permissible for you not to understand this in your heart. ⁹ It is not fitting for you to tell sinners this account that you have heard, of which you have inquired, so that they will not increase transgression and sin. ¹⁰ It is not fitting for you to tell them this account. In fact, it is fitting to not disclose that which you have ascertained from me to others. ¹¹ If people see it, they will become sinners. There will be none who repent of their sin or of their transgression when they hear this word, of which you have inquired of me just now concerning the second death of sinners."

26¹ I, your father Peter, fell down beneath his feet. I shed tears and wet his feet with my tongue while begging for mercy ² and saying, "Show compassion to me, O Lord, a sinner and a pauper, because I am the chief of sinners and fools in waywardness, having sworn when saying, 'I do not know him,' three times before the cock crowed." ³ Then I wept, and wet his feet my tears, and wiped them off with my tongue, and kissed them with my mouth, while begging for mercy with all my heart.

⁴ When I had wept bitterly for many hours, the lover of repentance turned to me, saying to me, "It is not fitting that you should cause me distress, since you know and understand my words within the Gospel: 'He makes the sun rise for the righteous and sinners, and sends rain upon the good and the evil.' ⁵ Indeed, (such is) the mercy of my Father. Just as the sun rises and the rain descends, so we have mercy and show compassion for all our work, as I said to the Jews concerning mercy for sinners. ⁶ They complained about me when I healed the sick on the Sabbath, when I said to the paralytic, 'Rise up and take your bed. Your sin has been forgiven for you.' ⁷ And they said to me, 'This man speaks blasphemy against God and against people. Who can forgive sin on earth except God alone?' ⁸ And I said to them, 'Even my Father does such mercy to people on the Sabbath. And I also do the work of my Father. If you do not believe me, believe my actions.' ⁹ Furthermore, I said to them at that time had I not done the work for them, which another has not done, they would have been saved from their error. ¹⁰ But now, there is no excuse for

them, because mercy is the work of my Father.¹¹ And everything that he does, (I do), because I am in the Father and the Father is in me and the Holy Spirit, who originates from my Father and receives from me and glorifies me, as I previously said.”

27¹ And I answered and said to him, “How can I understand, my Lord, that which you have spoken to me in parables? ² You have not told me clearly that I, your servant a sinner, may rejoice, nor all who come after me. ³ You said to me, ‘Like the sun and the rain, so is my compassion.’ ⁴ There are those who want this on earth, but when the rain descends there are those who enter into a cave, and there are those who enter into a deep pit, and there are those who enter into the depths of the sea, and there are those who enter into the third floor. ⁵ How will the sun and the rain find them if they entered into the depths? Tell me clearly so that I may rejoice clearly.”

⁶ And he answered me, saying to me, “If you say to me, ‘tell me here’, I will reveal (it) to you. ⁷ But it is not fitting for you to tell sinners, so that they do not practice sin, expecting mercy. ⁸ Like the sun, when it rises, does not divide our light, but the sun gives light to everything spread out under the sky when it produces the dawn for us – and who does not wish to see the light of the sun, and who hates the rain from the sky? – so is mercy.

28¹ And even the devil will be destroyed, as Paul, your brother, says: ‘The last adversary he will destroy is death,’ that is to say the devil. ² As he says, ‘All will bow down beneath his feet.’ And on that day, even the Son will bow down to the one who has subjugated to himself all things, so that God may be in all and over all. ³ Listen, my account to your brother is secret, because my Spirit proclaimed his explanation of this last dead person, the liar, the son of perdition, who will say, ‘I am the Christ,’ in order to deceive all people. ⁴ And those who refuse to believe in him, he will judge them all with the sword. Nevertheless, there will be many martyrs. ⁵ And after the killing of the martyrs, God will send onto the earth many evil spirits of demons, who will not exist merely in the flesh and who will not exist merely in the spirit on the earth. ⁶ And everyone who has a body on the earth will eat and rejoice and end. ⁷ And their king is named Shackle¹⁵.

¹⁵ Although 𐤑𐤍 (*gag*) is used here as the name of the king, it should not be transliterated as though it were a common proper noun. Instead, it is better to translate the word in accordance with one of its English glosses,

Those who king Alexander harmed, they will be sent away by my will. And even this one will be destroyed by death.

29¹ And after this, I will come in my glory and my dominion with all my holy ones. ² The dead will be raised at my word, and the righteous and the wicked will be divided at my command. ³ And wings will be given to my chosen ones, and they will ride on my own chariot. And I will come and descend upon the earth. ⁴ My Father will place a crown upon my head in Jerusalem, my city, and Zion will come to my city and will appear in all her worthiness and construction. ⁵ And my chosen ones, Moses and Elijah, will appear like you saw on Mount Tabor when they were talking with me. ⁶ All of them will stand at the right hand of my Father: all my chosen ones at my Father's right hand. ⁷ My throne will be in a river of fire flowing before me, and flashes of fire will surround me. ⁸ And on the left hand of majesty restoration will surround me without and within. ⁹ A thousand and ten thousand will be pressed toward my glory and majesty (in) terror of my majesty.

¹⁰ Arrows of sorrow, in which will be a raging fire, will pierce the sinners in a moment, and will tear apart their hearts, and will smite the hearts of sinners. ¹¹ And their crying will be so bitter that they will disturb the hearts of angels and the righteous. ¹² The sinners will be extremely oppressed by shining angels, who do not have mercy, because on earth the sinners corrupted their way from me. ¹³ Indeed, when the numerous tortures find them, they will cry out for death."

30¹ Then I answered while crying out and weeping, saying to my Lord, "I fear this second death, my Lord, that will find sinners." ² And he looked at me and answered me, saying to me, "Listen and be patient until you find my account. ³ It is not you who teaches sinners more than me, because I was crucified on account of sinners so that I might intercede for them in the presence of my Father." ⁴ Then I was silent. ⁵ "Would that you were no longer sad and anxious. I will tell you what you asked me. ⁶ Take care with regard to this account which you asked me and understand and consider for you yourself. ⁷ And beware, that which I have said is not for others: not for the angels, nor for the righteous, nor for the martyrs, nor for the prophets.

shackle, fetter, collar, or chain for the neck, in order to convey the meaning of this particular name. It is also possible that this is a reference to Gog (and Magog) if one assumes some degree of corruption in spelling.

⁸ There is no one who knows this, my account, except for my Father. And I have revealed this mystery to you, O Peter. ⁹ You will not reveal (it) to other people except the wise and learned. Place and hide it in a chest so that foolish people will not see it so that they will not say in the last day, 'God will have mercy on us.' ¹⁰ And they will practice transgression toward their neighbor: murder, theft, fornication, fraud, conceit, pride, anger, and slander. ¹¹ And furthermore, they will transgress against me by worshiping idols, by not honoring the Sabbath, and not keeping my commandment, and taking an oath falsely, and disregarding my will. ¹² If the sinners do this, take care yourself, it is not fitting that you will reveal it, so that fools might not transgress because of the statement, 'He will have mercy on us.'

31¹ As for mercy, my Father is merciful and I also show mercy, because what is my Father's is mine, and everything that is mine is my Father's. ² And when the sinners who believed in me beg, I also will beg my Father with them while I seek mercy for them from my Father. ³ And I will say to him, 'Have mercy on them, because I have worn their flesh. And as for those who ate my body and drank my blood, I bore their distress and I took their sickness and was crucified for their sake so that the sinners who believed in me might be rescued.' ⁴ And when the sinners see me while interceding to my Father for their sake, they will beg me and I also will beg to my Father for their sake. ⁵ But as for them, they see no one except me; I who wore their flesh. And I see my Father, because I am one with my Father in divinity. ⁶ Indeed, I myself left from his presence because of my love, according to his will, so that I might perform his good pleasure. ⁷ And therefore, the Father will give to everyone life; honor; a kingdom that will not end; his judgment that will not be divided; a crown of honor that is beautiful and shining; and the glory of wonderful honor. ⁸ And I will sit on the honor of divinity and establish for you and for your brothers twelve thrones, and you will judge the twelve tribes of Israel. ⁹ It is because of those who believed in me that I came. And because of those who believed in me, on account of their expression, I will show them mercy. ¹⁰ And immediately they will pass into openness and straight away go to eternal life where there is no end.

32¹ Now then, you will not reveal (this) to those who are not able to bear it, so that they might not transgress against their neighbor. ² Because their work will be iniquity one against the other when they hear the judgment of burning fire. They will kill one another and be

treated wickedly. ³ When the sinners hear (this), their conduct will be sinful so that they might be shown mercy. There will not be one who does good works or repentance among all of the sinners who hear and understand. ⁴ Therefore, I held back from you the account, and I am telling you that it is not fitting that all the sinners might see and perceive it, so that they will not transgress against their neighbor. ⁵ Would that you had not cried and lamented. I told you so that hope would not abandon you. ⁶ But as for you, prioritize the gift of repentance for sinners and instruct concerning the judgment of burning fire so that they might be afraid and perform righteousness; so that they might not act wickedly against their neighbor; and so that they might not oppress the widow and the orphan in their need on account of our mercy.

33¹ Listen, I will tell you something that will assure you. ² When a woman decorates a vessel, (it is) the product of (her) handiwork, or if not (it is) the product of the potter who decorates the vessel. ³ While the potter decorates, dressing the clay, he smashes the vessel. He wants honor so that he might make beautiful handiwork, since he wants in his mind that it should be pure and spotless, that there be no fracture and no crack. ⁴ He thinks and says that it could be an oil jug, or a container for wine, or a honey pot. He does this while wanting to decorate his work. ⁵ And when he rejects it, or it breaks or cracks, does he not return it to clay? He kneads and smashes (it) again and shapes it a second time.

⁶ Similarly, he created your father Adam for the honor of (his) handiwork. ⁷ And on account of his rebellion (he returned him) to a second clay. And afterward, having decorated him a second time, would he destroy him again in death? God forbid! ⁸ Because great is the mercy of God upon people, as David says when he knew the mercy of his God: ‘Indeed, great is your mercy in heaven, your righteousness is up to the clouds.’ ⁹ Do you see, do you notice how honored and exalted this word is? See the size and nature of the height of heaven. ¹⁰ Understand and consider¹⁶ the greatness of God’s mercy. Even his righteousness is up to the clouds, which is to say that the judgment of God is righteous. ¹¹ Furthermore, he says, ‘The right hand of God has done valiantly. The right hand of God has lifted me

¹⁶ Or “celebrate”.

up. I shall not die but shall be kept alive. ¹² God has rebuked me severely, but, nevertheless, he has not handed me over to death.’ ¹³ Therefore, this is the voice of Adam. You do not hear me. According to our father, Adam, when he says to you, ‘He has rebuked me severely,’ it is concerning his departure from the garden and the departure of his soul from his body.

34¹ His entire account is in the mystery of David, the prophet. ² ‘But, nevertheless, he has not handed me over death,’ that is to say Sheol. Those who go down into that place are the devil and his demons, who do not believe in the Son of God. ³ Those who believe in him will not see all the judgments of fire. They have received the body and blood of Christ and have become his children, his brothers and sisters, and heirs of his kingdom. ⁴ Furthermore, ‘I will give thanks to you, O Lord, because you have accepted me and have not put upon me the ridicule of my enemies.’ ⁵ Who are the enemies of Adam? Are they not the devil and his demons, who want to deceive him in order to bring him down into his belief? ⁶ ‘You have delivered me from those who go down into the pit.’ Are they not the devil and his demons?

⁷ Furthermore, he says, ‘Sing to God, his righteous ones, and bow down to the memorial of his holiness, because chastisement comes from his anger and life from his will.’ ⁸ Chastisement is death and the grave, but life is the resurrection from the grave and joy for ever and ever. ⁹ O Peter, (understand) this mystery, so that you may believe because of it that he shows compassion on those who believe and have received my body and my blood. ¹⁰ They will not go down a second time into Sheol in the belief of the devil and his demons. ¹¹ Do you understand this honor or do you have doubt in your heart and not believe in what I have told you?”

35¹ And I answered him, saying to him, “It is true. You have told me clearly and interpreted for me the word of David, the prophet. Indeed, his mercy is so abundant. ² I have enquired of you concerning the sinners who are like me, because my heart scrutinizes me when I think about it: that after the resurrection of the dead there will be a second death of sinners descending into Sheol. ³ Because of this, make this word known to me. I will believe and will not have any doubt.” ⁴ He answered me, saying to me, “But, again, do not forget that you should not tell this word to any people that you come upon, ⁵ but rather it should be secret so that they might not treat one another wickedly; nor say, ‘We have hope of being saved;’ nor do evil things

to their neighbor on account of the statement, 'Their sins will be forgiven them.' ⁶ As for you, you have wept and cried out and exhausted me exceedingly when you wet my feet with your tears. You have exhausted me completely with questions and requests. ⁷ I have informed you with clear understanding. Do not reveal this to anyone, except for notable people who have understanding, because this account is that same hidden mystery.

36¹ As for those who believe in me, they will each inherit in accordance with their rank." ² "The ranks of patriarchs (will sit on) the throne of the cherubim. The ranks of archbishops will sit on the throne of the seraphim. The bishops will sit on the throne of the (?)¹⁷. The archpriests will sit on the throne of the rulers. ³ The ranks of priests will sit on the throne of the powers. The ranks of readers will sit on the throne of the chiefs. The ranks of kings and princes will sit on the thrones of Enoch, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. ⁴ Everyone in accordance with their rank. ⁵ There are many dwellings, and he will establish a flock of angels and people. They will glorify his holy name in the company of spiritual beings.

⁶ In the presence of angels he will come in his glory. The dead will rise and, as it says, 'the first will be last, and the last will be first.' ⁷ Those who are in Christ will be first, and he will take them into the clouds as far as the air. They will be carried on the wings of the wind. ⁸ The heavens and the earth will glow. There will be no more sun and moon, and there will be no more winter and no summer. ⁹ (It will be) like it was in the beginning before everything was created. ¹⁰ And the offspring of Adam, who will be raised to life, will indeed receive the position and throne of the devil. And all the offspring will become the armies of angels instead of the armies of the devil. ¹¹ But God will seal the demons in Gehenna, which trembles, with their lord, the devil, (and) with all who have been their dwelling. ¹² Each of their families with them will be sealed in the abyss of Sheol, because they were enemies of Adam. ¹³ They wanted to bring him down into their death, that same Sheol. ¹⁴ He will establish the burning to ashes of the flock, and, after the burning to ashes of the flock of angels has happened, then there will by no means be only one God and only his name. ¹⁵ And he will reign for ever and ever, and there will be no end to his kingdom.

¹⁷ A word is missing here in both manuscripts.

37¹ Now then, listen, O my son Clement, all that my lord told me, I have revealed to you. ² Do not reveal it to foolish people who are not able to bear it and who do not know the explanation. For this account is a hidden mystery for those who will understand it. ³ First, I wrote your discourse concerning the affairs of the world, as I heard from the savior of the world. ⁴ Second, I informed you about the divinity of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. ⁵ Third, I explained to you the repentance of those who transgressed, so that they might repent and not transgress against their neighbor. ⁶ Fourth, I informed you about him granting me my request when I beseeched him at that time to open my heart.

⁶ Indeed, (we were) like a child who does not know good and evil before the Paraclete was sent to us. ⁷ At the time when the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, was sent, we knew everything that will come to pass in heaven and on earth in the knowledge of our hearts. ⁸ Indeed, he has bestowed upon us the Spirit of life, and we have become the children of God. We have heard our Father who is in heaven, because he loves us abundantly. ⁹ He who bestowed upon us the Spirit of life and true knowledge and the Spirit of wisdom and the understanding of God, the Word who descended from above, we have partaken of his body and his blood so that we might become his children and his brothers and sisters.

38¹ How great will be the honor that was graciously given to us from God if we do not reject our savior and if we know our place and our honor so that we do not forget the hope that is prepared for us, our reward, ² and do not become like an infant who begs his father to give him a bird; then when it is presented to him in his hand he is glad; then a little while later the bird flies out of his hand; then he is upset, because he did not know to safeguard it. ³ As for us, we should pursue and not abandon the righteousness that is prepared for us in heaven so that we might make a dwelling with the company of the holy ones and the heavenly beings, who glorify God and endure because of his counsel, so that we might enter into his city.

⁴ Guard this mystery. Put (it) into a box in a chest so that foolish people might not see it and say, 'Because such is our hope, let us do evil so that we might find the good (that) he has arranged for us on the last day;' ⁵ and might not carry out wickedness upon their neighbor; and might not kill a soul; and might not commit adultery [with the wife of a man]; and might not become false witnesses. ⁶ Indeed,

thereafter all deeds will be evil; good deeds will be idle. Mercy will prevail upon people, and even on murder likewise.

39¹ Let them pay honor to the celebration of the feast of the Nativity of Christ in the ninth month, in Koiak, that is to say Taḥśaś, on the twenty-fifth, according to the Hebrews, but, according to the Egyptians, in the fourth month, that is to say Taḥśaś, on the twenty-ninth, in accordance with the custom of the church.² Celebrate the feast of the Baptism in the tenth month, that is to say Tobi/Tərr, on the seventh, according to the Hebrews, but, according to the Egyptians, in the fifth month, that is to say Tərr, on the eleventh, in accordance with the custom of the church.³ Either in Mägabit or in Miyazya, in accordance with the custom of the church, celebrate the feast of the Ascension of (Christ)¹⁸ to his Father in glory.⁴ In accordance with the custom of the church, celebrate, at the end of fifty (days), the feast of the Descent of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles.⁵ Celebrate a feast on the seventh day after the fifty, and afterwards fast, children of the church.

⁶ Let them rest on the Circumcision of our Lord in the month of Tobi, that is to say Tərr, on the seventh in the fifth month, according to the Egyptians.⁷ Let them rest on the feast of Simeon on the eleventh in the eleventh month, according to the Hebrews, but, according to the Egyptians, in the sixth month, that is to say Yäkatit, on the twenty-eighth.⁸ Let them rest at the time when the angel announced to Mary on the twenty-ninth of the month of Mägabit, that is to say Phamenoth, among the Hebrews, but, among the Egyptians, on the twenty-ninth of the seventh month, that is to say Mägabit.⁹ Let them rest on the Passion of our Lord on the seventh day in great sadness on account of our savior, who was crucified, but also joy on account of our Lord, who came. Celebrate a feast on the eighth day after the Passion.¹⁰ Let them rest on the seventh of the fifth month, that is to say Mesori, among the Hebrews, at the time when his appearance was transfigured on Mount Tabor, (but), according to the Egyptians, on the thirteenth, that is to say Nāḥase.¹¹ Let them rest on the feast of martyrs, disciples, and apostles of our Lord, each feast of their death. Let them rest on the feast of Stephen on the fifteenth of the month of Mäskäräm.¹² Let them rest on the forty soldiers on the thirteenth of

¹⁸ The manuscripts use only the relative pronoun after the preposition.

the month of Mägabıt. Let them rest on the birth of our Lady Mary on the first of Gənbot.

¹³ Let them rest on the twenty-first in the month of Säne. Let them rest on the seventeenth of the month of Nāhase. Let them rest on the twenty-first of the month of Tərr. ¹⁴ Let them rest on the twelfth of the month Hədar on the feast of Michael, and on the twelfth of the month of Säne. Let them rest on the twelfth of the month Nāhase. ¹⁵ Let them rest on the four animals on the eighth of Hədar. Let them rest on the priests of heaven on the twenty-fourth of Hədar. Let them rest on the nine supplications. ¹⁶ As our fathers instituted, celebrate both the days of the Sabbath and Sunday accurately. Peter and Paul commanded us and instructed the children of the church: in the week, there are two, the Sabbath day and the first day. ¹⁷ Let them do no work. Let that man die when he has violated it. Let him be destroyed. ¹⁸ We have commanded in this way for the obedience of the Scriptures with regard to the conduct of the church. Observe this thing (that) I have told you.

40¹ Let this account be secret with regard to those who do not have knowledge, so that they do not become transgressors and ones who are deceived by the hope of the mercy of God. ² Do not reveal (it), except to the patriarchs and priests, to those who have knowledge and understanding, who expound the Scriptures, which are hidden and clear, which are concealed and revealed. ³ Do not proclaim that which you know, which you have found, but hide and bind it in a chest. ⁴ Do not let foolish people see what I have told you, what you have inquired of me. I have made known to you what you have asked me.”

⁵ Our savior, Christ, spoke to Peter, his disciple. And Peter likewise revealed to his disciple, Clement. ⁶ And he made known to him the account of the mystery so that he might not reveal it but frighten them with the judgment of burning fire so that they will repent from their sin.

⁷ “Listen, O my son Clement, I am telling you my truth. Glory to the friend of people for ever and ever. Amen.”

XVI. Ṭānāsee/EMML Microfilm Correspondences: An Overview

TED M. ERHO AND DANIEL C. MAIER

Between 30 October and 11 December 1968, Ernst Hammerschmidt microfilmed 179 manuscripts at the monasteries and churches of Kebrān Gabre'el, Dabra Māryām, Rēmā Madḥanē Ālam, Dāgā Estifānos, and Q^warātā Walatta Pētros at Lake Ṭānā in northwestern Ethiopia, included among which was the second recorded copy of the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter* (Ṭānāsee 35). A second microfilming campaign in the Lake Ṭānā area, covering a wider array of ecclesiastical collections and codices, was undertaken in the 1980s by the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, and this project naturally included some items previously treated by Hammerschmidt, such as the aforementioned codex containing the *Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter* (EMML 8294). Due to the often poor quality of these sets of microfilms wherein parts of images are frequently illegible, this duplication has proven fortunate as use of both surrogate copies of a single manuscript generally allows for more text to be accurately and clearly read and transcribed. In some instances, moreover, changes in state of a manuscript or errors in the microfilming process also mean that one microfilm provides access to material unavailable via its counterpart. Over the past several years, independent copies of more than half of the codices microfilmed by Hammerschmidt have been identified within the EMML collection. These overlaps are listed in the table below in order to help facilitate the better scholarly use of these materials.

Ṭānāsee	EMML	Ṭānāsee	EMML	Ṭānāsee	EMML
1	8308	42	8306	115	8734
2	7603	43	8277	119	8719
4	8274	44	8266	122	8352
7	8287	45	8273	125	8354
8	8594	46	8319	126	8695
9	8292	47	8600	127	8694
10	8268	48	8612	128	8364
11	8598	49	8312	131	8367
12	8290	50	8303	132	8369
13	8632	51	8316	134	8370
15	8322	52	8299	137	8368
16	7605	53	8321	139	8377
17	8607	54	8320	140	8412
18	8275	55	8311	141	8378
21	8307	56	8283	142	8382
22	8278	58	8282	144	8754
24	8603	59	8645	145	8425
25	8309	60	8636	148	8394
26	8262	62	8613	151	8748
27	8677	63	8631	153	8420
28	8635	65	8657	156	8755
29	8293	66	8623	161	8404
30	8276	68	8640	162	8372
32	8295	72	8621	172	8384
34	8676	73	8610	173	8399
35	8294	77	8597	175	8753
36	8298	86	8659	176	8413
37	7596	113	8699	177	8744
39	8291	114	8709	179	8438
41	8606				

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Apocalypse of Peter

The Apocalypse of Peter

From "The Apocryphal New Testament"
M.R. James-Translation and Notes
Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924

Introduction

We have not a pure and complete text of this book, which ranked next in popularity and probably also in date to the Canonical Apocalypse of St. John.

We have, first, certain quotations made by writers of the first four centuries.

Next, a fragment in Greek, called the Akhmim fragment, found with the Passion-fragment of the Gospel of Peter in a manuscript known as the Gizeh MS. (discovered in a tomb) now at Cairo. This is undoubtedly drawn from the Apocalypse of Peter: but my present belief is that, like the Passion fragment (see p. 90), it is part of the Gospel of Peter, which was a slightly later book than the Apocalypse and quoted it almost in extenso. There is also in the Bodleian Library a mutilated leaf of a very tiny Greek MS. of the fifth century which supplies a few lines of what I take to be the original Greek text.

Thirdly, an Ethiopic version contained in one of the numerous forms of the books of Clement, a writing current in Arabic and Ethiopic purporting to contain revelations of the history of the world from the Creation, of the last times, and of guidance for the churches - dictated by Peter to Clement. The version of the Apocalypse contained in this has some extraneous matter at the beginning and the end; but, as I have tried to show in a series of articles in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (1910-11) and the *Church Quarterly Review* (1915), it affords the best general idea of the contents of the whole book which we have. The second book of the Sibylline Oracles contains (in Greek hexameters) a paraphrase of a great part of the Apocalypse: and its influence can be traced in many early writings - the Acts of Thomas (55-57), the Martyrdom of Perpetua, the so-called Second Epistle of Clement, and, as I think, the Shepherd of Hermas: as well as in the Apocalypse of Paul and many later visions.

The length of the book is given in the Stichometry of Nicephorus as 300 lines and in that of the Codex Claromontanus (D of the Epistle) as 270: the latter is a Latin list of the Biblical books; already cited for the Acts of Paul.

There is no mention of it in the Gelasian Decree, which is curious. At one time it was popular in Rome for the Muratorian Canon mentions it (late in the second century?) along with the Apocalypse of John though it adds, that 'some will not have it read in the church.' The fifth-century church historian Sozomen (vii. 19) says that to his knowledge it was still read annually in some churches in Palestine on Good Friday.

A translation of the ancient quotations shall be given first.

Texts of the Apocalypse of Peter

A.

1. From Clement of Alexandria's so-called Prophetical Extracts, a series of detached sentences excerpted from some larger work, generally supposed to be his Hypotyposes or Outlines:

- a. (41.1) The Scripture saith that the children which have been exposed (by their parents) are delivered to a care-taking angel by whom they are educated, and made to grow up, and they shall be, it saith, as the faithful of an hundred years old are here (in this life).
- b. (41. 2) Wherefore also Peter in the Apocalypse saith: And a flash (lightning) of fire leaping from those children and smiting the eyes of the women.

2. Ibid. (48 . 1) The providence of God doth not light upon them only that are in the flesh. For example, Peter in the Apocalypse saith that the children born out of due time (abortively) that would have been of the better part (i. e. would have been saved if they had lived) -these are delivered to a care-taking angel, that they may partake of knowledge and obtain the better abode, having suffered what they would have suffered had they been in the body. But the others (i.e. those who would not have been saved, had they lived) shall only obtain salvation, as beings that have been injured and had mercy shown to them, and shall continue without torment, receiving that as a reward.

But the milk of the mothers, flowing from their breasts and congealing, saith Peter in the Apocalypse, shall engender small beasts (snakes) devouring the flesh, and these running upon them devour them: teaching that the torments come to pass because of the sins (correspond to the sins).

3. From the Symposium (ii.6) of Methodius of Olympus (third century). He does not name his source. Whence also we have received in inspired writings that children born untimely -even if they be the offspring of adultery- are delivered to care-taking angels. For if they had come into being contrary to the will and ordinance of that blessed nature of God, how could they have been delivered to angels to be nourished up in all repose and tranquillity? And how could they have confidently summoned their parents before the judgement seat of Christ to accuse them? saying: Thou, O Lord, didst not begrudge us this light that is common to all, but these exposed us to death,

contemning thy commandment.

The word rendered care-taking in these passages is a very rare one- [temelouchos, Gr.]: so rare that it was mistaken by later readers for the proper name of an angel, and we find an angel Temeluchus in Paul, John, and elsewhere. A similar case is that of the word Tartaruchus, keeper of hell, which is applied to angels in our Apocalypse, and is also taken in the Ethiopic version, in Paul, and in other writings, to be a proper name.

4. From the Apocritica of Macarius Magnes (fourth century) of whom we know little. His book consists of extracts from a heathen opponent's attack on Christianity (Porphyry and Hierocles are named as possible authors of it) and his own answers. The heathen writer says (iv. 6, 7):

And by way of superfluity let this also be cited which is said in the Apocalypse of Peter. He introduces the Heaven, to be judged along with the earth, thus: The earth, he says, shall present all men to God to be judged in the day of judgement being itself also to be judged along with the heaven that encompasseth it.

5. Ibid. And this again he says, which is a statement full of impiety: And every power of heaven shall be melted, and the heaven shall be rolled up like a book, and all the stars shall fall like leaves from the vine, and as the leaves from the fig-tree.

This very nearly coincides with Isa. xxxiv.4, and does not occur in our other texts of the Apocalypse.

6. In an old Latin homily on the Ten Virgins found and published by Dom Wilmart (*Bulletin d'anc. litt. et d'arche'ol. chre't.*) is this sentence:

The closed door is the river of fire by which the ungodly shall be kept out of the kingdom of God, as is written in Daniel and in Peter, in his Apocalypse.... That company of the foolish also shall arise and find the door shut, that is, the fiery river set against them.

The equivalent of all the above quotations is found in the Ethiopic text, with one exception, no. 5. The Akhmim text only contains Something like no. 1 b: one indication out of many that it is a shortened and, I would say, secondary text.

B.

THE AKHMIM FRAGMENT

I should prefer to call this Fragment II of the Gospel of Peter. It begins abruptly in a discourse of our Lord.

1 Many of them shall be false prophets, and shall teach ways and diverse doctrines of perdition. 2 And they shall become sons of perdition. 3 And then shall God come unto my faithful ones that hunger and thirst and are afflicted and prove their souls in this life, and shall judge the sons of iniquity.

4 And the Lord added and said: Let us go unto the mountain (and) pray. 5 And going with him, we the twelve disciples besought him that he would show us one of our righteous brethren that had departed out of the world, that we might see what manner of men they are in their form, and take courage, and encourage also the men that should hear us.

6 And as we prayed, suddenly there appeared two men standing before the Lord (perhaps add, to the east) upon whom we were not able to look. 7 For there issued from their countenance a ray as of the sun, and their raiment was shining so as the eye of man never saw the like: for no mouth is able to declare nor heart to conceive the glory wherewith they were clad and the beauty of their countenance. 8 Whom when we saw we were astonished, for their bodies were whiter than any snow and redder than any rose. 9 And the redness of them was mingled with the whiteness, and, in a word, I am not able to declare their beauty. 10 For their hair was curling and flourishing (flowery), and fell comely about their countenance and their shoulders like a garland woven of nard and various flowers, or like a rainbow in the air: such was their comeliness.

11 We, then, seeing the beauty of them were astonished at them, for they appeared suddenly. 12 And I drew near to the Lord and said: Who are these? 13 He saith to me: These are your (our) righteous brethren whose appearance ye did desire to see. 14 And I said unto him: And where are all the righteous? or of what sort is the world wherein they are, and possess this glory? 15 And the Lord showed me a very great region outside this world exceeding bright with light, and the air of that place illuminated with the beams of the sun, and the earth of itself flowering with blossoms that fade not, and full of spices and plants, fair-flowering and incorruptible, and bearing blessed fruit. 16 And so great was the blossom that the odour thereof was borne thence even unto us.

17 And the dwellers in that place were clad with the raiment of shining angels, and their raiment was like unto their land.

18 And angels ran round about them there. 19 And the glory of them that dwelt there was all equal, and with one voice they praised the Lord God, rejoicing in that place.

20 The Lord saith unto us: This is the place of your leaders (or, high priests), the righteous men.

21 And I saw also another place over against that one, very squalid; and it was a place of punishment, and they that were punished and the angels that punished them had their raiment dark, according to the air of the place. 22 And some there were there hanging by their tongues; and these were they that blasphemed the way of righteousness, and under them was laid fire flaming and tormenting them.

23 And there was a great lake full of flaming mire, wherein were certain men that turned away from righteousness; and angels, tormentors, were set over them.

24 And there were also others, women, hanged by their hair above that mire which boiled up; and these were they that adorned themselves for adultery.

And the men that were joined with them in the defilement of adultery were hanging by their feet, and had their heads hidden in the mire, and said: We believed not that we should come unto this place.

25 And I saw the murderers and them that were consenting to them cast into a strait place full of evil, creeping things, and smitten by those beasts, and so turning themselves about in that torment. And upon them were set worms like clouds of darkness. And the souls of them that were murdered stood and looked upon the torment of those murderers and said: O God, righteous is thy judgement.

26 And hard by that place I saw another strait place wherein the discharge and the stench of them that were in torment ran down, and there was as it were a lake there. And there sat women up to their necks in that liquor, and over against them many children which were born out of due time sat crying: and from them went forth rays of fire and smote the women in the eyes: and these were they that conceived out of wedlock (?) and caused abortion.

27 And other men and women were being burned up to their middle and cast down in a dark place and scourged by evil spirits, and having their entrails devoured by worms that rested not. And these were they that had persecuted the righteous and delivered them up.

28 And near to them again were women and men gnawing their lips and in torment, and having iron heated in the fire set against their eyes. And these were they that did blaspheme and speak evil of the way of righteousness.

29 And over against these were yet others, men and women, gnawing their tongues and having flaming fire in their mouths. And these were the false witnesses.

30 And in another place were gravel-stones sharper than swords or any spit, heated with fire, and men and women clad in filthy rags rolled upon them in torment. [This is suggested by the LXX of two passages in Job: xli. 30, his bed is of sharp spits; viii. 17, on an heap of stones doth he rest, and shall live in the midst of gravel-stones.] And these were they that were rich and trusted in their riches, and had no pity upon orphans and widows but neglected the commandments of God.

31 And in another great lake full of foul matter (pus) and blood and boiling mire stood men and women up to their knees And these were they that lent money and demanded usury upon usury.

32 And other men and women being cast down from a great rock (precipice) fell (came) to the bottom, and again were driven by them that were set over them, to go up upon the rock, and thence were cast down to the bottom and had no rest from this torment. And these were they that did defile their bodies behaving as women: and the women that were with them were they that lay with one another as a man with a woman.

33 And beside that rock was a place full of much fire, and there stood men which with their own hands had made images for themselves instead of God, [And beside them other men and women] having rods of fire and smiting one another and never resting from this manner of torment....

34 And yet others near unto them, men and women, burning and turning themselves about and roasted as in a pan. And these were they that forsook the way of God.

THE BODLEIAN LEAF

It measures but 2 3/4 by 2 inches and has 13 lines of 8 to 10 letters on each side (Madan's Summary Catalogue, No. 31810). The verso (second page) is difficult to read.

Recto=Gr. 33, 34: women holding chains and scourging themselves before those idols of deceit. And they shall unceasingly have this torment. And near

Verso: them shall be other men and women burning in the burning of them that were mad after idols. And these are they which forsook the way of God wholly (?) and . . .

THE ETHIOPIC TEXT

First published by the Abbe Sylvain Grebaut in *Revue de l'Orient Chretien*, 1910: a fresh translation from his Ethiopic text by H. Duensing appeared in *Zeitschr. f. ntl. Wiss.*, 1913.

The Second Coming of Christ and Resurrection of the Dead (which Christ revealed unto Peter) who died because of their sins, for that they kept not the commandment of God their creator.

And he (Peter) pondered thereon, that he might perceive the mystery of the Son of God, the merciful and lover of mercy.

And when the Lord was seated upon the Mount of Olives, his disciples came unto him.

And we besought and entreated him severally and prayed him, saying unto him: Declare unto us what are the signs of thy coming and of the end of the world, that we may perceive and mark the time of thy coming and instruct them that come after us, unto whom we preach the word of thy gospel, and whom we set over (in) thy church, that they when they hear it may take heed to themselves and mark the time of thy coming.

And our Lord answered us, saying: Take heed that no man deceive you, and that ye be not doubters and serve other gods. Many shall come in my name, saying: I am the Christ. Believe them not, neither draw near unto them. For the coming of the Son of God shall not be plain (i.e. foreseen); but as the lightning that shineth from the east unto the west, so will I come upon the clouds of heaven with a

great host in my majesty; with my cross going before my face will I come in my majesty, shining sevenfold more than the sun will I come in my majesty with all my saints, mine angels (mine holy angels). And my Father shall set a crown upon mine head, that I may judge the quick and the dead and recompense every man according to his works.

And ye, take ye the likeness thereof (learn a parable) from the fig-tree: so soon as the shoot thereof is come forth and the twigs grown, the end of the world shall come.

And I, Peter, answered and said unto him: Interpret unto me concerning the fig-tree, whereby we shall perceive it; for throughout all its days doth the fig-tree send forth shoots, and every year it bringeth forth its fruit for its master. What then meaneth the parable of the fig-tree? We know it not.

And the Master (Lord) answered and said unto me: Understandest thou not that the fig-tree is the house of Israel? Even as a man that planted a fig-tree in his garden, and it brought forth no fruit. And he sought the fruit thereof many years and when he found it not, he said to the keeper of his garden: Root up this fig-tree that it make not our ground to be unfruitful. And the gardener said unto God: (Suffer us) to rid it of weeds and dig the ground round about it and water it. If then it bear not fruit, we will straightway remove its roots out of the garden and plant another in place of it. Hast thou not understood that the fig-tree is the house of Israel? Verily I say unto thee, when the twigs thereof have sprouted forth in the last days, then shall feigned Christs come and awake expectation saying: I am the Christ, that am now come into the world. And when they (Israel) shall perceive the wickedness of their deeds they shall turn away after them and deny him [whom our fathers did praise], even the first Christ whom they crucified and therein sinned a great sin. But this deceiver is not the Christ. [something is wrong here: the sense required is that Israel perceives the wickedness of antichrist and does not follow him.] And when they reject him he shall slay with the sword, and there shall be many martyrs. Then shall the twigs of the fig-tree, that is, the house of Israel, shoot forth: many shall become martyrs at his hand. Enoch and Elias shall be sent to teach them that this is the deceiver which must come into the world and do signs and wonders to deceive. And therefore shall they that die by his hand be martyrs, and shall be reckoned among the good and righteous martyrs who have pleased God in their life. [Hermas, Vision III.i.9, speaks of 'those that have already been well-pleasing unto God and have suffered for the Name's sake'.]

And he showed me in his right hand the souls of all men, And on the palm of his right hand the image of that which shall be accomplished at the last day: and how the righteous and the sinners shall be separated, and how they do that are upright in heart, and how the evil-doers shall be rooted out unto all eternity. We beheld how the sinners wept (weep) in great affliction and sorrow, until all that saw it with their eyes wept, whether righteous or angels, and he himself also.

And I asked him and said unto him: Lord, suffer me to speak thy word concerning the sinners: It were better for them if they had not been created. And the Saviour answered and said unto me: Peter, wherefore speakest thou thus, that not to have been created were better for them? Thou resistest God. Thou wouldest not have more compassion than he for his image: for he hath created them and brought them forth out of not being. Now because thou hast seen the lamentation which shall come upon the sinners in the last days, therefore is thine heart troubled; but I will show thee their works, whereby they have sinned against the Most High.

Behold now what shall come upon them in the last days, when the day of God and the day of the decision of the judgement of God cometh. From the east unto the west shall all the children of men be gathered together before my Father that liveth for ever. And he shall command hell to open its bars of adamant and give up all that is therein.

And the wild beasts and the fowls shall he command to restore all the flesh that they have devoured, because he willeth that men should appear; for nothing perisheth before God, and nothing is impossible with him, because all things are his.

For all things come to pass on the day of decision, on the day of judgement, at the word of God: and as all things were done when he created the world and commanded all that is therein and it was done -even so shall it be in the last days; for all things are possible with God. And therefore saith he in the scripture: [Ezek. xxxvii.] Son of man, prophesy upon the several bones and say unto the bones: bone unto bone in joints, sinew. nerves, flesh and skin and hair thereon [and soul and spirit].

And soul and spirit shall the great Uriel give them at the commandment of God; for him hath God set over the rising again of the dead at the day of judgement.

Behold and consider the corns of wheat that are sown in the earth. As things dry and without soul do men sow them in the earth: and they live again and bear fruit, and the earth restoreth them as a pledge entrusted unto it.

[And this that dieth, that is sown as seed in the earth, and shall become alive and be restored unto life, is man. Probably a gloss.]

How much more shall God raise up on the day of decision them that believe in him and are chosen of him, for whose sake he made the world? And all things shall the earth restore on the day of decision, for it also shall be judged with them, and the heaven with it.

And this shall come at the day of judgement upon them that have fallen away from faith in God and that have committed sin: Floods (cataracts) of fire shall be let loose; and darkness and obscurity shall come up and clothe and veil the whole world and the waters shall be changed and turned into coals of fire and all that is in them shall burn, and the sea shall become fire. Under the heaven shall be a sharp fire that cannot be quenched and floweth to fulfil the judgement of wrath. And the stars shall fly in pieces by flames of fire, as if they had not been created and the powers (firmaments) of the heaven shall pass away for lack of water and shall be as though they had not been. And the lightnings of heaven shall be no more, and by their enchantment they shall affright the world (probably: The heaven shall turn to lightning and the lightnings thereof shall affright the world. The spirits also of the dead bodies shall be like unto them (the lightnings?) and shall become fire at the commandment of God.

And so soon as the whole creation dissolveth, the men that are in the east shall flee unto the west, unto the east; they that are in the south shall flee to the north, and they that are in the south. And in all places shall the wrath of a fearful fire overtake them and an unquenchable flame driving them shall bring them unto the judgement of wrath, unto the stream of unquenchable fire that floweth, flaming with fire, and when the waves thereof part themselves one from another, burning, there shall be a great gnashing of teeth among the children of men.

Then shall they all behold me coming upon an eternal cloud of brightness: and the angels of God that are with me shall sit (prob. And I shall sit) upon the throne of my glory at the right hand of my Heavenly Father; and he shall set a crown upon mine head. And when the nations behold it, they shall weep, every nation apart.

Then shall he command them to enter into the river of fire while the works of every one of them shall stand before them (something is wanting) to every man according to his deeds. As for the elect that have done good, they shall come unto me and not see death by the devouring fire. But the unrighteous the sinners, and the hypocrites shall stand in the depths of darkness that shall not pass away, and their chastisement is the fire, and angels bring forward their sins and prepare for them a place wherein they shall be punished for ever (every one according to his transgression).

Uriel (Urael) the angel of God shall bring forth the souls of those sinners (every one according to his transgression: perhaps this clause should end the preceding paragraph: so Grebaut takes it) who perished in the flood, and of all that dwelt in all idols, in every molten image, in every (object of) love, and in pictures, and of those that dwelt on all hills and in stones and by the wayside, whom men called gods: they shall burn them with them (the objects in which they dwelt, or their worshippers?) in everlasting fire; and after that all of them with their dwelling places are destroyed, they shall be punished eternally.

(Here begins the description of torments which we have, in another text, in the Akhmim fragment.)

Then shall men and women come unto the place prepared for them. By their tongues wherewith they have blasphemed the way of righteousness shall they be hanged up. There is spread under them unquenchable fire, that they escape it not.

Behold, another place: therein is a pit, great and full (of . . .) In it are they that have denied righteousness: and angels of punishment chastise them and there do they kindle upon them the fire of their torment.

And again behold [two: corrupt] women: they hang them up by their neck and by their hair; they shall cast them into the pit. These are they which plaited their hair, not for good (or, not to make them beautiful) but to turn them to fornication, that they might ensnare the souls of men unto perdition. And the men that lay with them in fornication shall be hung by their loins in that place of fire; and they shall say one to another: We knew not that we should come unto everlasting punishment.

And the murderers and them that have made common cause with them shall they cast into the fire, in a place full of venomous beasts, and they shall be tormented without rest, feeling their pains; and their worms shall be as many in number as a dark cloud. And the angel Ezrael shall bring forth the souls of them that have been slain, and they shall behold the torment of them that slew them, and say one to another: Righteousness and justice is the judgement of God. For we heard, but we believed not, that we should come into this place of eternal judgement.

And near by this flame shall be a pit, great and very deep, and into it floweth from above all manner of torment, foulness, and issue. And women are swallowed up therein up to their necks and tormented with great pain. These are they that have caused their children to be born untimely, and have corrupted the work of God that created them. Over against them shall be another place where sit their children [both] alive, and they cry unto God. And flashes (lightnings) go forth from those children and pierce the eyes of them that for fornication's sake have caused their destruction.

Other men and women shall stand above them, naked; and their children stand over against them in a place of delight, and sigh and cry unto God because of their parents, saying: These are they that have despised and cursed and transgressed thy commandments and delivered us unto death: they have cursed the angel that formed us, and have hanged us up, and withheld from us (or, begrudged us) the light which thou hast given unto all creatures. And the milk of their mothers flowing from their breasts shall congeal, and from it shall come beasts devouring flesh, which shall come forth and turn and torment them for ever with their husbands, because they forsook the commandments of God and slew their children. As for their children, they shall be delivered unto the angel Temlakos (i.e. a care-taking angel: see above, in the Fragments). And they that slew them shall be tormented eternally, for God willeth it so.

Ezrael the angel of wrath shall bring men and women, the half of their bodies burning, and cast them into a place of darkness, even the hell of men; and a spirit of wrath shall chastise them with all manner of torment, and a worm that sleepeth not shall devour their entrails: and these are the persecutors and betrayers of my righteous ones.

And beside them that are there, shall be other men and women, gnawing their tongues; and they shall torment them with red-hot iron and burn their eyes. These are they that slander and doubt of my righteousness. Other men and women whose works were done in deceitfulness shall have their lips cut off, and fire entereth into their mouth and their entrails. These are the false witnesses (al. these are they that caused the martyrs to die by their lying).

And beside them, in a place near at hand, upon the stone shall be a pillar of fire, and the pillar is sharper than swords. And there shall be men and women clad in rags and filthy garments, and they shall be cast thereon, to suffer the judgement of a torment that ceaseth not: these are they that trusted in their riches and despised the widows and the woman with fatherless children . . . before God.

And into another place hard by, full of filth, do they cast men and women up to the knees. These are they that lent money and took usury.

And other men and women cast themselves down from an high place and return again and run, and devils drive them. [These are the worshippers of idols] and they put them to the end of their witst (drive them up to the top of the height) and they cast themselves down. And thus do they continually, and are tormented for ever. These are they which have cut their flesh as [apostles] of a man: and the women that were with them . . . and these are the men that defiled themselves together as women. (This is very corrupt: but the sense is clear in the (Greek).)

And beside them (shall be a brazier ?) . . . and beneath them shall the angel Ezrael prepare a place of much fire: and all the idols of gold and silver, all idols, the work of men's hands, and the semblances of images of cats and lions, of creeping things and wild beasts,

and the men and women that have prepared the images thereof, shall be in chains of fire and shall be chastised because of their error before the idols, and this is their judgement for ever. (In the Greek they beat each other with rods of fire: and this is better.)

And beside them shall be other men and women, burning in the fire of the judgement, and their torment is everlasting. These are they that have forsaken the commandment of God and followed the (persuasions ?) of devils.

(Parts of these two sections are in the Bodleian Fragment. At this point the Akhmim fragment ends. The Ethiopic continues :)

And there shall be another place, very high (corrupt sentences follow. Duensing omits them: Grebaut renders doubtfully: There shall be a furnace and a brazier wherein shall burn fire. The fire that shall burn shall come from one end of the brazier). The men and women whose feet slip, shall go rolling down into a place where is fear. And again while the fire that is prepared floweth, they mount up and fall down again and continue to roll down. (This suggests a narrow bridge over a stream of fire which they keep trying to cross.) Thus shall they be tormented for ever. These are they that honoured not their father and mother and of their own accord withheld (withdrew) themselves from them. Therefore shall they be chastised eternally.

Furthermore the angel Ezrael shall bring children and maidens to show them those that are tormented. They shall be chastised with pains, with hanging up (?) and with a multitude of wounds which flesh-devouring birds shall inflict upon them. These are they that boast themselves (trust) in their sins, and obey not their parents and follow not the instruction of their fathers, and honour not them that are more aged than they.

Beside them shall be girls clad in darkness for a garment and they shall be sore chastised and their flesh shall be torn in pieces. These are they that kept not their virginity until they were given in marriage, and with these torments shall they be punished, and shall feel them.

And again, other men and women, gnawing their tongues without ceasing, and being tormented with everlasting fire. These are the servants (slaves) which were not obedient unto their masters; and this then is their judgement for ever.

And hard by this place of torment shall be men and women dumb and blind, whose raiment is white. They shall crowd one upon another, and fall upon coals of unquenchable fire. These are they that give alms and say: We are righteous before God: whereas they have not sought after righteousness.

Ezrael the angel of God shall bring them forth out of this fire and establish a judgement of decision. This then is their judgement. A river of fire shall flow and all judgement (they that are judged) shall be drawn down into the middle of the river. And Uriel shall set them there.

And there are wheels of fire and men and women hung thereon by the strength of the whirling thereof. And they that are in the pit shall burn: now these are the sorcerers and sorceresses. Those wheels shall be in a]l decision (judgement, punishment) by fire without number.

Thereafter shall the angels bring mine elect and righteous which are perfect in all uprightness, and bear them in their hands, and clothe them with the raiment of the life that is above. They shall see their desire on them that hated them, when he punisheth them, and the torment of every one shall be for ever according to his works.

And all they that are in torment shall say with one voice: have mercy upon us, for now know we the judgement of God, which he declared unto us aforetime, and we believed not. And the angel Tatiros (Tartaruchus, keeper of hell: a word corresponding in formation to Temeluchus) shall come and chastise them with yet greater torment, and say unto them: Now do ye repent, when it is no longer the time for repentance, and nought of life remaineth. And they shall say: Righteous is the judgement of God, for we have heard and perceived that his judgement is good; for we are recompensed according to our deeds.

Then will I give unto mine elect and righteous the washing (baptism) and the salvation for which they have besought me, in the field of Akrosja (Acherousia, a lake in other writings, e.g. Apocalypse of Moses -where the soul of Adam is washed in it: see also Paul 22, 23) which is called Aneslasleja (Elysium). They shall adorn with flowers the portion of the righteous, and I shall go . . . I shall rejoice with them. I will cause the peoples to enter in to mine everlasting kingdom, and show them that eternal thing (life ?) whereon I have made them to set their hope, even I and my Father which is in heaven.

I have spoken this unto thee, Peter, and declared it unto thee. Go forth therefore and go unto the land (or city) of the west. (Duensing omits the next sentences as unintelligible; Grebaut and N. McLean render thus: and enter into the vineyard which I shall tell thee of, in order that by the sickness (sufferings) of the Son who is without sin the deeds of corruption may be sanctified. As for thee, thou art chosen according to the promise which I have given thee. Spread thou therefore my gospel throughout all the world in peace. Verily men shall rejoice: my words shall be the source of hope and of life, and suddenly shall the world be ravished.)

(We now have the section descriptive of paradise, which in the Akhmim text precedes that about hell.)

And my Lord Jesus Christ our King said unto me: Let us go unto the holy mountain. And his disciples went with him, praying. And behold there were two men there, and we could not look upon their faces, for a light came from them, shining more than the sun, and their raiment also was shining, and cannot be described, and nothing is sufficient to be compared unto them in this world. And the sweetness of them . . . that no mouth is able to utter the beauty of their appearance (or, the mouth hath not sweetness to express, &c.), for their aspect was astonishing and wonderful. And the other, great, I say (probably: and, in a word, I cannot describe it), shineth in his (sic) aspect above crystal. Like the flower of roses is the appearance of the colour of his aspect and of his body . . . his head (al. their head was a marvel). And upon his (their) shoulders (evidently something about their hair has dropped out) and on their foreheads was a crown of nard woven of fair flowers. As the rainbow in the water, [Probably: in the time of rain. From the LXX of Ezek.i.28.] so was their hair. And such was the comeliness of their countenance, adorned with all manner of ornament. And when we saw them on a sudden, we marvelled. And I drew near unto the Lord (God) Jesus Christ and said unto him: O my Lord, who are these? And he said unto me: They are Moses and Elias. And I said unto him: Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and the rest of the righteous fathers? And he showed us a great garden, open, full of fair trees and blessed fruits, and of the odour of perfumes. The fragrance thereof was pleasant

and came even unto us. And thereof (al. of that tree) . . . saw I much fruit. And my Lord and God Jesus Christ said unto me: Hast thou seen the companies of the fathers?

As is their rest, such also is the honour and the glory of them that are persecuted for my righteousness' sake. And I rejoiced and believed [and believed] and understood that which is written in the book of my Lord Jesus Christ. And I said unto him: O my Lord, wilt thou that I make here three tabernacles, one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias? And he said unto me in wrath: Satan maketh war against thee, and hath veiled thine understanding; and the good things of this world prevail against thee. Thine eyes therefore must be opened and thine ears unstopped that a tabernacle, not made with men's hands, which my heavenly Father hath made for me and for the elect. And we beheld it and were full of gladness.

And behold, suddenly there came a voice from heaven, saying: This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased: my commandments. And then came a great and exceeding white cloud over our heads and bare away our Lord and Moses and Elias. And I trembled and was afraid: and we looked up and the heaven opened and we beheld men in the flesh, and they came and greeted our Lord and Moses and Elias and went into another heaven. And the word of the scripture was fulfilled: This is the generation that seeketh him and seeketh the face of the God of Jacob. And great fear and commotion was there in heaven and the angels pressed one upon another that the word of the scripture might be fulfilled which saith: Open the gates, ye princes.

Thereafter was the heaven shut, that had been open.

And we prayed and went down from the mountain, glorifying God, which hath written the names of the righteous in heaven in the book of life.

There is a great deal more of the Ethiopic text, but it is very evidently of later date; the next words are:

'Peter opened his mouth and said to me: Hearken, my son Clement, God created all things for his glory,' and this proposition is dwelt upon. The glory of those who duly praise God is described in terms borrowed from the Apocalypse: 'The Son at his coming will raise the dead . . . and will make my righteous ones shine seven times more than the sun, and will make their crowns shine like crystal and like the rainbow in the time of rain (crowns) which are perfumed with nard and cannot be contemplated (adorned) with rubies, with the colour of emeralds shining brightly, with topazes, gems, and yellow pearls that shine like the stars of heaven, and like the rays of the sun, sparkling which cannot be gazed upon.' Again, of the angels: 'Their faces shine more than the sun; their crowns are as the rainbow in the time of rain. (They are perfumed) with nard. Their eyes shine like the morning star. The beauty of their appearance cannot be expressed.... Their raiment is not woven, but white as that of the fuller, according as I saw on the mountain where Moses and Elias were. Our Lord showed at the transfiguration the apparel of the last days, of the day of resurrection, unto Peter, James and John the sons of Zebedee, and a bright cloud overshadowed us, and we heard the voice of the Father saying unto us: This is my Son whom I love and in whom I am well pleased: hear him. And being afraid we forgot all the things of this life and of the flesh, and knew not what we said because of the greatness of the wonder of that day, and of the mountain whereon he showed us the second coming in the kingdom that passeth not away.'

Next: 'The Father hath committed all judgement unto the Son.' The destiny of sinners -their eternal doom- is more than Peter can endure: he appeals to Christ to have pity on them.

And my Lord answered me and said to me: 'Hast thou understood that which I said unto thee before? It is permitted unto thee to know that concerning which thou askest: but thou must not tell that which thou hearest unto the sinners lest they transgress the more, and sin.' Peter weeps many hours, and is at last consoled by an answer which, though exceedingly diffuse and vague does seem to promise ultimate pardon for all: 'My Father will give unto them all the life, the glory, and the kingdom that passeth not away,' . . . 'It is because of them that have believed in me that I am come. It is also because of them that have believed in me, that, at their word, I shall have pity on men.' The doctrine that sinners will be saved at last by the prayers of the righteous is, rather obscurely, enunciated in the Second Book of the Sibylline Oracles (a paraphrase, in this part, of the Apocalypse), and in the (Coptic) Apocalypse of Elias (see post).

Ultimately Peter orders Clement to hide this revelation in a box, that foolish men may not see it. The passage in the Second Book of the Sibylline Oracles which seems to point to the ultimate salvation of all sinners will be found in the last lines of the translation given below.

The passage in the Coptic Apocalypse of Elias is guarded and obscure in expression, but significant. It begins with a sentence which has a parallel in Peter.

The righteous will behold the sinners in their punishment, and those who have persecuted them and delivered them up. Then will the sinners on their part behold the place of the righteous and be partakers of grace. In that day will that for which the (righteous) shall often pray, be granted to them.

That is, as I take it, the salvation of sinners will be granted at the prayer of the righteous.

Compare also the Epistle of the Apostles, 40: 'the righteous are sorry for the sinners, and pray for them.... And I will hearken unto the prayer of the righteous which they make for them.'

I would add that the author of the Acts of Paul, who (in the Third Epistle to the Corinthians and elsewhere) betrays a knowledge of the Apocalypse of Peter, makes Falconilla, the deceased daughter of Tryphaena, speak of Thecla's praying for her that she may be translated unto the place of the righteous (Thecla episode, 28).

My impression is that the maker of the Ethiopic version (or of its Arabic parent, or of another ancestor) has designedly omitted or slurred over some clauses in the passage beginning: 'Then will I give unto mine elect', and that in his very diffuse and obscure appendix to the Apocalypse, he has tried to break the dangerous doctrine of the ultimate salvation of sinners gently to his readers. But when the Arabic version of the Apocalypse is before us in the promised edition of MM. Griveau and Grebaut, we shall have better means of deciding.

E.

APPENDIX

SECOND BOOK OF THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES, 190-338

It seems worth while to append here a translation of that portion of the Second Book which is most evidently taken from the Apocalypse of Peter. It may be remarked that Books I and II of the oracles really form but one composition, which is Christian and may be assigned to some time not early in the second century, or to the third. Many lines are borrowed from the older books, especially III and VIII.

After saying (1.187) that Elias will descend on earth and do three great signs, it proceeds:

190 Woe unto all them that are found great with child in that day, and to them that give suck to infant children, and to them that dwell by the sea (the waves). Woe to them that shall behold that day. For a dark mist shall cover the boundless world, of the east and west, the south and north. And then shall a great river of flaming fire flow from heaven and consume all places, the earth and the great ocean and the grey sea, lakes and rivers and fountains, and merciless

200 Hades and the pole of heaven: but the lights of heaven shall melt together in one and into a void (desolate) shape (?). For the stars shall all fall from heaven into the sea (?), and all souls of men shall gnash their teeth as they burn in the river of brimstone and the rush of the fire in the blazing plain, and ashes shall cover all things. And then shall all the elements of the world be laid waste, air, earth, sea, light poles, days and nights, and no more shall the multitudes of birds fly in the air nor swimming creatures any more swim the sea no ship shall sail with its cargo over the waves;

210 no straight-going oxen shall plough the tilled land; there shall be no more sound of swift winds, but he shall fuse all things together into one, and purge them clean.

214 Now when the immortal angels of the undying God Barakiel, Ramiel, Uriel, Samiel, and Azael, [These names are from Enoch.] knowing all the evil deeds that any hath wrought aforetime -then out of the misty darkness they shall bring all the souls of men to judgement, unto the seat of God the immortal, the great.

220 For he only is incorruptible, himself the Almighty, who shall be the judge of mortal men. And then unto them of the underworld shall the heavenly one give their souls and spirit and speech, and their bones joined together, with all the joints, and the flesh and sinews and veins, and skin also over the flesh, and hair as before, and the bodies of the dwellers upon earth shall be moved and arise in one day, joined together in immortal fashion and breathing.

Then shall the great angel Uriel break the monstrous bars framed of unyielding and unbroken adamant, of the brazen

230 gates of Hades, and cast them down straightway, and bring forth to judgement all the sorrowful forms, yea, of the ghosts of the ancient Titans, and of the giants, and all whom the flood overtook. And all whom the wave of the sea hath destroyed in the waters, and all whom beasts and creeping things and fowls have feasted on: all these shall he bring to the judgement seat; and again those whom flesh-devouring fire hath consumed in the flames, them also shall he gather and set before God's seat.

And when he shall overcome Fate and raise the dead, then shall Adonai Sabaoth the high thunderer sit on his heavenly

240 throne, and set up the great pillar, and Christ himself, the undying unto the undying, shall come in the clouds in glory with the pure angels, and shall sit on the seat on the right of the Great One, judging the life of the godly and the walk of ungodly men.

And Moses also the great, the friend of the Most High shall come, clad in flesh, and the great Abraham himself shall come, and Isaac and Jacob, Jesus, Daniel, Elias, Ambacum (Habakkuk), and Jonas, and they whom the Hebrews slew: and all the Hebrews that were with (after ?) Jeremias shall be judged at the judgement seat, and he shall destroy them, that they may receive a due reward and expiate all that they did in their mortal life.

And then shall all men pass through a blazing river and unquenchable flame, and the righteous shall be saved whole all of them, but the ungodly shall perish therein unto all ages, even as many as wrought evil aforetime, and committed murders, and all that were privy thereto, liars, thieves, deceivers, cruel destroyers of houses, gluttons, marriers by stealth, shedders of evil rumours, sorely insolent lawless, idolaters: and all that forsook the great immortal God and became blasphemers and harmers of the godly, breakers of faith and destroyers of righteous men. And all that look with guileful and shameless double faces -reverend priests and deacons- and judge unjustly, dealing perversely, obeying false rumours . . . more deadly than leopards and wolves, and very evil: and all that are high-minded, and usurers that heap up in their houses usury out of usury and injure orphans and widows continually: and they that give alms of unjust gain unto widows and orphans, and they that when they give alms of their own toil, reproach them; and they that have forsaken their parents in their old age and not repaid them at all, nor recompensed them for their nurture; yea, and they that have disobeyed and spoken hard words against their parents: they also that have received pledges and denied them, and servants that have turned against their masters; and again they which have defiled their flesh in lasciviousness, and have loosed the girdle of virginity in secret union, and they that make the child in the womb miscarry, and that cast out their offspring against right: sorcerers also and sorceresses with these shall the wrath of the heavenly and immortal God bring near unto the pillar, all round about which the untiring river of fire shall flow. And all of them shall the undying angels of the immortal everlasting God chastise terribly with flaming scourges, and shall bind them fast from above in fiery chains, bonds unbreakable. And then shall they cast them down in the darkness of night into Gehenna among the beasts of hell, many and frightful, where is darkness without measure.

And when they have dealt out many torments unto all whose heart was evil, thereafter out of the great river shall a wheel of fire encompass them, because they devised wicked works. And then shall they lament apart every one from another in miserable fate, fathers and infant children, mothers and sucklings weeping, nor shall they be sated with tears nor shall the voice of them that mourn

piteously apart be heard (?); but far under dark and squalid Tartarus shall they cry in torment, and in no holy place shall they abide and expiate threefold every evil deed that they have done, burning in a great flame; and shall gnash their teeth, all of them worn out with fierce thirst and hunger (al. force violence), and shall call death lovely and it shall flee from them: for no more shall death nor night give them rest, and oft-times shall they beseech in vain the Almighty God, and then shall he openly turn away his face from them. For he hath granted the limit of seven ages for repentance unto men that err, by the hand of a pure virgin.

But the residue which have cared for justice and good deeds, yea, and godliness and righteous thoughts, shall angels bear up and carry through the flaming river unto light, and life without care, where is the immortal path of the great God; and three fountains, of wine and honey and milk. And the earth, common to all, not parted out with walls or fences, shall then bring forth of her own accord much fruit, and life and wealth shall be common and undistributed. For there shall be no poor man, nor rich, nor tyrant, nor slave, none great nor small any longer, no kings, no princes; but all men shall be together in common. And no more shall any man say 'night is come', nor 'the morrow', nor 'it was yesterday'. He maketh no more of days, nor of spring, nor winter, nor summer, nor autumn, neither marriage, nor death, nor selling, nor buying, nor set of sun, nor rising. For God shall make one long day.

And unto them, the godly, shall the almighty and immortal God grant another boon, when they shall ask it of him. He shall grant them to save men out of the fierce fire and the eternal gnashing of teeth: and this will he do, for he will gather them again out of the everlasting flame and remove them else whither, sending them for the sake of his people unto another life eternal and immortal, in the Elysian plain where are the long waves of the Acherusian lake exhaustless and deep bosomed;

Some artless iambic lines of uncertain date are appended here, which show what was thought of the doctrine:

'Plainly false: for the fire will never cease to torment the damned. I indeed could pray that it might be so, who am branded with the deepest scars of transgressions which stand in need of utmost mercy. But let Origen be ashamed of his lying words, who saith that there is a term set to the torments.'

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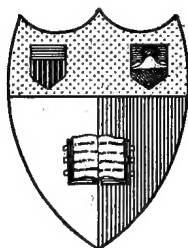
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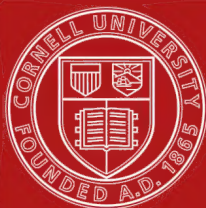
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EDITED FROM MANUSCRIPTS
AT MOUNT ATHOS, BOLOGNA,
HOLKHAM HALL, JERUSALEM,
LONDON, MILAN, PARIS AND
VIENNA

WITH INTRODUCTION

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
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(DEPARTMENT OF NEW TESTAMENT AND EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE)

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Testament of Solomon.

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WHOSE CONTINUED ASSISTANCE AND ENCOURAGEMENT
HAVE MADE THIS WORK POSSIBLE

Preface.

A new text of the *Testament of Solomon* has long been needed. Of the published texts, Fleck's was a careless and inaccurate transcription of a single manuscript, while Istrin's, which was indispensable for understanding the history of the work, is buried in Russian. Of unpublished manuscripts several were found which take us much nearer the original than did any of those already printed. Conybeare's investigation, while resulting in an excellent discussion and translation, labored under the disadvantage of depending upon Fleck, and, because of lack of fuller materials, could not avoid erroneous conclusions. In consequence of the paucity of materials there was a great variety of opinion as to the origin, character, and value of the document.

This edition cannot aspire to present all the materials nor to answer all the questions involved. It is hoped, however, that no accessible manuscripts have been missed, and that the materials available have been set forth in such a manner as to put scholars in possession of all data necessary for accurate conclusions.

When the task was begun, the intention was to edit the text of Fleck's manuscript with introduction, commentary, and translation; but as the number of manuscripts discovered increased, the commentary and translation were abandoned, since it was plain that the volume would be swollen beyond due proportions. The Introduction has in size far exceeded the writer's expectation and desire, and constitutes in part a commentary.

The work here published has been under way for many years. Forced by ill health to leave the mission work in India

to which he had intended to give his life, the writer determined to devote himself to New Testament study, to which he had been especially attracted during his theological course under the instruction of Professor D. A. Hayes of Garrett Biblical Institute. Directed by the *Expository Times* he went to Heidelberg to work under Professor Adolf Deissmann. The latter with his characteristic great-heartedness received the unknown student, and after a few months suggested the *Testament* as a subject worthy of investigation. Professor Albrecht Dieterich also promised to take an interest in the work. Upon Professor Deissmann's removal to Berlin and the untimely and lamented death of Professor Dieterich the writer decided to go to Berlin. There, beside further guidance from the former and the inspiration of the lectures of Professors Norden and von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, he had the highly prized advantage of suggestions from Professor Hermann Diels, who read as much of the manuscript as was then written.

As it became necessary to return to America, the further prosecution of the task was interrupted except for occasional intervals during vacations until the writer had the good fortune to remove to Chicago where, in time snatched from pedagogical duties, the work was continued and practically completed under the supervision of Professor E. J. Goodspeed. The manuscript has since been read by Professors E. D. Burton and H. Windisch. Dr. Montague Rhodes James went through it very carefully and made numerous suggestions which have been gladly used. At an early stage of the work encouragement and direction were thankfully received from the late Dr. Eberhard Nestle, from Professors von Dobschütz and E. Kurz, and especially from Dr. James. These obligations are acknowledged, but not so fully as they are felt, in the footnotes and bibliography.

In 1920—21 the writer was Thayer Fellow of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. The manuscript was put into the hands of the publisher as he was on his way to Palestine. In browsing among the manuscripts of the Great Greek Monastery in Jerusalem he had the good fortune to discover two manuscripts, one of the *Testament*, one of the legend of

Solomon's dealings with the demons. Although the printing of the *Testament* has been delayed for various reasons, it was not possible to incorporate the results of the study of these manuscripts in the text. A collation of one, called MS N, and a copy of the other, called MS E, have been printed in the Appendix (see pp. 112—128 and 102*—120*) and a list of emendations suggested by MS N will be found on p. 121*f.

On the way to Palestine the writer passed through Milan and took occasion to visit its famous library and inspect the manuscript, Ambrosianus No. 1030, in which fragments of the *Testament* are found, described below, pp. 20f. Nothing new was discovered. The fragments seem to have been cut of some manuscript, perhaps for the sake of, what was on the *recto*, which, in the case of UP, contains rules for gematric prognostication. This fragment ends with the word *ἡμέραν*, p. 7*, l. 15. It follows the W text.

For the patience and wisdom of the editor of the series, Professor Windisch, in dealing with many perplexing problems that have arisen and for the skill and carefulness of the publisher in overcoming the technical difficulties of a complicated critical apparatus the writer cannot express too high appreciation.

The task was practically completed at the beginning of the war. The course of events which has prevented publication until now has given further time for revision of the manuscript and, it is hoped, thus contributed to more careful conclusions.

The work is given to the public with the hope that it may assist others, as it has the writer, to a better understanding of the devious ways of the ancient book maker and copyist and a better insight into the working of the popular mind in antiquity, and so advance the study of the *genus humanum*.

Berkeley, California Dec. 24., 1921.

Chester Charlton McCown.

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THE TESTAMENT OF SOLOMON.

INTRODUCTION.

I. GENERAL CHARACTER AND CONTENTS.

1. The *Testament of Solomon* is a combination of folktales and a magician's *vade-mecum*. In its interpretations of Scripture and its legends of biblical personages it reminds one of the Haggadah. In its stories of demons and their activities it is similar to the *Arabian Nights*. Its magical formulae and recipes relate it to the execration tablets, the amulets, and the magical papyri of antiquity, and to the medical recipe books of the Middle Ages. The same combination of naïve popular science and laboriously learned philosophy runs indirectly into the Faust literature, and directly into the *Clavicula Salomonis*, the "Key of All Mysteries"¹. It is a product of those three pseudo-sciences which have brought more disappointed hopes and abject terrors to mankind than any others: astrology, demonology, and magic.

2. It is as a leaf from the common man's thinking that the *Testament* has its chief value. Its superstitious puerilities arouse intense interest, when one thinks of them as recording the hopes and fears of the vast majority of mankind. The "Meditations" of Marcus Aurelius and the "Confessions" of St. Augustine open the door to the innermost thoughts of two great personalities who have done much to mould the life of their own and all succeeding generations. Books like the *Testament* help one to understand the psychological reactions of the great shadowy

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 14 and n. 1.

army of men who followed these leaders afar off. They explain why the philosophical emperor, who had learned "not to give credit to what was said by miracle-workers and jugglers about incantations and the driving away of demons and such things"¹, should have allowed two lions to be cast into the Danube with elaborate ceremonies and costly sacrifices, in the vain hope of winning success for the Roman arms, and should have consulted the Chaldeans to cure Faustina's infatuation for a gladiator². In spite of their absurdities demonology and magic had a tremendous hold upon the great body of mankind. The *Testament* is doubly welcome, since unfortunately we have too few first hand sources in this field³.

3. The document also makes a contribution to a most important chapter in the early history of Christianity, coming as it probably does from the fourth century, or earlier, and embodying much older materials. One of the prominent motifs in the work is the conception of Christ as conqueror of demons. The Christian compiler combines a simple, unhesitating faith in the efficacy of the pagan formulae he cites with an inconsistent trust in the superior power of *Christus invictus*. Dion Cassius ascribes the famous thunder storm that miraculously refreshed the Roman legions and discomfited their enemies during the Marcomannic war to the magic arts of an Egyptian sorcerer⁴. The Christians claimed the marvel came in answer to the prayers of the 'Thundering Legion', and made the incident a powerful argument for the new faith⁵. Our author, combining the two contradictory points of view, stands as a representative of the great majority of the Christians of his time, to whom their faith

¹ *Meditations* I 6.

² Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*. London: Macmillan, 1905, pp. 446—450; Lucian, *Alexander* 48.

³ The *Test* in some measure fills the gap in our knowledge of ancient superstitions left by the missing books of Hippolytus' *Refutatio* (II and III).

⁴ *Hist.* LXXI 8.

⁵ Eusebius (*HE* v 5) quotes as his authority Claudius Apollinaris, who addressed an apology to Marcus Aurelius. Tertullian makes the same apologetic use of the story. Cf. the account of Dion with that of Xiflinus in *Dio Cassius Cocceianus* ed. Bossewain, III 259 f.

was but another superstition superimposed upon the old. It was impossible all at once to replace the old sensuous paganism with a spiritual and ethical monotheism. During the long struggle Christianity was fearfully debased and weakened. How much of the old was carried over into the new religion the *Testament of Solomon* helps one partly to realize.

4. Another important service the *Testament* renders in that it represents, so far as it is Jewish, "pre-Talmudic demonology"¹, and one might add, Palestinian demonology. It is, to be sure, much more than a Christian revision of a Jewish work. A profusion of both Christian and pagan ideas and materials are to be found in it, and until these are indicated, the document must be used with caution². However, when once these elements are eliminated, as they can be with some certainty, the *Test* comes to be of real assistance in reconstructing the thought world of the Palestinian Jew in the first century of our era, and it is, therefore, important not only for the student of church history, but for the New Testament and the Jewish scholar.

5. A complete table of contents is given at the end of this section. The aim of the present paragraph is to call attention to the main ideas that enter into the construction of the work. In the two chief recensions the story in brief is as follows: In response to his prayers Solomon receives his famous magic ring, in order that he may protect a favorite workman on the Temple, who is being tormented by a demon. By means of the ring the King calls the demon before him, learns the powers and activities of all the demons, the formula, or angelic name, which frustrates each, and in addition many secrets of nature and of the future. The demons are used to perform various tasks in connection with the building of the temple. The story ends with an account of Solomon's fall because of his love for a Shunamite girl, and of the consequent loss of his power over the demons. This simple framework, without plot or progress of thought, allows the introduction of a bizarre medley of stories

¹ Dr. Kohler, art. "Demonology" in *JE* IV 518 a.

² V. *infra* III 12, a criticism of Ginzberg's use of the *Test*.

about demons. The writer's chief interest is medico-magical. He writes to make known to the world what the diseases and ills are which demons bring to mankind, and how their malevolent designs are to be frustrated. His angelology is only a foil to his demonology, for God's messengers come to earth solely for the purpose of counteracting demonic agency. The *motif* of temple building, which introduces the story, is well-maintained throughout, entering into almost every section. Yet, while ostensibly primary, it is really subordinate; it is part of the background against which the author can display his demonological knowledge. Another *motif* is the wisdom and glory of Solomon. This also is kept continually in mind throughout the entire narrative. In one brief section the demons are for the moment entirely forgotten, while the magnificence of Solomon's buildings, the wealth of his treasury, and the homage rendered him by other nations are described. Though the "Queen of the South" is introduced as a sorceress (γόνε), it is without a trace of the Jinn of the Bilkis legend. However, Solomon's power is due to his ring, his wisdom and magnificence to what the demons have taught him and done for him, and thus the whole is brought within the writer's circle of ideas. Another very natural interest betrays itself. No doubt many an inquiring mind had asked how the magicians came to know the secret names and incantations by which the demons could be laid. In a well known Egyptian legend, Isis, the divine sorceress, wishes to learn the secret, allpowerful name of Re. She causes him to be bitten by a serpent, and he must reveal the name before she can cure him¹. The question which inspired the Egyptian story is more satisfactorily answered by the *Testament*. Solomon's magic ring forces the revelations, and the wise king before his death writes all this hidden lore in a "Testament", which is handed down to future generations, that they may be able to escape the wiles of their demonic tormentors. It is in this connection that the

¹ Erman, *Handbook of the Egyptian Religion*, p. 154 ff. Unfortunately the name is not pronounced aloud, and the reader never learns it.

motivation for the story of Solomon's fall is not unskillfully supplied. According to one manuscript¹, a demon foretells the sad end of the King's glory, and, when the prophecy is fulfilled, the chastened monarch, satisfied of the truth of all that the demons have told him, writes it down. Thus, with all its variety of contents, the work is a real unity, owing to the writer's preponderating interest in magic and demonology².

6. The following inventory of the contents of the recensions of the *Testament* is intended to show in the most concise manner what the various forms of the work contain. By comparison of the numbers in this list with those of the "Comparative Table" opposite it will be plain at once what part of the total material each manuscript contains. References to chapter and section or to pages of the Greek text will, it is hoped, render the rapid survey of the latter easier.

The "Comparative Table" is intended to show the material contained in each manuscript, and thus to illustrate the relations of the manuscripts one to another. The divisions of the manuscripts into families, or recensions, here adopted is supported by other considerations, as will appear later. Yet the proof offered by this table is so simple and decisive that further evidence is hardly necessary.

In the table the figures at the left refer to the sectional numbers in the conspectus of contents on the opposite page. The letters, a, b, and c, used in the columns pertaining to the manuscripts, stand for Recensions A, B, and C, and indicate that the recension contains the material of the section in question. Where one of the letters: d, h, i, l, p, etc., appears, it indicates that in that section the manuscript shows material peculiar to it. The cipher: o indicates that the section is wanting through the carelessness of the scribe or accident to the manuscript, not by intentional omission on the part of the editor of the recension.

¹ P, XV 14 f., the only complete MS. But see MS N in appendix.

² Schürer, *GV* III 419, is hardly right in calling the *Test* "Unterhaltungsliteratur".

a) Prefatory matter (not originally part of *Test*)

1. Title
2. Doxology
3. David's sin with Bathsheba, D I 1—3¹
4. Failure of God's attempt to stop David, D I 4—6
5. Nathan's reproof of David, D I 7—11
6. Solomon's birth, reign, power, and wisdom, D I 12 f.
7. Solomon's prayer; command to build Temple, UVW², Prol. 1—5
8. Building of Temple, D II 1; cf. *Test* I 1

b) Testament proper, matter common to majority of MSS

9. The favorite slave, or chief architect, I 1; D II 2
10. His affliction by a vampire, I 2³; D II 2
11. Solomon's prayer about the matter, I 3; D II 3
12. Solomon examines the slave, I 3 f.; D II 3 f.
13. Solomon's supplication for him, I 5; D II 5
14. The answer, a magic ring, I 6 f.; D II 6 f.
15. The inscription on the ring (not original)⁴
16. Solomon gives the ring to the slave, I 8 f.; D II 8 f.
17. The capture of the demon, Ornias, I 10—14; D II 10—13.
18. Solomon examines Ornias, II 1—9, D III 1—4
19. Ornias fetches Beelzebul, who is examined, III 1—7⁵
20. Onoskelis summoned and examined, IV 1—12
21. Asmodaeus summoned and examined, V 1—5
22. Asmodaeus further examined, V 6—13⁶
23. Beelzebul re-examined, VI 1—11⁷
24. Lix Tetrax, VII 1—8⁸
25. The seven sister vices, VIII 1—12
26. Phonos, IX 1—7⁹

c) Testament proper continued in Recensions A and B

27. Punishment of Phonos, IX 8
28. Kyon, or Rhabdos, and the green stone, X 1—11
29. Leontophoron, XI 1—7

1 For compendia employed to indicate MSS see below, II.

2 U contains only a few lines in § 4 and again in Nos. 52 and 53.

3 About the middle of I 2 HI and PQ unite.

4 The inscription on the ring in HI and T is found also in an amulet in V (Vr) not connected with the *Test*. 5 Q resumes in section 40 below.

	Rec. A.			Rec. B.		Rec. C.				Migne	Text	
No. D.	H.	I.	L.	P.	Q.	S.	T.	U.	V.	W.	col.	p.

a) Prefatory matter (not originally part of *Test*)

1. d	h	i	o	b	b				c	c	1316 A	98* f.
2.	a	a		a	a						1316 A	5*, 99*
3. d												88*
4. d												88*
5. d												89*
6. d												89*
7.								c	c	c		78* f.
8. d	a	a	l	b	b				c	c	1316 A	90*

b) Testament proper, matter common to majority of MSS

9. d	a	a	l						c	c		5* f., 90*
10. d	a	a	l	b	b				c	c	1316 A	6* f., 201
11. d									c	c		8* f., 90*
12. d	a	a	l	a	a				c	c	1316 B	8* f., 90*
13. d	a	a	a	a	a				a	a	1317 A	9* f., 90*
14. d	a	a	l	b	b				c	c	1317 B	10*, 95*
15.	a	a	l	b	b	c	a		c	c	1317 B	100* f.
16. d	a	a	l	a	a				a	a	1317 B	11*, 90*
17. d	a	a	l	a	a				a	a	1317 C	11* ff., 90* f.
18. d	a	a	a	a	a				a	a	1317 D	13*, 91*
19.	a	a	a	a	o				a	a	1320 B	16*
20.	a	a	a	a	o				a	a	1320 D	18*
21.	a	a	a	a	o				a	a	1321 C	21*
22.	a	a	a	a	o				o	o	1321 D	22*
23.	a	o	a	ap	o				o	o	1324 C	25*
24.	a	o	a	a	o	c			ca	ca	1325 C	28*
25.	a	o	a	a	o				a	a	1328 B	31*
26.	a	o	a	ap	o				a	a	1329 B	35*

c) Testament proper continued in Recensions A and B

27.	a	o	a	a	o						1329 B	37*
28.	a	o	a	a	o						1332 A	37*
29.	a	o	a	a	o						1332 C	39*

6 In V 12f. L has a different text. Sections 22 and 23 are wanting in VW, probably because of parablepsia. In V 8 MS I ends.

7 In VI 3—9 P has its peculiar text.

8 In VII 6 S has only a few lines of a magic formula in the form in which it appears in Rec. C.

9 In IX 7 P has a considerable interpolation.

30. Koryphe drakonton, XII 1—6
31. Obyzuth, XIII 1—7
32. Pterodrakon, XIV 1—8¹
33. Enepsigos and the origin of the *Test*, XV 1—15
34. Kynopegos, XVI 1—7
35. The cave spirit, XVII 1—5
36. The thirty-six *decani*, or elements, XVIII 1—41²
37. Treatment of *decani*, XVIII 42 (of all demons, XVIII 42—44, D III 5—9.
38. Solomon's power and glory, XIX 1 f.³
39. Saba, Queen of the South, XIX 3
40. Quarrelsome father and son; Ornias' prophecy, XX 1—21⁴, D IV 1—18
41. The "Queen of the South" in the Temple, XXI 1—4, D VI 1—8
42. Ephippas, pest and wind demon of Arabia, XXII 1—20, D VI 9—11
43. Ephippas and the corner-stone, XXIII 1—4, D VI 9—11
44. Ephippas, Abezethibu, and the air-pillar, XXIV 1—5, D VI 12—14
45. Abezethibu examined, XXV 1—9⁵
46. Solomon's fall through the Shunamite, XXVI 1—7⁵
47. The writing of the *Test*, XXVI 8 (H XXVI 8 f.)⁵
48. Closing doxology, H XXVI 10⁵

d) Close of MS D

49. Solomon and the demon prince, Samael, VII 1—6
50. The glory and wisdom of Solomon, VIII 1—7

e) New material in Recension C

51. The request and promise of Phonos, IX 8
52. Magical recipe, IX 9—10⁶
53. List of demons and their signs, X 1—53⁶
54. Onoskelu summoned and examined (second account) XI 1—6⁷
55. The request and promise of Onoskelu, XI 7—9⁷
56. Solomon's conversation with Paltiel Tzamal, XII 1—6⁷
57. Paltiel Tzamal secures a "new testament," XIII 1—12
58. The preservation of the "great mystery," i. e., Rec. C, XIII 13 f.
59. Solomon's conclusion and signature, XIII 15
60. Subscription of copyist of MS V (partly cryptographic)

1 MSS HL omit XIV 3—XVI 1.

2 In XVIII 4 P has an unique text. L breaks off at the end of XVIII 28.

3 In XIX P has numerous additions.

4 MS Q reappears in XX 10. P often has a longer text than H.

5 In many sections H presents a highly abbreviated text, in XXVI 8—10 an inflated one. The B text is here probably better.

No. D.	Rec. A.			Rec. B.		Rec. C.					Migne col.	Text p.
	H.	I.	L.	P.	Q.	S.	T.	U.	V.	W.		
30.	a	o	a	a	o						1333 A	41*
31.	a	o	a	a	o						1333 C	43*
32.	o	o	o	a	o						1336 C	45*
33.	o	o	o	a	o						1337 A	46*
34.	a	o	a	a	o						1340 A	48*
35.	a	o	a	a	o						1340 D	49*
36.	a	o	a	a	o						1341 A	51*, 91*
37. d	a	o	o	p	o						1348 A	59*
38.	a	o	o	p	o						1348 A	59*
39.	a	o	o	p	o						1348 B	60*
40. d	a	o	o	a	a						1348 C	60*, 92*
41. d	a	o	o	p	b						1348 D	64*, 94*
42. d	a	o	o	a	a						1352 A	65*, 95*
43. d	a	o	o	a	a						1353 D	69*, 95*
44. d	a	o	o	a	a						1356 A	70*, 95*
45.	a	o	o	a	a						1356 B	71*
46.	a	o	o	b	b						1357 A	73*
47.	h	o	o	b	b						1357 B	74*
48.	h	o	o									75*

d) Close of MS D

49. d	96*
50. d	96*

e) New material of Recension C

51.	c	c	c	c	77*
52.	c	c	c	c	77*
53.	c	c	c	c	78*
54.	c	o	c	c	83*
55.	c	o	c	c	84*
56.	t	o	c	c	84*
57.			c	c	85*
58.			c	c	87*
59.			c	c	87*
60.			v		99*

6 Sections 52 and 53 are found in the *Clavicula Salomonis* in the same codex as L and T^o, Harl. 5596, here called T^d. MS U ends with X 11.

7 Sections 54—56 are found as an unrelated fragment in Harl. 5596, in this case called T^o.

II. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS.

The manuscripts are here described in the briefest manner that seemed consistent with the desire to put the reader in possession of the main facts necessary to estimate their relative importance and their relationships. They are taken up in the order in which they appear in the foregoing table, that is, following the alphabetical order of the letters which have been chosen to symbolize them, which is also the order of priority in the development of the *Test*.

1. D Dionysius monastery, Mt. Athos, No. 132, ff. 367^r—374^v, XVI cent.; entitled *περὶ τοῦ Σολομῶντος*; published by Istrin, cf. Edition No. 4; collated by photograph¹, from which the title is missing; pages of *Test* deleted by transverse lines².

Istrin gives no description of the manuscript. The photograph shows it to have been carefully and correctly written and well preserved; it seems to be in small format. The hand is heavy, round, and beautifully clear, with the customary ligatures and abbreviations. Orthography and punctuation (comma, question mark, and period) are exceptionally good. The iota subscript is lacking. The β is often written like an ν . In one instance an omitted word was added at the bottom of the page; in another the order of two clauses was reversed by putting the letter β before the first, α before the second³. Otherwise there are no important corrections or erasures. A later hand has added marginal notes giving some of the subjects mentioned in the text. The title given by Istrin appears to have been written above the ornamental head-piece, and only the lower part of the letter π appears in the photograph. The Solomonic writing, which fills eight leaves, was wrongly bound. The leaves are in the order 367—371, 374, 373, 372. The page on which

¹ Secured during the summer of 1914 through Dr. Heinrich Jantsch, Leipzig-Marienbrunn, by whose permission it is used.

² It does not appear to be noticed by Lambros in his *Catalogue*.

³ *κέκτῃμε* occurs for *κέκτῃμαι*, I 10; *σιτελα* for *σιτία* II 2, 4; *φῆσι* is always written with the grave accent.

the next selection begins appears to be 375. The writing covers only about two-thirds of f. 374^v, something having been erased from the remainder of the page. F. 366^v contains the conclusion of a religious or ecclesiastical writing which I do not recognize¹. On f. 375^r begins a selection described in another hand as εἰς τοὺς αἵρετικοὺς, λόγ(οι) λδ', φύλλα ε'².

2. H Private library of the Earl of Leicester, Holkham Hall, Norfolk, England, No. 99, described in the catalogue as "Opuscula theologica varia, on paper, Quarto XV and XVI cent." The *Test* is of the XV cent.; cm. 16×21.5; 35 ff., unnumbered; f. 1 *recto* and f. 35 *verso* blank, making 68 pages; entitled διήγησις περὶ τῆς διαθήκης σολομῶντος, etc.; well preserved, unpublished³.

The writing is large, round, and clear; γ and ν, ε and σ may easily be confused. Ligatures and abbreviations are frequent; iotacism often appears; the iota subscript is rare. The punctuation, which is intelligently used, consists mainly of the period, placed sometimes higher, sometimes lower. Corrections and erasures are rare. It is the only manuscript which boasts rubrics placed before the chief divisions of the story. The title and the

1 The page begins, χαίρουσα παραστῆς, τὰς αἰδίου | ἐκείνους (in -ας corr.) καὶ θείας ἐλλάμψεις πλουσίως αἱ δεχομένη . . ., and ends, οὐ δὴ | καὶ ἡμεῖς μετρίως μὲν ἐνταῦθα, πλουσίως δὲ ἐκεῖ ταῖς σαῖς δόξαις εὐχαῖς ἐπιτύχοιμεν· χάριτι τοῦ Κ(υρίου) καὶ Θ(εο)ῦ καὶ σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) χ(ριστο)ῦ· ᾧ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα|τιμή, etc.

2 It is called "Ἐκθεσις κατ' ἐπιτομὴν τοῦ τῶν ἱακωβῖτων δόγματος· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ποιοῦσι παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν καὶ ὁρθόδοξον πίστιν τε καὶ παράδοσιν· συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ δημοτρίου μητροπολίτου κυζύκου· ἐκ προτροπῆς(ς) τοῦ φιλοχρίστου | κωνσταντίνου τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου υἱοῦ λέοντος τοῦ σοφοῦ· ἐν ᾗ καὶ περὶ τῶν χατζιτζαρίων: — | Inc.: Ἐπειδὴ σου τὴν ὑπερφνη καὶ τῶ ὄντι βασιλικωτάτην φύσιν ἐξαιρετόν τι χρῆμα θ(εο)ς τῶ κόσμῳ ἐδωρήσατο . . .: the page ends with καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῶν ἱακωβῖτων διανέστησεν ἔλεγχον ὡς ἂν μὴ|καὶ οὗτοι διεστραμμένα καὶ βλάσφημα δόγματα.

3 Professor Deissmann very kindly made inquiries concerning the *Test* while lecturing in Cambridge in 1907. Dr. M. R. James informed him of the Holkham Hall MS, and later was so kind as to send me a copy of the first nineteen pages. In January, 1908, I went to Holkham and, through the generosity of the owner and the goodness of the librarian, Alexander I. Napier, Esq., was allowed to collate the MS in the library of the Hall. It is published by permission of the owner.

initial letters of the lesser sections are also in red. In XXII 10, II ε for σ has been mistaken for ι.

Aside from the *Test* the contents of the codex are theological and ecclesiastical. There is nothing to indicate its provenience except a tract copied in the same hand as the *Test* and called in the catalogue "Johannes Canabutii magistri ad principem Aeni et Samothraciae"¹. This seems to point to Greece.

3. I Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Supplément grec, No. 500, XVI cent., paper, cm. 16×22; ff. 78—82; entitled *σολομῶντος*, etc., with *διαθήκη τοῦ* added in a careless hand in the upper margin of the page; well preserved; published by Istrin, cf. Edition No. 4.

The writing is *finē*, slender, and somewhat crowded; ligatures are extremely frequent and intricate, abbreviations and compendia numerous. Iotacism is comparatively rare; Attic orthography appears occasionally; e. g., *φρίττω* (II 1); the iota subscript is wanting; the punctuation (comma and period), the division of words, and the use of breathings and accents correct. Corrections and erasures are very rare. Although a broad margin has been left, marginal variants and glosses are wanting. The title with a conventional ornamental head-piece above it, the magical inscription of the ring, and occasional initial letters of sections are rubricated.

The codex contains a miscellaneous collection of classical, philosophical, ethical, theological, and biblical writings, including Ecclesiastes and Canticles, some of them unfinished. The *Test* follows the two Solomonic works just mentioned. Unfortunately, as with some of the other works, the copyist soon became weary of the stories of the many demons and broke off in the middle of a sentence and a column, when he had written about one sixth of the *Test*.

The well known Greek scholar, Minoïdes Minas, whose name appears on one of the fly leaves at the back, owned the codex; and through his heirs it came into the Bibliothèque Nationale in

¹ Johannes Canabutzes was a Graeco-Italian from Chios, first half of the fifteenth century, Krumbacher, *BLg.*

1864. Minas had been under commission from the French government to seek manuscripts in European Turkey, Asia Minor, and especially at Mt. Athos. Where he acquired this one is unknown. Doubtless it was somewhere in the Levant¹.

4. L Harleian MSS, British Museum, No. 5596; 58 ff., paper, cm. 23×34, XV cent., described in the printed catalogue as "Geomantica, exorcismi, divinationes et huius modi," with the addition in the written "Class-catalogue" of the words "quaedam Salomonis;" well preserved, unpublished. Four fragments are used as follows: 1) ff. 8^r—18^r, the title, originally missing, supplied by a later hand in Latin: "Quomodo Solomon aedificaturus templum cum spiritibus colloquitus fuit, et multa edoctus," 2) f. 7^r—7^v, 3) f. 33^r, and 4) ff. 39^v—41^r. (On the last three fragments, which are designated by T, see below.)

The writing is low, broad, round, and heavy; it is somewhat run together, yet it is regular, very clear, and not without beauty. Abbreviations and ligatures are frequent, compendia less so. Iotacism is not frequent. The iota subscript does not appear. The comma (rather infrequent), the period, and, at the end of the more important sections, a triple period make up the punctuation. Erasures, corrections, and Greek glosses are wanting. A later hand has added in Latin, besides the title, occasional marginal notices and translations, and has marked by a cross and circle those peculiar directions for the use of the *Test* as a magical remedy for disease which render this MS unique. The MS also has the distinction of being the only one written in columns, two to the page. They are seven to eight centimeters wide, and contain twenty lines. In fragment 1) no colors are used except on the seal of Solomon. It is painted

¹ In a personal letter, dated April 10, 1908, M. Omont very kindly gave me information regarding the three MSS of the *Test* found in the Bib. Nat. Regarding this one he says: "Suppl. gr. 500. Provient de Minoïde Mynas, no. 35 d'une list de ses manuscrits, mais sans qu'on puisse autrement préciser l'origine orientale du volume." My wife copied the MS in Paris in 1907. I compared the copy with the original then and again in Heidelberg, where it was sent through the customary diplomatic channels to the University library for my use.

with silver over red, as are the titles of the sections in the *Clavicula* (see below), and the numbers as well as the article (ὁ) before each name in the list of fifty-one demons (Fragment 4). The rather coarse, yellow paper of the codex is beginning to decay. At one spot in the lower half of the inner column many of the leaves have rubbed until a few letters have disappeared.

Harleian MS 5596 is entirely filled with magical, astrological, and demonological matter, evidently written by a mediaeval magician for practical use in his profession. The largest part (ff. 18–44^r) is taken up by the Greek form of the *Clavicula Salomonis*¹. In it Fragments 3) and 4), which appear respectively in Recensions A and C in other MSS of the *Test*, are found. The first seven leaves of the codex contain various brief magical, geomantical, and astrological excerpts and observations, ending with Fragment 2), which is the second form of the Onoskelis story, found in Recension C of the *Test*. Two other of these excerpts bring this MS into relation with MS V, which contains a copy of Recension C; viz., ἑτέρα τοῦ Πνθαγόρου ἡλιαδι (sic)², f. 5^v, col. 2, and a "Pythagorean table," πλινθῆς (sic) α³, f. 6^v, col. 2, both also found in MS V. I have discovered only one other MS in which the *Clavicula* and the *Test* appear together, and that is MS W, in which there are three very badly written pages of the former and a complete copy

1 This well known magico-astrological work, though mediaeval in its present form, is based on older materials. The Harleian MS contains the longest Greek copy I have seen. The *ὕδρομαντεία* in Munich MS. 70, ff. 240–253 (cf. *CCAG* VII 3, 3, f. 240), is well written, but shorter. *Paris. graec.* 2419 (= MS W) has, as remarked above, only a fragment, and that miserably written. It is to this last that Reitzenstein refers in *Poim.* 187, n. 1. Other Greek MSS, known to me only through catalogues, are Turin C VII 15, f. 75^v (*CCAG* IV 16), called *ἔρμαντεία*; Mt. Athos, Dionysios monastery, (Lambros, *Cat* I 400) No. 3816.4 (282), f. 28^v–37^r, entitled τὸ κληδὴν τῆς πάσης τέχνης τῆς ὑδρομαντείας, . . . συντεθὲν παρὰ τοῦ Σολομῶντος, κ. τ. λ. Latin, French, Italian, and English MSS of the *Clavicula* are numerous. Cf. the translation from Latin into English by S. L. M. Mathers, *Clavicula Salomonis*, London, 1889. Seligsohn in *JE*, art. "Solomon, Apocryphal Works" (XI 447), accepts a Hebrew original. He knows no Greek form.

2 MS V, f. 274 (cf. *CCAG* IV 41, Bon. Univ. 3632).

3 MS V, f. 274^v, closing the ἐπιστολὴ Πνθαγόρου.

of Recension C of the latter. Fragment 1), or L, contains about two-thirds of the *Test*, ending in the middle of a column.

While on a brief visit to England in January and February, 1908, I undertook to go through all the Greek MSS of magical contents in the British Museum, as well as all the Solomonic literature in Latin, French, and English. In the course of the search I came across the Onoskelu story, then the longer fragment of the *Test* (L), and later the other pieces in the *Clavicula*. Unfortunately I have been able to get no light on the provenience of the codex. But it certainly has Italian relationships, since the "Pythagorean" letter and table are found in several other Italian MSS¹ besides V, and S of Vienna which is closely related to V².

5. P Bibliothèque Nationale, Anciens fonds grecs, No. 38 (Colbert 4895); XVI cent., paper, cm. 15.5×20.5; 24 ff. in three quaternions; well preserved; entitled *διαθήκη σολομῶντος*, etc.; published by Fleck, reprinted in part by Fürst, and entire by Migne; cf. Editions Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

The manuscript has been carefully and intelligently written. The handwriting is somewhat unskilful and angular in appearance, but easily readable. The letters are ligatured as ordinarily in the sixteenth century, but compendia and abbreviations are rare, even such words as *θεός* and *ἱεροσόλυμα* being often written out in full. Iotacism is very rare. The iota subscript, the accents, and the breathings are almost always correctly given. Unfortunately the punctuation, consisting of the comma, and the period at various heights, is most profusely employed and, as Fürst says, "verstößt gegen jede auf bestimmte Grundsätze basierte Abzeichnung der Satztheile"³.

Not only has the manuscript been carefully written, but part of it has also been through the hands of a corrector. A large number of letters which seemed uncertain to the co-

¹ Cf. *CCAG* IV (codd. Ital.) 15 (Taurin. 5, f. 39^v), 31 (Mutin. 11, f. 77), 53 (Neapol. 19, f. 44), 75 (Florent. = Laurent. 29, f. 38); also Milan (Ambros.) 1030, f. 247. ² Cf. *CCAG* VI 33. ³ *Orient* V, col. 596 note.

pyist were marked with three dots; in other instances he left part of a line vacant for the insertion of the proper words. Two such cases occur on the first page, where blacker ink, smaller and more crowded letters, and more numerous abbreviations¹ show that the words were put in later¹. In one case the corrector hit upon the right text; in the other he missed. On f. 2¹² a similar blank was left, but the corrector was too uncertain to put his conjecture in the text; it remains on the margin. Unfortunately he failed to go carefully through the entire manuscript, and not all of the uncertain places received his attention. Occasional corrections were made in the course of the writing³. Initial letters of sections are enlarged, and in two or three instances the closing lines of paragraphs have been left partly blank. No attempt has been made to rubricate or decorate the manuscript. It contains only the *Test*.

As to the provenience of the codex little can be made out. It belonged to the library of M. le President de Mesmes according to the catalogue printed by Montfaucon in 1739⁴. Henri de Mesmes died in 1596, his son, Jean-Jaques, who inherited his manuscripts, in 1642. In 1679 Colbert bought about 215 manuscripts from the Duchesse de Vivonne, great-granddaughter of the former⁵, among them the *Test*, as the list shows⁶. The manuscripts of Colbert came into the *Bibliothèque du Roi* in 1732⁷. In the catalogue of the *Bibliothèque Royale* (later *Nationale*) of 1740⁸ it is mentioned as "No. 38 olim Colbert." Back of the library of de Mesmes it cannot be traced. Above the beginning of the text on the first page is written "Codex Colb. 4895 Regius 2913 3", preceded by a short word ending in many flourishes. Of this, to me illegible, part of the superscription

1 In I C. 3, 4.

2 In C. I 9. Similar blanks are left in II 3, XXVI 3, 4. Marginal notes are found in IV 5, V 19, VII 3, VIII 7, 9, 10, IX 6, XIII 2, 3, XVIII 27, 37, XIX 1, XX 1.

3 Cf. XVIII 33, XXVI 2. The only serious omission due to carelessness is in XXI 3 f. 4 *Bib. bib. mss.*, II, p. 1327.

5 Cf. Delisle, *Cab. des. msc.*, I, pp. 469, 471, and Omont, *Inv.* IV, pp. XXI, XXX. 6 It is *msc. lat.* 9364 f. 11 in the *Bib. Nat.* 7 Delisle, *op. cit.* p. 439.

8 *Cat. codd. mss. bib. reg.*, voll. I—4, Paris, 1739—1744.

M. Omont says: "Cent: ce numero est une code d'inventaire des manuscrits de la duchesse de Vivonne; il provient très vraisemblablement des de Mesmes"¹.

This manuscript has been occasionally noticed by scholars. Du Cange used it in his *Glossarium* published in 1688², referring to "Salomonis Testamentum ex Codd. Reg. 1843³ et Colbert," and adding "vide notas nostras as Zonarae Annal. p. 83"⁴. In these *Notae*, published in 1687, he gives the title almost as in P with the remark, "legimus apographum ex Bibliotheca Thuanea." Either this is a slip of the memory, or else the "apographum" was merely a copy of the title. The library of Jaques August de Thou (died 1617) was sold in 1680, most of the ancient manuscripts being acquired by Colbert. But none of the printed catalogues of the library of de Thou show any copy of the *Test*⁵.

Other references to the *Testament* are secondary and rest upon Du Cange⁶ or Gaulmin, until finally Fleck came across the manuscript and published it in 1837. His edition⁷ has been the basis of all subsequent labors upon this piece of Solomonic literature, until the publication of Istrin⁸.

¹ In the personal letter above referred to, p. 13, n. 1.

² *Gloss. ad script. med. et infn. graec.* (Paris, 1638), II, col. 32, in "Index Auctor. Graec. ined." ³ Now *Par. gr.* 2419, see below MS W.

⁴ *Zonarae Annalia* ed. Du Cangius, Parisiis 1686—7, 2 vols.

⁵ Cf. Delisle, *Cab. des msc.*, I, p. 471; Omont, *Inv.* IV, p. XXX; *Biographie Universelle* (Paris 1826), XLV, p. 505 and n. 17; *Nouvelle Biographie Universelle* (Paris 1866), XLV, p. 229; Maichell, *Intro. ad hist. lit. de praecip. bibl. Paris.*, p. 60. Concerning this M. Omont, in the letter already mentioned, says: "Bien que le ms. 38, comme vous le verrez provienne de De Mesmes et non de De Thou, je crois cependant que c'est lui auquel Du Cange fait allusion à la p. 9 des notes du t. II de Zonaras. En tous cas, il n'y avait pas de ms. du Testament de Salomon dans le Catalogue imprimé au XVII^e siècle de la Bibliothèque de De Thou."

⁶ So the references by Hemsterhuis in *Thomas Magister* (Lugd. Bat. 1757), p. 636, and *Etymolog. Mag.* (ed. Gaisford, Oxford 1848), p. 142, 7, depend upon the *Glossarium*. Fabricius reprinted the title from *Zonaras*. On a slip pasted on the inside of the cover of the codex one reads: "Testamentum Salomonis; Fictitium, non semel laudatum a Gauminio in Notas ad Psellum de operat. Daemonum. 4895." This is a mistake. On Gaulmin's quotations see below on the use of MS W. ⁷ Edition No. 1; cf. *infra Intro* III 1.

⁸ Edition No. 4; cf. *infra Intro* III 4.

6. Q Andreas Convent, Mt. Athos, No. 73, ff. 11—15: XV cent.; published by Istrin, cf. Edition No. 4¹.

Although Istrin has given no description of the manuscript or critical apparatus, it is evident from the number of omitted letters which he has supplied in brackets, as well as from the frequent longer lacunae that it was carelessly copied from a defective exemplar.

The manuscript contains only about one third of P; viz., the first ninety and the last two hundred thirty-seven lines, cc. III 1—XX 9 being omitted. The omission occurs near the bottom of f. 12^r, many pages, evidently, having dropped out of its exemplar.

7. S Vienna, codex philos. graec. 108; paper, cm. 19×25; XVI cent.; well preserved; the greater part unpublished. Contains two unpublished fragments: 1) copies of the twelve seals said in MSS VW to have been found on the ring of Solomon, f. 361^v; 2) one of the recipes found in the same recension (VII 7), f. 167^v 2.

The codex contains much astrological matter, and many Solomonic amulets and selections. It has a large number of amulets like those in MS V, and long selections of magical content written in the peculiar cryptography to be found in that manuscript. They must, therefore, be of related origin, S having been copied from V or its exemplar. I have not learned anything concerning its provenience.

8. T British Museum, Harleian MS No. 5596; cf. *supra*, No. 4.

This manuscript has already been fully described. A different letter, T, is used to designate the three fragments which are

1 I attempted to secure a photograph of this manuscript, as of MS D, but none was sent. No reason was given for the failure.

2 Cf. CCAG VI (Codd. Vindobon.), p. 1. Some of the Solomonic matter is edited in the catalog. The names of the *decani* from ff. 357 ff. (p. 73 ff.), bear practically no resemblance to those in the *Test* XVIII, yet the materials are ultimately related; cf. *infra* p. 56. I studied the codex in Berlin, where it was very kindly sent to the imperial library for my use.

not incorporated in the incomplete copy of the *Test* found in this manuscript, and which belong to different recensions.

T^o (or simple T) designates a fragment containing the variant story of Onoskelis (Rec. C, XI), and part of Solomon's conversation with Paltiel Tzamal (Rec. C, XII 1—4, and 6 — in part —). It begins without title in the middle of col. 1 on f. 7^r, being separated from a magic formula which precedes it by a slight space, and ends in the middle of col. 2 on the *verso* of the same leaf. The remainder of the column is blank. The *Test* begins at the top of the next column, f. 8^r.

T^r designates a fragment from the *Clavicula* containing a representation of a seal and inscription which, according to MSS HI, was that on Solomon's ring. The seal, an elongated six-sided figure containing ten circles and various magical characters with the word *σαβαωθ*, takes up the greater part of the first column on the page (f. 33^r), and following it are given certain instructions and the inscription (cf. infra p. 2/3.), which runs over into the second column, under the rubric *περὶ τοῦ δακτυλιδίου*. The *Test* in this manuscript (L), contains a somewhat different but closely related version of the inscription on the seal.

T^d designates a section in the *Clavicula* which contains the list of fifty (or fifty-one) demons which makes up a considerable portion of the unique matter in Rec. C. It runs from f. 39^{vi} (bottom) to f. 41^{vi} (top), and bears the rubric, *ἕτερα πράξης* (sic) *τῆς αὐτῆς*. The previous section has for its rubric, *ἕτερα πράξης τοῦ καθρέπτου* (modern Greek, *mirror*). It is an exorcism of a certain female demon and her people (*ἡ κυρὰ βασίλισσα ἡ συμπίλια ὄμου με τοῦ λαοῦ της . . . ἐσὺ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντές σου*) in order that they may perform certain services for the magician, particularly that they may answer truthfully any questions he may ask. It is written in very late Greek with an Italian flavor, much more modern than the already late Greek of the list of fifty demons. T^d is followed by a list of the demons and angels that rule each hour of the day, and another of the ruling planets and the work proper to each hour of the day. Both of these subjects had already been covered more briefly in an earlier part of the *Clavicula*; that is, the writer is

here adding to the *Clavicula* matter of various kinds that belongs to the same sort of magic, but was not found in his copy. The last two sections he probably found in another recension of the *Clavicula*, for they appear without great difference of text in the Munich codex¹. The origin of the list of fifty demons will be discussed later². The text of T^d covers about one fifth of Rec. C.

9. U Ambrosian library, Milan, No. 1030 (H 2 inf.); paper, cm. 16×22.6; ff. 1—378; XVI cent.; two fragments: 1) f. 233^v, (= U^d), 2) f. 252^v (= U^p).

As this manuscript is known to me only through the catalogue³ and a photograph of the page on which Fragment 1) is found, a full description of it is impossible. As to the handwriting of the page photographed, however, and general contents, it closely resembles manuscripts V and W, discussions of which follow. It has two pages from the *Clavicula*⁴, here called *ὑπομαντεία* as in Munich MS No. 70, the "Pythagorean" letter⁵ and table found in Harl. MS No. 5596 and Bologna University MS 3632, and some astrological matter found in the Bologna manuscript⁶.

The manuscript contains several unfinished fragments, some of them, like those from the *Test*, "transversis lineis deleta." I should judge that the scribe filled up odds and ends of time and space by copying little sections from other manuscripts. Thus he started in on the list of demons, and when he had reached the bottom of the page stopped. He probably had W or its exemplar before him, for he usually follows the W text.

U^d designates a fragment which, like T^d, contains the list of demons given in Rec. C. In this case, however, it is a mere fugitive fragment, with no relation to what precedes or follows, except as it is all of astrological character, and it does not com-

1 Cod. 70, ff. 243^r—246^r; ff. 240^r—243^r. 2 Cf. *infra* VII 12.

3 *CCGBA*, II 1096. The photograph was obtained through Dr. H. Jantsch, as was that of MS D; cf. *supra*, p. 10, n. 1. 4 Cf. *supra*, p. 14, n. 1.

5 Cf. *supra*, pp. 14, ns. 2—3. Here it reads, *πυθαγόρου ἡλιοδωρῶ χαίρειν· πολλὰ παθὲν, κτλ.*

6 *περὶ τῶν ζ' βατανῶν* (sic), f. 250; *περὶ βοτανῶν ἢ ζωδίων καὶ τῶν ζ' πλανητῶν*, f. 246^r.

plete the list, ending with § 11. It bears the title, *Δαίμων σφραγισάμενος ὑπὸ σαλνυμῶνος τάδε εἶπε. Δαιμονίων δυνάμεις καὶ ὀνόματα.*

UP I have chosen to designate a little fragment which begins very abruptly in the middle of a sentence in § 5 of the "Prologue" to Recension C, with the words, *πρὸς αὐτόν· σολομών, σολομών, κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου ἐρεῖ.* The catalogue does not quote farther, nor give the *explicit*.

10. V Bologna, Library of the University, MS No. 3632; 475 ff., paper, cm. 21.9×29.6; XV cent.; written by a physician, John of Aro (or the son of Aro, or Aron); *Test*, entitled *Διαθήκη τοῦ σοφωτάτου σολομῶντος, κτλ.*, ff. 436^v—441^v; dated (f. 441^v) December 14, 1440¹. Unpublished².

The codex is poorly preserved. The leather of the half-leather binding is torn away, and the book is almost in pieces. The rough, gray paper is becoming discolored, yet the writing is distinct. One would not form a high estimate of the education of Dr. John from his handwriting, for it is loose, careless, and irregular, and his lines run up hill. His spelling is equally unsatisfactory. No distinction is made between, *ει, η, ι, οι*, and *υ*; between *α* and *ε*; or between *ο* and *ω*. Often *β* and *υ*, occasionally *α* and *ει*³ are interchanged. The accents are usually placed on the right syllable, but no attention is paid to the distinction between acute, grave, and circumflex, the last appearing even on *ε*. The breathings also are interchanged. The iota subscript is wanting. The punctuation, consisting of comma and period, is in general not bad, but not entirely consistent. Abbreviations, ligatures, and compendia are extremely frequent. Well known words or forms are abbreviated by leaving off the last few

1 Cf. *CCAG* IV (codd. Ital. praeter Flor. etc.) 46. Olivieri, "Indice", 452.

2 Through the customary diplomatic channels the officials of the University Library at Heidelberg very kindly secured the loan of this MS for a period of three months from February to May, 1908, and later the extension of the time for three months more, transferring it also to Berlin, where I had gone for the summer semester. This gave opportunity for a careful study of the whole codex.

3 Probably because the ligature for *ει* closely resembles a common form of *α*.

letters. The title, the subscription, and the initial letters of the chief sections are rubricated. Corrections, erasures, and marginal notes are wanting.

The contents of the codex are instructive both as to the medical practice and the religious beliefs of the Middle Ages, for they include all sorts of pseudo-scientific biological information, pages of medico-magical formulae, partly in cryptography¹, and long astrological treatises. The codex is rendered unique by its cryptography and by the large number of illustrations, poorly drawn and highly colored, including drawings of animals and plants, and magical and astrological figures.

The *Test* stands in gathering μ of the codex, being preceded by 1) λαβύρινθος τοῦ σοφοῦ σολομῶντος, f. 435^{r2}, and 2) περὶ βοτανῶν τῶν β' ζωδίων ἐρμου τοῦ τρισεγίστου καὶ περὶ βοτανῶν τῶν ζ' πλανήτων, f. 435^{v3}. Following the *Test* comes ὄνειρόκριτος ὁ σηρημ⁴ καὶ ἕτερος ὄνειρόκριτος καὶ πάλιν ἕτερος κατ' ἀλφάβητον. After the letter π of this third ὄνειρόκριτος the codex ends (f. 475). Two further writings mentioned in the πίναξ (f. 16^v) are wanting; 1) εὐχὴ τοῦ ἁγίου κυπριάνου καὶ ἐτέρου (sic) τοῦ ἁγίου γριγορίου, and 2) καὶ ἕτερες τέχναις τοῦ σολομῶντος⁵. None of these items were originally in the πίναξ, but the writings themselves are in the same hand as the greater part of the book. They evidently were not a part of the original plan of the copyist. The codex contains also the "Pythagorean" matter found in Harl. 5596⁶, but in this case the copyist saved himself trouble by pasting in six leaves, the first five of which, containing the "Pythagorean" letter, were written in another hand, Dr. John continuing on the sixth. The titles of the

1 Cf. *infra*, p. 23 and n. 1.

2 Cf. Berthelot, *Col. alch.* I 156f., Texte grec I XX 39f. (from MS 299, St. Mark's, Venice, f. 102^v, XIV or XV cent.); I have found it also in Munich MS 395 (Hardt, IV 228), and Brit. Mus. Add. MS 34060, f. 162^v. The Bologna MS lacks the text which in three different forms accompanies the *Labyrinth* in the above three MSS.

3 Cf. CCAG IV 134, VI 83, VII 29; Fr. Boll in *N JBB kl Alt* XXI (1908), 110 n. 2; see below p. 26 on MS W.

4 See below on MS W, p. 26, n. 2. 5 Was this the *Clavicula*?

6 Cf. *supra*, p. 14 and ns. 2—3 and p. 20 and n. 5.

writings which were pasted in are an original part of the *πίναξ*, and therefore, probably of the plan. From the similarity of subject matter it is plain, I think, that T, U, and V are very closely related.

The *Test* covers the lower two thirds of f. 436^v, on which it begins. After fifteen lines at the top of the succeeding page, all the remainder is occupied by the twelve seals which were engraved on Solomon's ring, with an additional circle in which the description of the seals given in the text is repeated¹. The next six pages are written solid, the writing space averaging cm. 17.5×25. On f. 441^v the first eleven centimeters of the writing space are occupied by a circular figure intended to represent a magic writing of Solomon which is mentioned in the text (Rec. C XIII 14), and bearing the superscription, αὐτ(η) ἡ βούλ(α) ἥν ἐφόρεσ(ε) σωλομόν ἐπάνο τη σκευει αὐτου. Beside it stands another, empty circle. There follow the concluding five lines of the *Test*, and then the subscription, consisting of seven lines, the first five of which are in the cryptographic character peculiar to this MS and Vienna 108.

The subscription, reduced to ordinary characters, is given in the Text, p. 212. Lines five and six read, ἐγράφη παρ' ἐμοῦ Ἰω(αννον) ἱατροῦ τοῦ αρο ἐν ἔτει ςϞμθ' (Ἰνδικτιόνοϛ) δ' ἐν μηνὶ Δεκε(μ)βρίῳ ιδ'. The name, Ἰωάννου is abbreviated to *Ιω*, the remainder of the line up to and including *αρο* being in cryptographic characters. On f. 362^r the name is given again in cryptographic characters, this time spelled out in full, as follows: *ιοάννου ιατρον του αρον*. On f. 327^r it is found again thus: *ιοαννου του αρό του ιατρον*. There can be no doubt as to the reading of the characters, since by a combination of two lists of words and their equivalents in different parts of the codex a key is formed to the cryptography². *Aro* I take as a place name, but am unable to locate it.

As to date there is no difficulty, since that part of the subscription exhibits only the common abbreviations. The world

1 Called Vs in the apparatus crit., cf. p. 214.

2 The writer has in preparation an article on this cryptography.

year 6949 corresponds to 1440—1. The indiction, four, fits that year according to the table given by Gardthausen. The date is, therefore, December 14, 1440. On f. 269^v (bottom) one reads the date ςϯλθ', and on f. 327^r after the name, ςϯνβ'; that is, 6939, or 1430—1, and 6952, or 1443—4. Although the meaning of the accompanying notice is not clear to me, I take it for an astronomical remark¹. That on f. 327^r has the appearance of having been added to the page at the lower margin after the original writing had been completed. As we have already seen, the codex falls into two parts, the second beginning with gathering μ, f. 435, and there is no reason why the first part may not have been written last, yet I incline to think the date was added after the writing.

There are several other writings in the codex which in the *πίναξ* are called *πρᾶξις Σολομώντος*, all of them having to do with magic. The references to Solomon, however, were added after the first writing of the index, and it would seem that after writing the latter part of the codex, the scribe came to the conclusion that Solomon was the great source of all magical science and proceeded to give him due credit. The *Test* may well have been the cause of this opinion.

Most of the writings marked *πρᾶξις Σολομώντος* have no relation to the ancient king, except that they are magical. However, on ff. 360—361 is a considerable collection of amulets, two of which bear his name. In the one it is simply a part of the incantation². The other, a circle four centimeters in dia-

1 The three notices read, after correction as to orthography, as follows: 1) f. 327^r: μνήσθητι, κύριε, τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀρὸ τοῦ ἱατροῦ + (ἔτει) ςϯνβ' (εἰσὶν) ὡ ς ς ης τ(ου)ς) (· (1. ὁ χρόνος εἰς τοὺς ἑξήκοντας); at lower margin in faded ink: ἔβ' ςϯξε'. 2) f. 62^r: Ἰωάννου ἱατροῦ τοῦ Ἀρόν· ἡ μὲν ἡ χεῖρ ἡ γραψάσα σέπεται τάφῳ, τὸ δὲ γραφὲν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας μένει. + εβρετε βρεμα ἐκ θεου ελενι (1. εὑρεται βλέμμα ἐκ θεοῦ ἑλεεινοῦ?) + Γαλήνου. 3) f. 269^v (not in cryptography): ἔτει ςϯλθ' κύκλ(ον) χγ' (σελήνης) (ἡμέρα?) δ' θεμελ(ίφ) ξ' (Ἰνδικτιῶν)ος θ'. Cf. Gardthausen, *Gr. Pal.* II 495.

2 The same amulet is found in S (= Vind. phil. gr. 108), f. 361^r, on the page preceding the copies of the twelve seals of Solomon (cf. supra p. 15). The amulet consists of a circle decorated within and without with magic signs and containing the following: *ιωηλ βοηθει* (within a triangle). *ιδου σολομ(ον) υιος*

meter, bears the title, *τοῦ σολομῶντος μεγάλου*, and it contains within it the inscription which, according to H and I, belongs on Solomon's magic seal, and which is given in the *Clavicula* in Harl. 5596 (= T^r), and in a slightly different form in the *Test* in that manuscript (L). The Bologna version has been designated as V^{r1}.

As to the provenience of the codex I have been able to learn nothing more than has been already intimated. The cryptography of the manuscript is sufficiently like the stenography of Cod. Vat. Graec. 1809 to make one think of the monastery of Grottaferrata² as some way the source of Dr. John's knowledge of stenography. Yet the inference that he was connected with the monastery would be extremely uncertain. He may have gotten the stenography indirectly or even have developed it independently upon the basis of more ancient systems. That the manuscript is Italian in origin there can be no doubt.

11. W Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Anc. fonds grecs, No. 2419, XV cent. paper, cm. 27×37, 342 ff., written by George Mediatēs. *Test* entitled *διαθήκη τοῦ σοφωτάτου σολομῶντος, κτλ.*, ff. 266^v—270^v. Well preserved. Unpublished³.

The codex resembles very closely the foregoing. The writing is somewhat more regular and less hasty in most of the codex. Iotacisms are almost as numerous; doubled letters are almost always written singly, even where they belong to different words. As to all other points W is just a trifle better than V. W omits occasional phrases that are found in V, sometimes apparently through carelessness, sometimes because they were unintelligible.

As to contents again there is great similarity, but in W the

δα(βι)δ δρακοντος γλωσ(σ)α εχων βασιλεος εγγκεφαλον. Beneath is written the following prescription for the use of the amulet: *αυτ(η) η βουλα γρα(ψε) ομοιων κροκον και κηναβαρι και μαγνητη και βαστα ενθα εισι χριματα (και εσι ακνηητος add. Bol; more correct spelling adopted where MSS differed).*

1 Cf. Text p. 100*.

2 See M. Gitibauer, *Überreste*, 1 Fasc. p. 3.

3 On this MS cf. Omont, *Ino*, II 256f. I copied the *Test* in Paris in May and June, 1907.

alchemistic and astronomical interests outweigh the biological and the magico-medical. Berthelot says of it, "Ce manuscrit in-folio . . . est des plus précieux pour l'histoire de l'Astronomie, de l'Astrologie, de l'Alchimie, et de la Magie au moyen âge; c'est une réunion indigeste de documents de dates diverses et parfois fort anciens, depuis l'Almageste de Ptolémée et les auteurs arabes jusqu'aux écrivains de la fin du moyen âge"¹. The codex contains three pages from the *Clavicula*, and some "Hermetic" and "Pythagorean" writings. The fact which connects it most clearly and indubitably with Bologna 3632 is that the *Test* is immediately preceded by the Hermetic work on the planets and the twelve signs of the zodiac, and followed, though not immediately, by two of the "dream books" which also appear in the Italian manuscript². The very position of the beginning of the *Test* on the page is the same in the two manuscripts. As in V, so in W, the *Test* begins about one third down the page, and at the bottom of the next page are found the large seals that in this recension belong on Solomon's ring. Either the one was copied from the other, or both followed very closely the same exemplar. The decision of this question can best be left to a later section (III 4) where the text will be discussed.

As to the provenience of the codex, M. Omont has given me the following information³: "Grec 2419: Provient du cardinal Nicolas Ridolfi († 1550), puis du maréchal Pierre Strozzi († 1558) et de Catherine de Medicis, après la mort de laquelle (1589), il resta sous scellés jusqu'à son entrée dans la bibliothèque du Roi en 1599. Au fol. 340^v°, le bibliothécaire de Ridolfi, Matthieu Devaris, a écrit cette note sur l'origine du ms.: αὕτη ἡ μεγάλη βίβλος, ἣν ἐκόμισέ τις Ἑλλήν ἐν Βαλνεαρία διατρίβοντι τῷ δεσπότη, περιέχει ἀστρονομικά τινα καὶ λατρικά καὶ ἄλλα διάφορα. N° 35. [Deleted by a transverse line.] N° 44 vigesim. quart. (Ce sont deux numéros successifs de la bibliothèque du Cardinal Ridolfi; s. e. *capsae*. τῷ δεσπότη designe ici le maître de De-

¹ *Col. alch.* I, Intro., I, 205; MS described, pp. 205—211.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 22. The titles of the "dream books" as given by Omont (*loc. cit.*) are *Oneirocrites Syrim* and *Manuelis Palaeologi oneirocrites*.

³ In the letter already referred to above, p. 13, n. 1, p. 17, n. 1.

varis, le cardinal Nicolas Ridolfi.)" W, then, like V, came from Italy.

The name of the writer was George Mediates (or, Meidiates), as appears from a subscription found on f. 288. From a *Paschalion* on f. 275 running from 1462 to 1492 the conclusion is drawn that the codex was written about 1462.

The codex has been frequently used by scholars. Gaulmin in all probability took from it the excerpts he quoted in his notes on Psellus *de oper. daem*¹. From it Du Cange prepared a very considerable list of chemical and astrological abbreviations and tachygraphic signs². In more recent times Berthelot has taken from it some important chapters in his *Collection des Anciens Alchimistes Grecs*, while Reitzenstein refers to it several times in his *Poimandres*. Aside from Gaulmin I know of no publication which refers to the *Test*.

12. Βιβλιοθήκη μόνης Κοντλουμουσίου, Χαρτ. 16. XVI (Φ. 431), . . . 4. διαθῆκαι Σολομῶντος. "Απαντα ἐν τῇ καθωμιλημένῃ.

This reference is taken from Lambros' Catalogue of the MSS on Mt. Athos, No. 3221, p. 287. I attempted to secure a photograph, but was unsuccessful, and know only this reference to the manuscript.

13. While studying in Berlin, Paris, London, Heidelberg, Munich, and smaller places on the Continent, I made search for other manuscripts and for translations of the *Test*, but without success. None of the catalogues which I was able to consult gave indications of its presence in any form. Through the kindness of Dr. A. F. R. Petsch, then professor in Heidelberg, and later in the University of Liverpool, inquiries were made by friends of his in the libraries at St. Petersburg and Moscow, but without success. Dr. F. C. Conybeare was so kind as to search in the Vatican Library. Though he was under the impression that a Latin manuscript was in existence³, he was

¹ See above, p. 17, ns. 6, 7.

² *Gloss.*, "Notarum characteres, Notae aliae," coll. 19—22, in vol. II.

³ At Florence; see the *Guardian*, Mar. 29, 1899, p. 442. Dr. Conybeare

unable to verify that supposition or to find any other manuscripts. No doubt such exist and will be found, but no others are available at present¹.

III. MODERN EDITIONS, TRANSLATIONS, AND TREATISES.

1. Fabricius² deserves mention before all others, because he first attempted a systematic collection of materials bearing on the *Test*. As already indicated³, he gathered his excerpts from Gaulmin and Du Cange, whose quotations he prints in full with some attempt at emendation.

2. Fleck rather inaccurately copied the *editio princeps*⁴ from MS P, mistaking many letters, and so causing himself and those who have had to depend upon his edition much difficulty. He evidently was not familiar with sixteenth century ligatures. While it has not seemed necessary to note his misreadings in the critical apparatus of the present edition, some of the more important have been included as samples of his errors⁵.

3. Apparently the first scholar to concern himself with the text which Fleck had printed was Bornemann. In 1843 and in 1846 he published conjectural emendations of the text, showing no little ingenuity, and in some obvious cases finding the original, though missing it in every real difficulty, as is usual with such conjectures. In 1844 he published a complete translation in German⁶, marked by the same learning and good sense shown in his "Conjectanea".

4. Fürst⁷ was the next to deal with the *Test*, printing the Greek text after Fleck, with a German translation, also in 1844.

was so kind also as to send me a reference to Chachanov's *History of Georgian Literature* (I 170ff.), where mention is made of Georgian manuscripts of the *Test*. Unfortunately the work was to be found neither in Berlin, London, nor Chicago, and I have not seen the pages in question.

1 The index to Omont, *Inv* refers to Anc. fonds grecs 2511 as having a copy of the *Test*, but it is merely a copy of Prov. XXV 1—XXIX 29. Two Jerusalem MSS discovered later are discussed in the appendix.

2 Cf. Bibliogr. III 1. 3 Supra p. 17, n. 6, p. 27, ns. 1, 2; Bibliogr. IV.

4 Cf. Bibliogr. I 1. 5 Cf. c. I 2, II 6, IV 4. 6 Cf. Bibliogr. III 1 and II 1.

7 Cf. Bibliogr. I 2 and II 2.

The work, however, was not completed. Little attention was given to emending the text, but no small learning was expended on its proper translation and interpretation, though, rather strangely, the title is rendered "Bund", not "Testament", or "Vermächtniss."

5. In Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*¹ a reprint of the text from Fleck with a Latin translation was appended to Psellus, because of the fact that Gaulmin had quoted the *Test* in his *Notae* to Psellus' *de oper. daem.* The reprint shows the usual additional typographical errors, but in a few cases Fleck's more obvious mistakes were corrected. The article in Migne's *Dictionaire des Apocryphs* (Bibliogr. III 3) adds nothing new.

6. Chronologically next in order is Dr. F. C. Conybeare's translation with introduction in the old *Jewish Quarterly Review*², which is marked by the famous rationalist's usual careful scholarship and independence of judgment. He did all one could do with Fleck's edition. However, I am inclined to differ from him on questions of date and origin.

7. As a result of the publication of Conybeare's translation there appeared two brief articles in the *Manchester Guardian*³, one by Dr. Montague Rhodes James, and the other by Dr. Conybeare, and a brief review in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* by Schürer⁴, who differed with Conybeare as to the Jewish origin of the *Test*.

8. In the same year that Dr. Conybeare's translation appeared, the Russian scholar, Istrin, presented the text of the fragmentary manuscripts which I have called I and Q, and of the interesting story called MS D⁵. His introduction indicates the true relationship, as I believe, between D and the *Test*.

9. A brief notice of Istrin's publication and a review by Dr. E. Kurz appeared in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*⁶.

10. Harnack has a brief notice in his *Altchristliche Literatur*⁷, and Schürer a considerable one in his *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, which includes a valuable collection of materials⁸. To

1 Cf. Bibliogr. I 3.

4 *Ibid.* III 7.

7 Vol. I 858.

2 *Ibid.* II 4 and III 4.

5 *Ibid.* I 4 and III 8.

8 *GFV* III 419f., *HJP* II III 154f.

3 *Ibid.* III 5 and 6.

6 *Ibid.* III 9 and 10.

Dr. Kohler's article in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*¹ I owe the interesting suggestion that the *Test* represents pre-Talmudic demonology. Other encyclopedia articles make no special contribution².

11. In Salzberger's dissertation on the *Salomosage* much space is dedicated to the *Test*³. He accepts Conybeare's conclusions as to authorship and date, and accordingly takes the *Test* as representative of early Jewish-Christian demonology and folklore, making no attempt to distinguish Hellenistic elements. He has evidently used Conybeare's translation without reference to the Greek text⁴.

12. Ginzberg's *Legends of the Jews*⁵ contains a section devoted to the *Test*. It is a paraphrase and epitome rather than a translation, but follows the text of Fleck rather closely. One error is sufficiently serious to deserve mention: the aerial column of c. XXIV is confused with the cornerstone of c. XXIII. As unfortunately the notes and references, which, according to the preface⁶, were to have appeared in the last volume, are lacking, there is nothing to indicate the source from which the story was taken. As a piece of entertaining writing the work may have a place, but it is a hindrance rather than a help to the study of ancient Jewish thinking because of its uncritical confusion of older and later materials. Ginzberg was not justified in using the *Test* without first sifting out the considerable non-Jewish elements more carefully than he does.

IV. THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE *TESTAMENT*.

1. The manuscript families. — On the textual evidence alone, without reference to wider considerations of language and subject matter, which will be taken up later, the various

1 IV 518, art. „Demonology”. 2 Cf. Bibliogr. III 3 and 12.

3 Bibliogr. III 13.

4 This appears from his citing only Conybeare (p. 9, n. 9) and from his use of „*Flasche*” for ἀσὺς (p. 97), following Conybeare's “flask” in secs. 119—123, though the latter once has “leather flask” (119).

5 Bibliogr. II 5. 6 Vol. I XV.

MSS divide themselves into four clearly marked classes or recensions¹.

a) MS D differs from the rest in that it is not a "Testament." Of magico-medical formulae there are none. It is simply a biography of Solomon in which the demonological interest outweighs all others, quite closely resembling in many features the *Arabian Nights*. It clearly belongs to the "literature of entertainment," where Schürer wished to class the whole *Test*².

b) MSS H, I, and L (Rec. A) stand very close together, H and I agreeing in a beginning which is entirely different from that in the other MSS, H and L (after I drops out) in the long omission, cc. XIV 3—XVI 1. L might deserve to be put by itself as a separate recension, for it has at a late period undergone a special revision. A magician has endeavored to make the work more useful for members of his profession by introducing directions for the use of the more important magical formulae in the cure of some disease, probably demon possession. He has also made some further changes in the opening sections. However, all these alterations, marked by modern Greek forms³, are so easily detached from the remainder and affect it so little that there is no need to separate it from H and I as a textual witness.

c) MSS P and Q (Rec. B), again, clearly stand together almost from beginning to end. The title and the opening sentences are good illustrations of their close similarity throughout. This recension, in P at least, is marked by two explanations of the writing of the *Test*⁴, by a shorter beginning and ending, and by more extended accounts of many of the demons⁵.

d) MSS V and W with the fragments S, T, and U group

1 The variety of recensions is not at all remarkable in popular literature such as this; cf. the remarks of Krumbacher, "Studien zur Legende des heil. Theodosius," in *Sitzungsber. d. bay. Akad. d. Wiss., philos., philol. u. hist. Cl.*, 1892, Heft II, p. 225.

2 Since this is not a *Test*, I have not called it a recension, but refer to it as MS D. See above, p. 5, n. 2. 3 Such as ἡρον ἔνας, I 1.

4 See XV 14 and XXVI 8; no great weight can be attached to this, since c. XV is wanting in HILQ by accident or scribal error.

5 See cc. XIX, XX, and XXVI.

themselves as an entirely different recension (C), which has undergone a thorough revision. The *Prologue*, as I have called it, in order to bring the chapter and verse divisions into line with the other recensions, and the altered title, but especially the entirely different ending from IX 8 on are sufficient evidence. This recension is more interested in demonology as a means for revealing nature's treasures and mysteries than in its medical aspect as emphasized in the original *Test*. It is marked by scribal omissions¹.

2. The relationships and relative dates of the recensions. —

a) MS D represents the story which formed the basis of the *Test*. The recensions have just been considered in what the writer regards as their chronological order. It is inconceivable that any one should take the *Test* as found in Recs. A, B, or C, and, by eliminating all the magico-medical element and the "testament" motif, reduce it to the simple tale of Solomon's birth and greatness, his temple building and dealing with demons, which appears in MS D. On the other hand, the very close resemblances between MS D and Recs. A and B as to general outline and even as to text in places, e. g., in the story of the old man and his son, c. XXI, proves the closest possible relationship, and, therefore, the dependence of the *Test* upon the story as found in MS D.

Yet D in its present form cannot have been the basis of the *Test*. It occasionally shows a fuller, secondary text, e. g., in the threat of the old man to cease working if Solomon did not condemn his son (D IV 2). Especially is this true of D VII. The question of c. VII 1, *ἔστι καὶ ἕτερον δαιμόνιον*; and its answer, *εἰςὶ μὲν πολλά, ὃ βασιλεῦ*, after the statements of c. III 4—8 that all the demons had been brought in and set to work in the temple are manifestly a later addition. There is no reason why c. VII should not have been put into the *Test* if it had lain before its writer. It is evident, then, that MS D represents a revision of the work that formed the original of the *Test*.

¹ See cc. I 4, 11, 14; V, VI, etc. The language of C is more consistently late than in any of the other recensions; see below, V 2.

The question as to whether cc. I, II, and VIII were part of this original is harder to answer. The editor of the *Test* could not well include cc. I and II in a "testament," which must have been written in the first person to have entirely consistent. The abrupt beginning of Rec. B is probably due to truncating the original story in order to eliminate these elements, which do not fit the new plan. C. VIII could easily have been put into the first person and left in the *Test*. Yet it seems entirely possible that it was in the original and was omitted by the editor of the *Test* merely because it did not interest him, or perhaps because it did not suit the pathos of the fall. It is not inconsistent with the remainder of D, but rather comes as a fitting conclusion to a narrative of which the account of the sin of David and the birth of Solomon was the beginning¹. I am inclined, therefore, to regard D I—VI, VIII as the original basis for the *Test*; with certain changes which we cannot follow and the addition of c. VII, D received its present form. The making of the *Test* was a much more complicated process.

b) Recensions A and B are both revisions of the original *Test*. The question of priority in this case is much more difficult. It is plain that A is secondary at its beginning, because it is much fuller than B (c. I ff.). Again at its conclusion, A, here represented by H only, is much fuller, and probably represents an expansion (C. XXVI 8—10). In the main, however, A has the shorter text in so many places where B presents fuller information regarding the demons², that one cannot but conclude that Rec. A has the claim to priority in most cases, and is nearest the original *Test*³.

c) Recension C is a revision of Recension B. The nature of the material in the added chapters of C, as well as the fact that in the fragments, especially in T, much of it occurs in, or in

¹ The transposition of sentences in c. VIII does not affect these conclusions, as it may have occurred in the exemplar from which MS D was copied, or in the copying of D without touching the original. But see MS E in appendix.

² Cf., for example, VI 4f., XVI 4f., XVIII 42, XX 6, etc. -

³ Rec. A presents omissions due to careless copying or a defective exemplar; e. g., XIV 3—XVI 1.

connection with, the *Clavicula*, which is a mediaeval product, establishes the character of this recension as secondary and late. The interesting account in C XIII of the origin of a *καινή διαθήκη* which is to be given to the world as a deception and a snare, while the true, original *Testament* is to be preserved in one copy only until "the expected parousia of God," when it is again to be spread abroad, is plainly intended to establish faith in this recension as the real original article over against Rec. B, which it was to supplant. The numerous agreements of B and C prove that the latter was based upon the type of text found in the former¹, yet in some cases C has a more primitive text than the present MS representatives of B (MSS PQ) offer.

d) Illustration will serve to make the relationships of the recensions clearer. A good example is to be found in c. III 7. Here Rec. A (HIL) gives a text which is entirely fitting and intelligible: ἀπήτουν δὲ τοῦτον ἀδιαλείπτως ἔγγυθέν μοι προ-
(ς)εδρεύειν. This became nonsense by misreading into ἀπάντων δὲ τούτων οὐ διαλιποῶ, as V shows (W omits this much). P, wishing to leave nothing unintelligible, altered to ἅπαντες δὲ οἱ δαίμονες ἔγγισθέν μου προεδρεύουσι, which in itself is good, but does not fit the context which follows in § 8. Another example of B's improvement upon a text which seemed unintelligible is found in II 8, where both V and W, as W in the previous case, omitted the difficult words. In c. XVIII 42 the editor of B expands a short section which in A merely closes the account of the thirty-six *decani* into an entirely new narrative of Solomon's treatment of demons in general. On the other hand, in the latter part of the *Test*, where H alone represents Rec. A, there are a number of sections in which the text of H is so brief as to be almost unintelligible, and, as it seems to me, shows evidence of hasty abbreviation². In these sections I have given B the preference, as also in the conclusion (c. XXVI 7—8), where H has an expanded text.

¹ Examples may be found on almost any page; cf. c. V ff. This account of the writing of a "New Testament" may be compared with IV Ezra XIV 26, 42, 45f.

² Cf. XXII 3, 11, XXIV and XXV *passim*.

3. The evolution of the Testament: summary of conclusions.
 — A number of stories about Solomon in which demons played a large part were gathered into a tale, *d*, a revision of which lies before us in MS D¹. Some one who was interested in the magical cure of diseases then conceived the idea of the *Test*, and decapitated the story of *d*, leaving it to begin abruptly as in Rec. B with the tale of a demon who plagued the King's favorite workman during the temple building. The editor added a more fitting conclusion in the story of Solomon's fall as found in Rec. B. The original *Test*, then, consisted of the beginning and ending as in Rec. B (MSS PQ), but with the body of the work mainly as in Rec. A (MSS HIL)². The present beginning of Rec. A resulted from an attempt to remove the abruptness of the first sentence, being constructed by piecing together from later sections items regarding the favorite workman. This redacteur also thought himself able to construct a conclusion with greater parenetic value. Rec. B is another independent working over of the original *Test*, with certain interesting additions. Whereas redacteur A was mainly concerned with making the story read better, redacteur B was in possession of fuller knowledge regarding many of the demons mentioned, and accordingly added to or replaced several sections³. Finally a student of demonological literature with a theological and scientific bent discovered some fragments which he thought Solomonic and which appeared to him to have greater value than a good part of the *Test*. So taking Rec. B he constructed another *Test*, putting in a preface, or prologue, containing certain prayers of Solomon, removing the abruptness of the beginning much as redacteur A did, and replacing the latter two-thirds of the *Test* by his new material. In the story of Onoskelu (Rec. C XI) he

¹ Istrin in his introduction to the MSS which he edited came to the same conclusions regarding the relation of MS D to the *Test* as those expressed above, and I am in part indebted to him for this theory, and especially for the discovery of MS D.

² The text printed at the top of the page in this edition is an attempt to reconstruct this original *Test*.

³ These are printed in brackets thus: [], or placed in the critical apparatus at the bottom of the page.

presents a variant form of a tale which he allows to remain in the earlier, unaltered part under the name of Onoskelis (c. IV)¹. He seeks to give authority to his version by representing that it was feared and secretly preserved at the request of a great demon, Paltiel Tzamal, who wished to prevent the publication of its great mysteries, and that the well known, current form of the *Test* had been specially written for Hezekiah, thus utilizing an early tradition². MS L represents an interesting step in another direction, the attempt to make the work of greater practical value as a physician's *vade mecum*, or book of prescriptions. Its reading with the proper rites would cure the possessed³.

4. The textual value of the MSS and their use in reconstructing the text. — Although MS D represents the original story from which the *Test* was evolved, it possesses no primary textual value, since it is not the *Test*, and, though its contents are similar, its text is rarely that of the *Test*. The attempt here is to reconstruct the original *Test* out of which Recs. A and B have grown. MS D is printed separately at the end of the volume.

Our MSS of Rec. C come from a class of men of rather low mentality and poor Greek education. The numerous omissions are textually of little moment, because the redacteur was interested in different matters from the originator of the *Test*, and the scribes were careless. Since, as we have already shown above (IV 2 c, d), C is derived from B, their agreement can have little weight *per se* against acceptable readings found in A alone. Where, however, Recs. A and C agree, they represent the original text. Without C it would have been much more difficult to show that B was secondary. While neither V nor W could have been copied the one from the other⁴, they may have come from the same exemplar. Where it was unintelligible or corrupt,

1 In the critical apparatus to c. IV readings from c. XI of C have been distinguished by adding a superior letter ° to the letters T, V, and W.

2 Rec. C XIII; cf. Josephus, *Hypomnesticon* c. 74, Suidas, s. v. Ἐζεκίας; see below VIII 3c (3). 3 Cf. II 5, 6; IV 12; V 8, 9, 12f.

4 I can find no words in W omitted by V which the scribe of W might not have added by guess, while the reverse (words in V omitted by W) often

V sometimes reproduces conscientiously where W omits or emends, for W had the more intelligent copyist. Accordingly V has been given the greater weight except where mistakes appear to have arisen from carelessness or misunderstanding.

Rec. B represents a learned, and in MS P a very careful, revision¹. Occasionally P alone preserves the true text owing to the greater intelligence with which it has been handled. Yet it must be used with great caution, since both redacteur B and scribe P have taken great liberties with the text in making additions, alterations, and omissions. Q shows more errors than P, but fewer intentional changes.

The MSS of Rec. A have been rather mechanically copied. In some instances the scribes have not taken the liberty to drop or emend what they could not understand, but have reproduced it letter for letter². There are omissions due to carelessness, one so long as probably to have been caused by a missed or missing leaf in the exemplar. In general H appears to have suffered least from intentional revision, but to have been in less skilful hands than I³. Both were conscientiously copied by scribes who knew little of magic. Therefore the better instructed L occasionally presents a preferable reading, although he was somewhat careless and illiterate and his practical directions often vitiate his text. In c. I I have followed MS I, since it alone preserves the first person, which the original *Test* ought to have shown throughout⁴, and also since it appears to me, following

occurs, where other MSS make it possible to determine the true text; e. g., IV 5 (*φύσεως*), II 9, IV 12. W omits by homoeoteleuton, IV 12, of intention, II 9, VIII 9, where the passage seemed unintelligible. Therefore V could not have copied from W. But I do not believe W could have made out the true text from V's unwarranted expansion in II 6 (*φοβούμενος . . . προσπαῦσαι*), nor is he likely to have omitted the right words in IX 9.

1 In one case at least P omits a difficult passage where H and L are unintelligible; viz., V 7; it omits difficult lines in V 4, cf. VW; it makes a glaring omission by homoeoteleuton in XXI 3f., and a minor one in IX 6.

2 Cf. II 2, 3 (HIL), 6 (H), V 6 (HL), XVIII 4 (HL).

3 Cf. XXII 7 and XXIV 3-5 (H); XIV 3-XVI 1 (HL). In V 4, 5, IX 6 H appears to have read ' (=*ἔσιν*) as ' (=*δέ*).

4 L maintains the third person for Solomon consistently, I the first; the others vary, but in general begin with the third and change to the first.

a suggestion of Dr. Goodspeed, that H exhibits an attempt to make clearer the somewhat unusual language of I regarding the favorite slave. Here, however, as in the concluding sections, Rec. A shows signs of undue expansion, and in constructing the text of the *Test*, which always appears at the top of the page, I have followed Rec. B. Again, in certain sections toward the end, I have thought that Rec. A gave evidence of abridgment, and in these places, especially since the carelessly written H is here the only MS of Rec. A, I have given Rec. B the preference¹. In general, then, unless weighty reasons appeared to the contrary, H has been made the basis of this edition. The rule adopted has been, 'When in doubt, follow H.'

In concluding this section it should be noted that we cannot claim to have the original *Test* in our reconstructed text. Such an admission would be called for on a priori grounds alone. But we have evidence on the subject, for, in the quotation from the *Test* which occurs in the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*², the Jew insists that Solomon οὐκ ἔσφαξεν ἀλλὰ ἐθλάσεν, while in the *Test* as we now have it, although the Shunamite says σφάξαι (MS H) or σύντριψον (MSS PQ)³, Solomon merely says ἐθύσα (MS H) or ὄπερ καὶ ἐτέλεσα⁴. If we could find the original MS, many such differences would appear, but not enough to vitiate our general conclusions regarding the work⁵.

V. LANGUAGE AND STYLE.

This section will be made quite brief, as the grammatical index will supplement it by presenting the evidence for the positions taken.

I. MS D. — As to language and style there are decided

¹ Cf. *supra*, IV 2 b, d. MS N has valuable readings. See appendix.

² *Anec. Oxon.* Class. Ser. VIII 70, c. XIII 6; cf. *infra*, VIII 3 d) (2) (e).

³ C. XXVI 4. ⁴ C. XXVI 5.

⁵ In general the effort has been made to print the text as the author may be supposed to have written it, following the ordinary practice of the early Christian centuries as to spelling and grammar. As to *ν* moveable the classical rule has been followed for the sake of simplicity.

differences between the recensions. In this regard, as well as from the diplomatic standpoint, MS D is far superior to the rest. An educated Greek has edited and written it. The outstanding inaccuracy in his grammar is the use of the nominative absolute, or rather *nominativus pendens*, not a serious blunder¹, which occurs a few times. Once ἅμα is used with τό and the infinitive². Otherwise tenses and cases are on the whole correctly used. The optative, subjunctive, imperative in both second and third person, and a future participle of purpose are found. Late forms and usages are rare. For the dative πρός with the accusative is frequent. In IV 9 οὐκέτι ἴδης is a (Homeric and) late usage, subjunctive for future, which has contributed to such a future as εἰσενέγκομεν in VI 2³. βούλεσαι replaces βούλει in IV 11⁴.

As to style, the constant use of the historical present and the occasional omission of λέγει or φησί after the name of the speaker in dialogue lends vivacity, while the conversations are short and to the point. The writer has a fairly large vocabulary, including a considerable number of particles. There is a heaping up of epithets and synonymous words when opportunity offers⁵. Specially noteworthy is the constant use of the circumstantial participle in various relations. The author is fond of dropping in a verb to separate the article and attributives from their noun⁶. The use of βασιλεία = "Majesty," and κράτος = "Excellency" in direct address is Byzantine.

2. Rec. C. — This, the latest recension, is at the antipodes from MS D. How far its present condition is due to scribal carelessness and ignorance we cannot say, but probably they are partly accountable for its very poor Greek. Errors, such as the accusative for the dative, and late forms, such as -αν as ending of the accusative singular in the third declension with an analogous nominative, e. g., σφραγίδα, abound, and there are several Latinisms. The first sentence is an unattachable genitive absolute. The editor was fond of compound tenses. As to style⁷

1 Cf. Moulton, *Proleg.* 69. 2 C. III 5. 3 Cf. Dieterich, *Unters.* 243 ff.

4 *Ibid.* 249. 5 C. I 2, 13; IV 6, 7, 9, 18.

6 C. IV 2, VI 14, VII 2, 4, 5. 7 See Prologue 1, 2; c. XIII 4, 12.

the additions show somewhat ambitious attempts at fine writing, e. g., in the prayers of the Prologue and in the closing chapter. The same trick appears as in D, of dropping the verb in between attributives and their nouns.

3. Rec. B. — Rec. B is more correct as to grammar and simpler as to style than Rec. C. Between A and B there is little difference, but in its additions B, especially MS P, shows a tendency to more "correct" usage, but also to compound words, and in one instance it has a decided Latinism, *πρωτομαίστωρ*¹.

4. Rec. A and the original *Testament*. — The editorial additions to Rec. A have some glaring errors, particularly in MS L, but, if we may judge from this recension, the *Test* was originally a very simple piece of writing in fairly correct Koinē Greek. It paid no attention to refinements of rhetoric or lexicography, but told its story in a straightforward, paratactic style, such as one might expect from a man of small education and mental ability in recounting an interesting series of stories. On the whole the grammar is that of the New Testament, with developments along the lines taken by the Koinē such as would seem to point to a period subsequent to the New Testament. The disappearance of the optative, the aorist subjunctive for the future, the increase in the use of prepositions and compound words, and the numerous locutions which are characterized by the Atticists as vulgar constitute the evidence on this point. Real Semitisms do not appear in the *Test*. That the *καὶ ἐγένετο* construction may be called such I cannot believe². Another so-called Semitism, the demonstrative repeating the relative, occurs, but it is a mere blunder due to an attempt to repair a garbled passage³.

5. Letter of Adarkes to Solomon. — The letter of the Arabian King in c. XXII contains two peculiarities, the absence of the name of the sender from the introductory formula and in MS D the use of direct address, *βασιλεῦ Σολομῶν, χαίροις*. Unfortunately the two treatises which have appeared on the

1 C. I 2. 2 Contrast Conybeare, *JQR* XI 6, and Moulton, *Proleg.* 16f.

3 C. I 9, Rec. C; cf. Moulton, *op. cit.* 94f.

subject of Greek letter formulae¹ do not carry the subject far enough into the Byzantine period to aid us here, and the extant letters have too often been handed down without the introductory formula².

So far as the evidence goes, the use of variations of the customary formula, *ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν*, does not mark any particular era. The use of *χαίροις* with the vocative seems a sign either of servility or of poor breeding, for three of the instances known to me from the papyri are from people of little culture, while the ancients particularly reprobated the use of the first person and direct address³. Perhaps the editor of D thought such familiarity entirely legitimate between kings, or wished to represent the Arabian king as inferior to Solomon⁴.

To account for the absence of the sender's name three theories are possible: either *βασιλεὺς Ἀράβων Ἀδάρκης* has fallen out by haplography, or the MS D form was original and the present text of A and B is a correction to the third person, or the writer has used the form which was customary in copies of letters⁵. Other evidence for the secondary character of the present text of D seems too strong to allow the second alternative. For the first speaks the fact that the MSS differ decidedly as to the lines immediately preceding the letter. More decisive, however, seems the consideration that such a writer could hardly be expected to be precise as to letter formulae, particularly as the identity of the sender is plainly indicated in the text.

Unfortunately in any case we reach the negative conclusion that the peculiarities of the letter formulae give no aid in determining the date of the recensions.

1 Gerhard and Ziemann, see Bibliography IV *infra*.

2 See Hercher and Migne, *PG*.

3 Apollonius Dyscolus, *de const.* II 9, III 14, ed. Bekker, 112, l. 27—113, l. 10, 232, ll. 18 ff.; Scholiast to Dionysius Thrax, 550, ll. 14—23, ed. Hilgard. Ziemann found six examples of *χαίροις* to which add *Ox P 112* (I 177, III/IV cent.) and the optative *εἴη*, Migne, *PG* 161, cols. 688, 692, 697; and nine examples of *χαῖρε* to which add *Ox P 1156* (VIII 258, III cent.); *op. cit.*, 295.

4 Ziemann, *op. cit.*, 296 f., suggests also the possibility of Latin influence.

5 Cf. Ziemann, *op. cit.*, 285 f.; petitions and memorials give no precedent for such a form, cf. *ibid.*, 259—266.

6. Is the *Testament* a translation? — Dr. M. Gaster argues that the *Test* is translated from Hebrew¹. Such a view is naturally suggested by the large number of Hebrew names of angels and demons, to say nothing of the fact that Solomon, the great Jewish wise man, is the hero of the story. Dr. Gaster finds evidence of translation in the expression τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ καλουμένῳ Ἀφαρώφ, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται Ῥαφαήλ, . . . καταργοῦμαι². He believes that we have here a misunderstanding of the word *Shem-ha-meforash*, *perush* having been taken to mean "interpretation." Aside from the precariousness of argument from a single case such as this, the decisive fact is that this expression is an editorial addition found only in MS P. HL present a shorter and simpler text, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου Ῥαφαήλ (καταργοῦμαι). There is no reason why HL should have omitted the phrases of P if they had stood in the original *Test*, for they are perfectly intelligible, with only an element of mystery in the word Ἀφαρώφ such as this sort of literature loves. The editor of Rec. B contributed this out of his fund of magical knowledge³.

As it seems to me, the strongest evidence for translation from a Semitic original is to be found in Rec. A in the list of *decani*, the thirty-six στοιχεῖα, where all from the twentieth on call themselves ῥύξ (H, XVIII 24—40), or ῥίξ (L, XVIII 24—28). This word surely is a transliteration of ריח. But even such a transliteration does not prove that the whole *Test* was originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic. This particular section, which is plainly of Egyptian origin, has been partially revised by a Jew before it was taken over into the *Test*⁴.

Another possible piece of evidence is to be found in the clause ἀπόγονος δέ εἰμι ἀρχαγγέλου τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ Θεοῦ⁵. Ouriel is not the "power of God," as in Recs. B and C, but the "light of God." It might be thought that originally נְבִירְיָאֵל stood in the text and was translated by some one who failed to recognize it as a proper noun. The copyists, feeling the need of some name, have made various "corrections." Such a supposi-

¹ "The Sword of Moses," *JAS* 1896 p. 155, 170. ² C. XIII 6.

³ Cf. *infra* VII 11. ⁴ Cf. *infra* VII 5. ⁵ C. II 4.

tion would be entirely probable if the language of the *Test* elsewhere gave evidence of translation. It is more likely the passage was written by one who knew no Hebrew.

7. Tentative conclusion. — It seems much more natural to explain all apparent indications of Semitic origin as due to the fact that the writer of the *Test* has used materials already translated from languages unfamiliar to him. Did the heathen compiler of the great Paris magic papyrus translate the biblical material he used? Did the writers of the Synoptic Gospels translate their sources from Aramaic? No one so alleges. Our tentative conclusion, then, at this stage of the investigation, must be that the native language of the writer of the *Test* was Greek. So far a study of the language of the work has taken us. For a more precise answer as to its origin we must analyze its chief ideas and their sources.

VI. THE CHIEF IDEAS OF THE *TESTAMENT*.

The *Test* is a collection of astrological, demonological, and magical lore, brought together without any attempt at consistency. The writer attempts no science or philosophy of demonology; indeed he is a compiler rather than an author.

1. Demonology¹. No general statement is made as to the origin of demons, and the data given in particular cases disagree. Some are fallen angels², others are the offspring of angels and the daughters of men³. One is the spirit of a murdered giant, one is perhaps born of a *bath qol*⁴. They dwell in deserts, tombs, precipices, caves, chasms, and at cross roads⁵.

As to their nature certain intimations are given. Most of them are embodied spirits. Of one this is distinctly stated⁶, while a number are minutely described, generally as griffins combined of animals and birds, or of animals and man. One is a wind merely, but when put into a sack he acts like a man⁷. They can, within limits, assume different forms⁸. They are an-

1 Cf. Index II.

4 C. XVII 1, IV 8.

7 Cc. XXII, XXIII.

2 C. VI 2.

5 C. IV 5; VIII 4.

8 C. IV 4; II 3.

3 C. V 3.

6 C. IV 4.

thropomorphically conceived. Onoskelis quails before a threatened beating¹, Asmodaeus is bound and beaten², Kunopegos almost faints from thirst³, Akephalos Daemon sees through his breasts and is blinded when the seal is pressed upon him⁴. Some are female, and the writer probably thought it possible for both males and females to have offspring⁵. They have all the physical as well as psýchical passions of mankind.

Though they thus resemble human beings so closely, they have a certain likeness also to the angels. They escape many of the physical limitations of men, in that they may assume various forms and are supernaturally crafty and powerful. They know the future, and several of them tell Solomon of coming events. How this is possible is explained by Ornias, who relates that the demons fly up to the gates of heaven and overhear the decisions announced to the great concourse of angels there; then, coming down, they make use of their knowledge to injure mankind. However, this foreknowledge is gained at great risk, for, having no place to light at the gate of heaven, they become weary and fall, and these falling demons are what men call shooting stars⁶.

No systematized demonic hierarchy is known. Beelzebul, as chief of the whole tribe of demons⁷, is summoned to assist Solomon in dealing with them. He has a vicegerent, named Abezethibou, like himself a fallen angel, who is the great spirit of rebellion against God and the good. Beelzebul apparently now rules upon earth and Abezethibou in Tartarus, though the latter is "nourished in the Red Sea," where he was confined on the overthrow of Pharaoh and his host⁸. He is haled before Solomon by Ehippas, not by Beelzebul, and may, therefore, be thought of as independent of the latter⁹. Beelzebul is plainly

1 C. IV 11. 2 C. V 6. 3 C. XVI 5. 4 C. IX 3.

5 C. V 4; Rec. B certainly so thought; cf. VI 6; XXII 20.

6 C. XX 14—17.

7 Cc. III, VI. *Βεελζεβούλ*, the form occurring in the majority of NT MSS and adopted by Tischendorf, Nestle, and von Soden, is the form of Recs. BC. H has *Βεελζεβουήλ*, said by Legge to be the Coptic form (*PSBA* XXIII 248). 8 Cc. VI 3; XXV. 9 Cc. VI 5, 6; XXIII 2; XXIV 1.

identified with the ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων of the Gospels¹, for he trembles before "Emmanuel of the Hellenists"². But he is not "Lucifer, star of the morning"³; his star is Ἑσπερία⁴. Except in C. III, where he is first summoned, and in C. VI, where he is examined, Beelzebul is a figurehead. Only Kunopegos, a sort of Poseidon, mentions the fact that he, with all the demons, is subject to Beelzebul's direction, and at intervals comes to land to consult him; it was on one of these trips that Beelzebul arrested him and brought him before Solomon⁵.

Many interesting demonic figures appear, such as Ornias, Asmodaeus, Lix Tetrax, Pterodrakon, the dog Rhabdos, the three headed dragon called κορυφὴ δρακόντων, Leontophoron the demon of Gadara, three liliths, or Empusas, called Onoskelis, Enepsigos, and Obyzuth, seven stars that are κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους, and other thirty-six with the same high sounding title who are the *decani*. Limitation of space forbids their further discussion here. They cause all kinds of diseases and bodily defects, from seasickness to epilepsy, being particularly dangerous to women in childbirth and to infants. They destroy fields, flocks, houses, ships, and human lives, and will finally bring the end of the world⁶. The thirty-six *decani* are entirely of this sort⁷. Demons are sources also of moral evil, inspiring heresies, idolatry, lust, theft, envy, hatred, murder, war, and kindred evils. The seven spirits who call themselves κοσμοκράτορες are of this kind⁸. So far as the writer of the *Test* has thought the matter out, evil does not reside in the flesh, nor in matter, nor can it be ascribed to God; sins are the result of demonic incitement. How or when the angels came to sin we are not told. In any case there is no real dualism in the *Test*. Though Beelzebul rules "the spiritual hosts of wickedness," they and he are completely subject to God and to the divinely ordained means for their subjugation. Mention is made of demons in Tartarus, but no punishment for them seems to be known ex-

1 Cf. Mk III 22; = Mt XII 24; = Lk XI 16. 2 C. VI 8.

3 Is XIV 12 AV; ἑσπεφύρος ὁ πρῶτ' ἀνατέλλων LXX.

4 C. VI 7. 5 C. XVI 3, 5. 6 Only in P VI 4, ἀπολῶ τὸν κόσμον.

7 C. XVIII. 8 C. VIII.

cept that which Solomon and the magic revealed in the *Test* can inflict.

2. Astrology. — A large proportion of the demons in the *Test* have some definite astrological relationship. Demons and men are said to reside in a star¹, or a sign of the zodiac², or a phase of the moon³, and mortals seem to be particularly liable to injury from demons who are *συναστροί* with them, that is belong to the same star⁴. The author seems to think of the influence of the stars as wholly baleful. Asmodaeus says, "through the stars I [scatter] madness after women"⁵, and that suggests the prevailing notion. There is, I believe, no reference to prediction by means of astrology.

One chapter (XVIII), a list of the thirty-six *decani*, is a piece of astrological material taken over bodily. In this case each *δεκανός* is thought of as a demon causing certain diseases, which are recorded, and the means for counteracting them are detailed. Here the astrological entity does not *belong* to the demon, or the demon to it, but *is* the demon. On the other hand one may doubt whether the stars are thought of as living beings, for in XX 17 it is said, "the stars are founded in the firmament" so that they cannot fall. It would seem that astrological influences are operative, not of themselves, but through the demons that "dwell" in each star or sign. In other words, the astral deities of paganism have become demons⁶. It is interesting to note also that the pillar of cloud of the ancient Israelites is transferred to the heavens, for, as Dr. James has pointed out⁷, the pillar suspended in air⁸ is the Milky Way.

3. Angelology⁹. — The angelology of the *Test* is entirely undeveloped. Aside from Michael and Raphael no angels appear as actual actors. Numerous angel names, including many that are familiar and many not elsewhere discovered, are scattered

1 Cc. V 4, VI 7, VII 6, *et passim*. *κεῖμαι* and *ὀδεύω* are the verbs used. *ἄστρον* seems to mean any astrological entity. An astrological papyrus fragment at Munich has points of affinity with the *Test*, see *Archiv f. Pap.-Forschung* I (1900—1) 492 ff. 2 C. II 2. 3 C. IV 9. 4 C. IV 6. 5 C. V 8.

6 Cf. the attempt to combine the polytheistic and polydaemonistic viewpoints in VII 6. 7 Cf. Bibliogr. III 5. 8 C. XXIV 5. 9 See Index II.

through the book, but they are charms rather than designations of real beings. They are given solely for their apotropaic value. Considering the fact, however, that the two great archangels do actually appear, it is likely that the author believed in the actual existence of great numbers of angels, just as he did of demons, and thought that each appeared, when his name was called, to subdue the demon subject to him¹. Aside from the use of the word ἀρχάγγελος there is no allusion to an angelic hierarchy.

4. Magic and Medicine. — The prime interest of the writer of the *Test* was medical. For him demons were what bacilli are to the modern physician, and his magical recipes and angel names are his pharmacopoeia. The one case where he embarks upon a piece of magical mysticism only serves to emphasize this fact. For when, at Solomon's request that he speak περὶ τῶν ἐπουρανίων, Beelzebul tells him the recipe whereby he may see the heavenly dragons circling 'round and hauling the chariot of the sun², he is at once rebuked and silenced. Evidently this was forbidden magic, although it might well be true. There is likewise a story of obtaining wealth through a demon³, but such suggestions bear fruit only for the beautifying of the temple⁴. Such use of demons is evidently dangerous.

As in his demonology, so also in his magic the author combined various and inconsistent views. He has full confidence in the power of the magic name, which, in most cases, is an angel name. To subjugate Onoskelis Solomon "spoke the name of the Holy One of Israel"⁵. Men are led astray, says Asmodaeus, "because they do not know the names of the angels which are ordained over us"⁶. In the original *Test* Ephesia grammata are infrequent, except in the list of the thrity-six *decani*⁷. Here there appear some well known angel names, a few that are possibly real names, but not a few ὀνόματα ἄσημα in the best manner of the magic papyri and "Gnostic" amulets. Since these *voces mysticae* are less numerous in the former part of the

1 As Raphael does, II 7f. Cf. *Test Dan* VI 1. 2 C. VI 10f.

3 C. IV 7. 4 C. X 5—9. 5 C. IV 12. 6 C. V 5; cf. XXVI 8 H.

7 C. XVIII, esp. secs. 15f., 21, 29, 32; cf. also VII 6, likewise a piece of unregenerate Hellenistic magic.

section, it would appear that a Jewish editor had undertaken the task of removing the heathen elements, but had become weary before he was done.

Likewise there appear the well-known apotropaic materials, such as iron, lead, wood from a wrecked ship, spittle, certain organs of animals, and kinds of plants¹, and the common magical devices, such as the use of the cause to cure the ill, i. e., the name of the demon to drive the demon away or a fishbone to cure a person who has swallowed one², the drinking of potions or sprinkling them about, and the writing of amulets or hanging them in the house³. Surely these methods of aversion are fundamentally inconsistent with monotheism and with the view that the angels are appointed to frustrate the demons. The ring of Solomon differs only in that it was probably thought to contain the ineffable name⁴.

5. Solomon. — Few figures have bulked larger in the folklore of Jews, Mohammedans, and Christians than Solomon. In the *Test* he is already the wise man and magician *par excellence*, the favorite of God, endowed by him with divine σοφία, which includes insight into the crafty wiles of his demonic captives. He uses the demons for one purpose only, to assist in building and beautifying the great Temple at Jerusalem, this labor being the usual form of punishment adopted for them. Solomon's glory, the visit and gifts of the Queen of Sheba, and the gifts of other kings are described in some detail; but all this is only temporary, for the wise king, deceived by Eros, held by the bonds of Artemis as the demons prophesied⁵, is eventually led

1 See II 6, V 12, IV 8, XVIII 28, VII 3, V 9f., 13, VI 10, XVIII 20, 33. I am much in doubt whether the means used by Raphael in II 8 to subdue Ornias is the application of parts of the κήτη θαλάσσης (as with Asmodaeus of the fish), or the casting of the μοῖρα (in astrological fashion?), or both as in the restored text. I do not find μοῖραν ῥίπτειν in Vettius Valens as an astrological phrase, but Dr. Conybeare so understands it (*JQR* XI 18 and n. 2).

2 C. XVIII 35. 3 Cf. c. XVIII.

4 Cf. *infra* VII 14. Cf. Charles' interesting view that the sealing of the 144,000 in Rev VII 4—8 was to secure them against demonic attack (*Studies in the Apocalypse*, 1913, pp. 118—32).

5 C. VIII 9, 11. That Solomon was not regarded as a model of perfection is indicated by the statement that the murder of his brothers was caused by Ἀνάτη.

by the Shunamite to sacrifice locusts to the gods of the Jebusites, and thus loses all his power. How soon he dies is not indicated, but at his death, convinced by the fulfilment of their prophecies that all the demons had said was true, he writes the *Test* and leaves it to the Children of Israel.

The chief part of Solomon's magical equipment is his ring, which is given to him by Michael at God's command in answer to the king's prayer¹. Either in his own hand, or that of his best beloved servant, or even the demon Ornias it at once subdues every demon. The editors have removed the original statement as to the inscription, if there was one². What became of the ring after Solomon's fall is not stated.

Several features of the Solomonic legend receive their first known literary expression in the *Test*. To quote Salzberger, „Immerhin wird es hier zum ersten Male ausgesprochen, daß Sal. Geister beim Tempelbau verwendet habe und daß er, durch die Liebe zu einer Jebusiterin in heidnischen Kult verstrickt, der Macht über die Geister verlustig gegangen und ihnen zum Gespött geworden sei. Zu beachten ist auch, daß die „Königin des Südens“ bereits als eine Zauberin (γόνις) auftritt“³.

6. Apocalyptic element. — The apocalyptic element in the *Test* is very slight⁴. Certain prophecies by the demons and their speedy and exact fulfilment are related in order to prove the trustworthiness of the demons' revelations in general, and, in particular, of their statements regarding their own activities and the means for their frustration⁵. In some cases these prophecies extend far beyond Solomon's time, particularly in certain references to Christ as one who will subdue individual demons⁶. The only section which may be called measurably apocalyptic

1 C. I 5—7. 2 Cf. *infra* VII 14. 3 *Salomosage* 11.

4 Dr. James, *TS* II 29 *The Testament of Abraham*, says, "The names 'Testament' and 'Apocalypse' are convertible terms. In the case of the Apocalypses of Adam, Moses, and Isaiah we have positive evidence of this fact, and it is known that most, if not all, extant 'Testaments' have a large Apocalyptic element. The Testaments of Job and Solomon come nearest to transgressing this rule, but even they do not actually transgress it."

5 Cc. V 5; VI 3, 5; VIII 11; XII 4. 6 Cc. XI 6; XII 3.

UNT. 9: McCOWN.

in tone¹ is found in that part of the *Test* which is preserved only in MS P, and, therefore, while there is no doubt that the original *Test* had a prophecy in this place, it seems very likely that it resembled the one in V 5, and contained at least no such detailed reference to Christ as is now there found².

Did the writer of the *Test*, then, know nothing of the apocalyptic hopes of Judaism and Christianity? At best these hopes had little meaning for him. He makes no reference to that element in Apocalyptic for which we would most naturally look, the expectation of the final overthrow and eternal binding of Beelzebul and his hosts³. Aside from a single mention of the *συντέλεια*⁴, the writer has his eyes on his muckrake and sees no happier future for the world than in the continued use of his wretched recipes.

7. Jesus Christ. — One of the outstanding inconsistencies of the *Test* is its introduction of Christ as the "angel" who subdues certain demons. Whether these passages are Christian interpolations in a Jewish document will be discussed later⁵. We are now concerned with the religious standpoint of the writer who gave the *Test* its present form⁶.

It is probable that VI 8 contains a reference to Christ. Certainly Rec B so understood it, and the phrase *παρὰ δὲ Ἑλλήσιν Ἰμμανουήλ* is natural from the pen of a Christian who was without knowledge of Hebrew, but familiar with the use of the term Immanuel in Christian circles, as in XI 6. Yet the text is so corrupt and the MSS agree so little that the meaning cannot be certainly made out. The garbled allusion to the "place of a skull" and "the wood" in XII 3 is so unintelligible as to afford no light on the author's views, but is plainly of Christian origin.

Unmistakable is the reference in c. XI to the incident of the Gadarene demoniac who had a legion of devils. But what is the meaning of *ἐν τρισὶ χαρακτῆρσι κατὰγεται πεποιηχόμενος*,

¹ C. XV 8—12. ² Cf. *infra* VII 11.

³ Jub X 8; I En X 6, 12; XIV 5; XVI 6; Mt XXV 41. ⁴ C. XXV 8.

⁵ Cf. *infra* VII 11.

⁶ With this discussion cf. Conybeare in *JQR* XI 5—12.

in section 6? P probably understood it to refer to $\chi\mu\delta'$ (= 644), the numerical value of *Ἐμμανουήλ*, already introduced in VI 8 and XI 6¹. Can the three characters mean the trinity? In XVII 4 is mentioned *ὁ μέλλων καταλθεῖν σωτήρ*. *Ὁὖ τὸ στοιχεῖον ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ* may be a reminiscence of Apoc XXII 4, *καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν*. The sign is the cross, as the next line shows, not a number as Conybeare concluded from P's frequent introduction of $\chi\mu\delta'$ ². Another distinctively Christian passage is much milder in the A form than in Rec B, which, as Conybeare points out, is distinctively patripassian in character³. Rec A mentions the virgin birth, an adoration by angels, and the crucifixion. The allusions to the permanent immaculacy of the Virgin and to the victory of Christ over Satan in the Temptation in XV 10f. cannot be used to define the position of the originator of the *Test*⁴.

Dr. Conybeare's characterization of the Christianity of the *Test* as "equivocal" is far more true of the original than it was of Rec B, which he had before him⁵. The nature of the writer's faith can be better understood after an investigation of the sources and relationships of his subject matter, to which we now turn.

VII. THE SOURCES AND RELATIONSHIPS OF THE SUBJECT MATTER.

1. Syncretism of the *Testament*. — To set forth what the present writer has collected for the purpose of interpreting the *Test* and determining its sources and relationships would require a large volume. Yet what has been gathered has only touched the fringe of that great body of material bearing on magic, demonology, astrology, and kindred superstitions which has recently appeared, much of it since this work was first under-

1 So Conybeare understood, *op. cit.* 28, n. 6.

2 *Op. cit.* 34, § 71. Diog. Laert. 6. 102 uses *στοιχεῖον* for "sign" of the zodiac. 3 C. XXII 20; Conybeare *op. cit.* 11.

4 Cf. *supra* sec. 6, *infra* VII 11. 5 *JQR* XI 11.

taken¹. The purpose is to introduce here only what is absolutely germane to the subject of the section. One point is clear beyond cavil: Like other magic the *Test* is thoroughly eclectic. It borrows and combines elements, often contradictory, from all the nations that contributed to the civilization about the eastern Mediterranean, without any apparent consciousness of their sources. The whole course of the succeeding discussion will offer illustrations of this patent fact.

2. The universal human element. — In one direction caution is necessary, perhaps especially in the realm of comparative magical and mythological study. Similarities are not always an evidence of borrowing. Take an example from the story of Lix Tetrax. As the demon in the form of a sand storm whirl-wind approaches Solomon, he lays it by spitting on the ground². In a modern Bengali charm for a whirl-wind exactly the same means is used to stay the demon³. Did the *Test* borrow from India or the Bengali from the *Test*? Manifestly neither. Spitting is almost universally apotropaic⁴. And what is more natural than that spittle should magically lay a dust storm. So in many instances from widely separated localities the human mind under similar circumstances has reached similar conclusions. With this caution in mind we can proceed to notice the instances of real borrowing.

3. Assyrian and Babylonian influence. — The great civilization on the Euphrates deeply affected Hellenistic, Jewish, and Christian demonological and magical beliefs. Babylonia is one of the few countries in which theology and demonology, religion and "her bastard daughter, magic," seem from the first to have gone hand in hand⁵. There are no indications that the official cultus ever regarded magic as alien. Rather, the exorcism of

¹ See, for example, *ERE*, arts. "Ancestor Worship," "Baalzebub," "Birth," "Charms and Amulets," "Cross," "Demons and Spirits," "Disease and Medicine," "Divination," "Evil Eye," "Keres," and the literature there referred to.

² C. VII 3.

³ In a little collection of charms sent the author by former pupils, Babu Probodh Chandra Mallik and Babu Shusil Chandra Karuli. One must spit on his own breast, however. ⁴ Cf. Conybeare, *op. cit.* 23, n. 3.

⁵ Farnell, *Greece and Babylonia*, 300f.

countless demons seems to have been one of the regular duties of the priesthood, and, to judge from the relative proportion of magical texts among those that have been preserved, one of the most important duties¹. Nowhere do we find a ranker growth of demonological beliefs than in Babylonia. Every possible ill or accident that could happen, "a toothache, a headache, a broken bone, a raging fever, an outburst of anger, of jealousy, of incomprehensible disease"², all were ascribed to demonic agency, and were to be averted or cured by means of incantations.

This is precisely the atmosphere of the *Test*. But it is also that of Hellenistic superstition³, and such a general similarity of tone proves no direct relationship between the *Test* and the Euphrates valley. Can we find more definite evidence of dependence?

A peculiar resemblance appears between one class of Babylonian demons and a figure in the *Test*: the *ašakku marsu* and Ephippas, the wind demon of Arabia. Since the similarity is somewhat vague, I call attention to it with some hesitation. Ephippas is an early morning blast of wind that kills man and beast⁴, or, according to MS D, "uproots houses and trees and hills, and destroys men"⁵. The *ašakku marsu* is „der Dämon der auszehrenden Krankheit“ according to Jastrow⁶, but Sayce⁷ and Thompson⁸ render the word "fever." The following from Thompson's translation of the *Ašakku* series shows interesting similarities with Ephippas' activities:

1 Zimmern, *Bab. Hymnen*, 13; cf. Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. Ass.*, 253—93, Germ., I 273—392, Rogers, *Rel. Bab. Ass.* 144—159; Weber, *Dämonenbeschwörungen*. The chief part of the hymns that have been preserved consists of incantations.

2 Rogers, *op. cit.* 145. 3 Cf. *infra* VII 7.

4 C. XXII 2f. 5 MS D VI 1.

6 *Rel. Bab. Ass.* I 348ff.; he is uncertain as to what disease is meant.

7 *Hibbert Lect.* 1887, 477; Sayce translates thus: "The plague-demon burns up the land like fire. The plague-demon like the fever (*ašakku*) attacks a man. The plague-demon in the desert like a cloud of dust makes his way. The plague-demon like a foe takes captive a man. The plague-demon like a flame consumes a man. The plague-demon, though he hath neither hands nor feet (cf. Ephippas), ever goes round and round. The plague-demon like destruction cuts down the sick man."

8 *Devils and Evil Spirits* II 31. Cf. Rogers, *Rel. Bab. Ass.* 147.

. the evil Fiend,
 The roaming windblast¹
 The evil Spirit which in the street creates a storm wind . . .²
 The evil Fever hath come like a deluge, and
 Girt with dread brilliance it filleth the broad earth,
 Enveloped in terror it casteth fear abroad;
 It roameth through the street, it is let loose in the road . . .³
 An evil ghost(?) hath assailed the land,
 And perturbed the people of the land above and below:
 A pestilence, a plague that giveth the land no rest,
 Hath cast desolation upon it.
 The great Demon, Spirit, and Fiend, which roameth the broad places for men,
 The angry, quaking storm [which if one] seeth
 He turneth not nor looketh back again⁴
 Fever (*ašakku*) hath blown upon a man as the wind-blast⁵.

That this is the closest parallel between the *Test* and Assyro-Babylonian demonology is significant. Granting that Babylonian, or, at least, Semitic superstition may have contributed to the figure of Ephippas, we still can assert only that the *Test* rests ultimately upon that great mass of Sumerian-Semitic beliefs of which we have the earliest and fullest illustrations from the Babylonian tablets, but not that it has borrowed directly⁶.

4. Iranian influence. — To Mazdaism is to be ascribed the questionable honor, not of introducing demonology and angelology into Judaism⁷, but of decidedly directing its development⁸. The *Test* has not been so deeply affected as has the New Testament Apocalypse, for example, in its war between Michael and the Dragon⁹, nor even as Paul¹⁰; for there is no dualism in our text. Its writer knows Beelzebul only as "ruler of the

1 *Op. cit.* 5. 2 *Ibid.* 9. 3 *Ibid.* 11. 4 *Ibid.* 13.

5 *Ibid.* 31. It is, perhaps, worthy of note that Ephippas is caught in an ἀσάκος, a sack. However silly it may seem, is it not possible that a popular etymology connected *ašakku* and ἀσάκος?

6 The lilith, who appears in three forms (cf. *supra* p. 45), is an international figure, and, therefore, no evidence of Babylonian influence.

7 So Perles, *Bousset's Rel. des Judentums*, p. 36.

8 Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism* 304ff., 325ff., *HDB* IV 991f.; Mills, *Zarathustra* 436; Bousset, *Rel. des Jud.* 387; Clemen, *Prim. Christ.* III ff. = *Religionsgesch. Erkl.* 85 ff., where earlier literature is cited. See particularly Grünbaum, "Beiträge" in *ZDMG* XXXI, 256; Dibelius, *Geisterwelt*, 183ff., 190ff.

9 Cf. Moulton, *HDB* IV 992. 10 ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, 2 Co IV, 4.

demons"¹. He has no doubt that God can empower Solomon or any one who knows the angelic names to frustrate and bind any and all demons. The archangels, though their names appear, never are grouped together as seven, and the one group of seven demons has no Parsi coloring². Yet one cannot read the Persian sacred writings without being struck by the *Test*³. And, furthermore, the *Test* has adopted one Mazdian demon, Aēšma daēva, or Asmodaeus⁴, very much in his Magian character. Plainly the demon of the *Test* is the same as that of Tobit⁵, but the writer did not have Tobit before him or he would not have used the heart and gall, instead of the heart and liver, of the fish as his *φάρμακα*. His additional details, such as the name of the fish, *γλάνος*, show that, while he may have had the story of Tobit in his mind, he was drawing upon the developing Jewish folklore which had its fount in the original source and eventuated in the Talmudic Asmodaeus⁶.

In another direction we naturally look for Persian influence to manifest itself, namely on the Solomonic legend. The Mohammedans identified Solomon with Yima, the Jamshīd of Firdausi, because he had taken over so many traits of the Persian hero,

1 C. II 9. 2 C. VIII; cf. *infra* VII 6, p. 60.

3 See the *Vendīdād*, the "anti-demoniac law," (Moulton, *Early Rel. Poetry of Persia*, 12), esp. the incantations of Fargards XIX and XX, and the account in XXII of Angra Mainyu's creation of 99, 999 diseases (*SBE* IV 203—235), and Darmesteter's discussion, *ibid.* LXXXV—XCV.

4 Moulton, *Early Rel. Poetry of Persia* 68f., accepts the derivation from Aēšma Daēva, as does Stave, *JE* I 220f., and Marshall, *HDB* I 172. Ginzberg, *JE* II 219, though admitting the identity, denies the derivation; cf. Clemen, *Prim. Christ.* 112, n. 7 = *Rel.-Gesch. Erkl.* 86, n. 7. Moulton's theory that Tobit is a Magian legend revamped by a Jew in its present form (*Early Zoroast.* 246—253) is accepted by Simpson, Charles' *Apoc. and Pseudep. of the OT* I 185f. On the influence of the Aḥikar cycle see J. Rendell Harris, "The Double Text of Tobit," *AJT* III (1899) 541—554, and Clemen, *loc. cit.*, who quotes Fries, *ZNTW* 1905 163, which I have not at hand.

5 *Test* V; Tob III 8, 17; V 7f.; VI 13—17; VIII 2f.

6 A. is more plainly the "wrath demon" in the *Test* than in Tob. There is no reference to Egypt in the *Test*, cf. Tob VIII 3. Is the uncertain phrase *πλήρης ὁδοῦς πικρίας* (*Test* V 13) an attempt to render the "wounding spear" of Aēšma (Yt I 32)? Cf. *SBE* IV p. LXVII, *JE* II 217f.

particularly his renown as a builder¹. The Talmudic story of Solomon combines elements from the legends of Takhma Urupa, who made Ahriman his horse until his wife betrayed him², of Yima, the prosperous king and great builder, who, like Takhma Urupa, "ruled over the Daēvas and men, the Yātus and Pairikas," but sinned and fell before the usurping Azhi Dahāka³, and of Thraëtaona, the first healer, the inventor of magic, the fiend-smiter⁴. In the *Test*, however, we catch the story midway in its development. There has arisen, as yet, no demonic being to depose the king, and the *Test* lacks, therefore, the most characteristic detail which the Talmud borrowed from Persia⁵.

The evidence, then, justifies the conclusion that Persian influences are at work upon the folklore from which the *Test* drew its inspiration, and have affected our text in part directly, in part through Tobit and, no doubt, other Apocrypha. Yet the *Test* cannot come from circles where, as in Babylon, for example, Magian influence was dominant.

5. Egyptian elements. — Egypt is pre-eminently the land of magic, but not of demonology⁶. Her "Book of the Dead" almost from its inception had the purpose of magically insuring the happiness of the dead in the hereafter; and the ancient inhabitants of the Nile valley were so much concerned with the future life that their magical texts gave little attention to avert-

1 Salzberger, *Salomosage* 5; *SBE* IV 18, n. 3.

2 *Yt* XIX 29 (*SBE* XXIII 292 f.; cf. *ibid.* 252, n. 1).

3 *Yt* XIX 31—38 (*ibid.* 293—295, 297, and n. 5). 4 *Vend.* XX (*SBE* IV 219).

5 The legends of the *Shāhnāmah* (cf. Atkinson, 5—34, the only version of Firdausi available to me) with the allusions in the *Dādīstān-i-Dīnik* (XXXIX 16 f., *SBE* XVIII 127 f.), *Bundahish* XXIII 1 (*SBE* V 87), and elsewhere throw much light on the references in the earlier literature, but they have probably been influenced in their turn by the developed Jewish and Musulman tales; cf. Darmesteter, *Le Zend Avesta* II 624, cited by Moulton, *Early Zoroast.* 150. *Bundahish* XXXIV 4 f. (*SBE* V 149 f.) is particularly interesting because it brings Dahāk into connection with Scorpio, much as the *Test* connects certain demons and zodiacal signs. Cf. a closer parallel to Solomon and Asmodaeus in King Mukunda and the hunchback in the *Pañchatantra* (Benfey II 124—127; cf. I 129 f.).

6 Cf. *ERE* IV 584—590, 749—753 (Foucart), III 430—433 (Naville); Wiedemann, *Mag. und Zaub.*; Breasted, *RTAE* 281 f., 296, *et pas.*, Erman, *Äg. Rel.*, c. VI, 148—164.

ing ill from the living. Yet enough has been preserved to show that the fear of evil spirits, especially the ghosts of the dead, was abroad here as in Babylonia and Persia, even though the official texts reflect but little of it. Egyptian demonology is so lacking in definite color and in general so much like that of Babylonia and Greece that one can hardly hope to show from this side any distinctive Egyptian traits in the *Test*. In the times when the *Test* was written it was of the variegated mixture that we call Hellenistic¹.

When we turn to astrology, however, the case is different, for one of the longest sections in the *Test*, that having to do with the thirty-six *decani*², is distinctly Egyptian. It has been generally accepted since Letronne that astrology is not, as the ancients supposed, of Egyptian origin, but rather that Babylonia was its native land³. As Boll, however, has shown⁴, having been adopted by the Egyptian priesthood and actively practised by them, it came to be so thoroughly at home and so mixed with Egyptian elements as to be really native, "in ihrer *Eigenart* autochthon, wenn auch in allem rein ägyptischen Inhalt von sehr spätem Ursprung"⁵. Particularly is this true of the *decani*. They were originally, not Babylonian⁶, but Egyptian divisions of the equator⁷, which were given an astrological significance. "Nur diese (the Egyptian astrology) hat die 36 Dekane personifiziert: alle andere Dekandarstellungen in Indien oder bei den Arabern gehen darauf in letzter Linie zurück," says Boll⁸. This sentence is especially noteworthy for our purpose, for the *Test* has fully personified the *decani*.

Various lists of *decani* have come down to us⁹. With

1 Erman, *op. cit.* 227 ff. 2 C. XVIII.

3 M. Letronne, *Sur l'Origine du Zodiaque Grec*, Paris 1849, esp. p. 2. Cf. Riess, in *Pauly-Wissowa* II 1808, art. "Astrologie"; Cumont, *Or. Rel.* 133 f., 163; *Astrol.* 74 ff. 4 *Sphaera* 372 f. 5 *Ibid.* 373.

6 Bouché-Leclercq, *Astrol. Gr.* 215—240.

7 Boll, *op. cit.* 316, 336, n. 2. 8 *Ibid.* 216 f.

9 See the comparative table in Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 232 f., and that in Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians* II 304—308; also articles by G. Daressy, *Annales du Service des Ant. de l'Égypte*, I 79—90, III 175, 236—9, X 21 ff., 180 ff.; by Ahmed bey Kamal, *ibid.* IX 192.

these the names in the *Test* do not at all agree, but seem rather for the most part to be Hebrew, or, perhaps, mock Hebrew¹. Yet the *Test's* account of the activities of these siderial spirits is not original invention, for, at the beginning, the two chief lists, one given by Pitra from a Moscow and a Vienna MS², and one given by Kroll from another Vienna MS³, agree with the *Test* in certain essential particulars. The names in Vind. 108 and its fellow, Par. 2419, do not correspond with any other list, just as those of the *Test* do not. The peculiarity of the names in the last, therefore, need not trouble us. That the activities ascribed to the several decans should not agree in all the lists is not strange, in view of the confusion in the Egyptian lists⁴. While there is much closer resemblance between Pitra's and Kroll's documents than between either of them and the *Test*, still they differ in many important particulars. They all agree on the fundamental proposition, which Celsus described as an Egyptian belief, that the decans rule diseases, each of a certain part of the body⁵. In the case of the first decan all three agree that it is the head, although the *Test* adds *κροταφούς*, which M-V puts under the second. Vind. 108 has *πάθη ὀφθαλμῶν* under the second decan, while the *Test* has it under the third. Under the third both M-V and Vind. 108 have among other things toothache. All three agree that the fourth decan rules diseases of the throat. From this point on there are still fewer similarities between the three accounts, yet these we have indi-

1 The allusion of Origen, *contra Cels.* VI 30, to οἱ ἑπτὰ ἄρχοντες δαιμόνες is not applicable to the *decani*. There is, to be sure, an Antiochus excerpt which mentions the ζ' δεκανῶν σχῆμα (Boll, *Sphaera* 57), but this either means the Pleiades, or, as seems to me more probable, it is a mistake for the seven planets (cf. *ibid.* 280), which are sometimes connected with the thirty-six *decani* (*ibid.* 302). See Bouché-Leclercq, *Astrol. Gr.* 224—230.

2 *Analecta* V, 2, 285, from Mosquensis 415 and Vindobon. Medic. 23, ol. 50, referred to as M-V.

3 *CCAG* VI 73—78, from Vind. Graec. 108 (= MS S, cf. *supra* II 7, p. 18) with the seals for each decan; there is also given a parallel list of names from Par. 2419 (= MS W, cf. *supra* II 11, p. 26).

4 Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.* 230, n. 3.

5 *Contra Cels.* VIII 58. Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *loc. cit.*, quotation from Firmicus, and ch. XV, "La Médecine Astrol.," pp. 517—542.

cated are more than fortuitous. They evidently rest upon a common tradition. But M-V has for the first few names the Hellenistic transliteration of the old Egyptian names¹, and therefore serves to connect this common tradition with Egypt.

We are safe, then, in concluding that this chapter of the *Test* comes from Egyptian sources, presenting probably a Jewish revision of a list of *decani*. The editor has made it more nearly monotheistic than the other accounts mentioned above, in regarding the decans as demons who cause disease, rather than deities who "rule" (*κυριεύει*) or cure (*ἰάται*) the parts affected. Yet he has failed to purge out all the heathen elements, such as the amulets and *voces mysticae*². Other evidence of Egyptian influence I am unable to find.

6. Jewish elements and relationships. — a) That Judaism is one main source of the *Test* is apparent on every page. The background, the plot, and the principal characters are Jewish. Solomon, wise man, builder, and glorious king, the Queen of Sheba, and the Shunamite girl³ are all familiar Old Testament figures, though sometimes presented here in strange connections. In pre-Christian times Solomon was already on the way to become a magician, both in the canonical books and in the Apocrypha⁴. Josephus shows this conception of the king gradually developing, his exorcisms and the remedial or magical plants he had recommended being already in practical use by Jewish magicians⁵. His ring, his power over demons, and his use of them on the Temple become commonplaces of Jewish legendary lore. His glory and his fall are put in telling contrast by the editors of the Old Testament as they are by the *Test*.

b) The angelology and demonology of the *Test* are practically those of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Our text contains the view, based upon Gen VI 1—4 and found in Ethiopic Enoch VI—VII, XV—XVI and Jubilees VII 21 ff., X 5, that the angels who fell and their offspring became

1 Bouché-Leclercq, *Astrol. gr.* 232 f., Budge, *Gods* II 304—308, beginning with No. 27, p. 307. 2 Cf. *supra* VI 4.

3 Cant VI 12, VII 1. 4 See fuller discussion below, VIII 1 a), b).

5 *Ant* VIII 25; quoted below VIII 1 d).

demons¹; but much of it seems rather to follow the belief found in the Similitudes (I En XXXVII—L XXI; cf. Charles, *Enoch* p. 107) that demons have existed since the creation. The Pseudo-Philonic Jewish work *de antiquitatibus biblicis*, dating from the latter part of the first century A. D., in its *citharismus regis David contra daemonium Saulis*, unites this view with another found in the *Test* as to the origin of certain demons. According to a badly tangled passage Onoskelis is born of an echo. In the *Citharismus* David addresses the demon thus:

Et factum est tunc nomen in compaginatione extensionis quod appellatum est superius caelum . . . (There follows a reference to the creation of the earth but not of animals and man.) Et post haec facta est tribus spirituum vestrorum. Et nunc molesta esse noli, tanquam secunda creatura; si quominus, memorare Tartari in quo ambulas. Aut non audire Aut immemores quoniam de resultatione in chaomate nata est vestra creatura.

Less apposite is a parallel Dr. James notes from Dieterich, *Abraxas*, p. 17, γελάσαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγεννήθησαν θεοὶ ἑπτὰ².

In spite of great differences in detail the general manner in which each demon's work is described in I En LXIX 1—12³ may well have contributed to the demon portraits in the *Test*. The section on the seven κοσμοκράτορες (c. VII) is based upon exactly the same conceptions of evil and of demons as the list of seven vices in *Test. Reuben* III 3—6; yet the lists do not agree except that the third in each has to do with μάχη, apparently a mere coincidence. *Jub* X 7—9, which tells how God commanded the angels to imprison nine tenths of the evil spirits in "the place of condemnation", and left one tenth free under

¹ See above VI 1. Cf. Grünbaum, "Beiträge," *ZDMG* XXXI 225.

² Dr. James printed the *Citharismus* with three other Pseudo-Philonic fragments in *TS* II 3, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, Cambridge, 1893, without being aware of their origin. Dr. L. Cohn called attention to the source in *JQR* X (1898) 277—332 in an article entitled "An Apocryphal Work Ascribed to Philo of Alexandria." The text I have quoted Dr. James communicated in a letter of July 8, 1916, after making a further collation of MSS. James and Cohn agree as to the date. See below VIII 1 c) for the concluding sentence of the so-called song.

³ From the "Apocalypse of Noah." One might think the *Test* depended particularly upon this work, were it not that the rest of the sections Charles ascribes to it (*Enoch*, pp. 24f.) do not at all agree with the *Test*, e. g. as to sorcery and witchcraft, I En VIII, IX.

command of Mastema, explains the statement of Beelzebul in *Test* VI 3 that his second in command rules his race in Tartarus. Not only its demonology in general but certain particular figures of our text are well known in Jewish mind. Tobit has made Asmodaeus at home in the Jewish folklore. The lilith also came to belong to Judaism as it did to other nations.

Judaism, however, gave more attention to angels than to demons. While here the *Test* differs in emphasis, the view point is the same. Among the Jews as in our text exorcism was one of the chief means of healing, so much so that in antiquity the Jew became almost as famous for magical arts as the Chaldean. "The Graeco-Roman world regarded the Jews as a race of magicians"¹. Angel names, of which so many occur in the Pseudepigrapha, were often used in incantations. The Jews were fully persuaded of the power of the "name"², and they also thought of the angels as specially commissioned to protect the righteous from the machinations of demons.

There are thus many similarities between the *Test* and Jewish folklore and superstition of the beginning of the Christian era. But that our document is dependent in a literary way upon the Apocrypha or Pseudepigrapha does not at all appear. I have discovered but two quotations from Jewish literature, one the passage touching the corner stone³, the other the phrase *τὴν τῶν σῶν θρόνων πάρεδρον σοφίαν*⁴, taken from the Wisdom of Solomon, and a possible allusion to the same book⁵. In the passages describing Solomon's glory and the Temple, where one would expect quotation, there is only a free development of the biblical accounts⁶. One might mention elements of Jewish thinking which are absent from the *Test*, such as the coming of the Messiah to destroy all the demons⁷. We must, then,

¹ Ludwig Blau, *JE* VIII 255f., art. "Magic." He says, *ibid.* 255, "The frequency of allusions to it in the Bible indicates that the practice of magic was common throughout ancient Israel." Cf. his *Altjüd. Zauberwesen*, one of the classics on the subject, also Bousset, *Rel. Jud.* 391 and Schürer *GVV* III 408f.

² Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu* 176—80.

³ C. XXIII 4; Ps CXVIII 22; Mt XXI 42 and parallels, I Pt II 6.

⁴ C. III 5; Sap IX 4. ⁵ C. V 3; Sap VII 1.

⁶ C. XIX, XXI. ⁷ Cf. I En LXIX 27.

conclude that, while the writer of our document operated with much the same beliefs as the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic writers, he is not in a literary way dependent upon any Jewish literature. On the other hand so many traits connect him with the rabbinical writings that we must suppose him to live during or after the first century of the Christian era.

c) Turning to the Talmud we find parallels to many of our stories¹. The account of Benaiah's capture of Asmodæus by the use of a magic ring and chain, a bundle of wool, and a skin of wine² reminds one of the slave's capture of Orniās (I 10—14) and again of Ephippas (XXII 9—16), for the ring is used in both cases. It is pressed upon Orniās and seals Ephippas in his sack, while in the rabbinic legend Benaiah cries to Asmodæus, "The name of the Lord is upon thee." Ephippas is caught in the sack instead of by drinking wine from it. Asmodæus shows a knowledge of the future and laughs at men's foolish plans, just as Orniās does³. The idea that the demons know the future is found elsewhere in the Talmud. In *Hagiga* 16a the collocation of ideas is much the same as in the *Test*. "The rabbans taught: The demons possess six characteristics, three like the ministering angels, and three like the sons of men. Three like the ministering angels: they have wings like the ministering angels and they fly from one end of the world to the other like the ministering angels and they know what is determined for the future (מה שעתיד להיות) like the ministering angels. They know! Do you come to that opinion? Rather they hear it from behind the curtain like the ministering angels. Three like the sons of men: they eat and drink like the sons of men, they propagate themselves like the sons of men, and they die like the sons of men"⁴. The *Aboth* of R. Nathan

¹ Ginzberg, *Legends* IV 165—9.

² *Gittin* 68a; Ginzberg, *loc. cit.*; *JE* XI 443f.

³ C. XX 6—18; cf. a story of the angel of death related by Brecher, *Transcendentale, Magie und magische Heilarten im Talmud*, Wien 1850, p. 58f., from *Suca* 53a.

⁴ Goldschmidt III 2 839, Streane, 92; cf. *Test* XX 16 for "hearing behind the curtain."

adds: "Many say: They change their appearance according to every form as they wish, and they see and are not seen"¹. This passage is instructive in that it describes the demonology of the *Test* and reduces it to a system which apparently our writer was not able to construct.

d) While, however, there are many resemblances between Jewish angelology, demonology, magic, and mythology and the *Test*, it must not forthwith be taken as proved that it is a Jewish work. It certainly was not a product of rabbinic Judaism such as is seen in the Babylonian Talmud, and later Jewish speculation. Samael appears only in MS D, the angel of death, Malak ha-Moweth, of the Zohar and Qelippoth not at all². Asmodaeus is an entirely different character, his place being taken by Ornia and the New Testament Beelzebub³.

The mists of Jewish tradition come to surround Solomon with a halo which only begins to appear in the *Test*⁴. Among the many later traits not found in our document, one which might easily have been used is the statement in Targum Sheni Esther that "Solomon ruled over the wild beasts, over the birds of heaven, and over the creeping beasts of the earth, as well as over the devils, the spirits of the night; and he understood the language of all these according as it is written, 'and he talked with the trees,'" instead of 'of the trees,' I Kg IV 33⁵.

One of the most decisive illustrations of the difference between the *Test* and later Judaism is the account of the fall of Solomon. The subject was one which the Jewish theologians in the early Christian centuries discussed with some heat⁶. The *Test* in its attitude stands midway between the Tannaim and the Amoraim, in that, while Solomon falls, it is under the pressure of a passion which seems not to be regarded as ille-

¹ A. Wünsch, "Die Zahlensprüche in Talmud u. Midrasch", *ZDMG* LXVI 416f.; *Aboth di R. Nathan* 37 3. ² Cf. Meyer, *Qabbalah* 430f., 432—7.

³ See Grünbaum's characterization of the Talmudic Asmodaeus in *ZDMG* XXXI 216, following *Git* 68 a, b, and *Pes* 110a.

⁴ Cf. Eisenmenger, *Entd. Jud.* I 441; Faerber, *K. Sal.*; Salzberger, *Salomosage*; *JE* XI 438ff., 448.

⁵ Salzberger, *op. cit.* 93f, from f. 440, ed. David p. 8.

⁶ Faerber, *K. Sal.* 4—19, Salzberger, *Salomosage* 12f.

gitimate, and his worship of idols was not conscious and brazen, but consisted merely in crushing certain locusts before idols, for he "did not consider the blood of the locusts"¹. This charitable estimate quite befits a writer who wished his work accepted as a valuable medical treatise from Solomon's own hand. That in the *Test* Asmodaeus has nothing to do with the king's fall at once differentiates the work from the Talmud and proves that it had no close connection with those popular cycles of Solomonic myth from which the rabbis probably drew their stories. Moreover, in the *Test* there is, on the one hand, no hint that the king lost his throne along with his power over the demons, and, on the other, no restoration of his power, while the ring, which is the chief means by which he gains his power over the demons, is not indispensable, as it is in the Talmudic legends². The connection of a Shunamite girl with Solomon's fall is unique. It must have been suggested by the name in Cant VI 12; VII 1, and it would seem to hint at an interpretation of Canticles otherwise unknown to me³, and entirely

¹ C. XXVI 5. The *Test* takes the attitude of the Half-Tannaites; Faerber, *op. cit.* 8f.

² See *Gittin* 68a, b. Salzberger, *op. cit.* 115 is hardly justified in making the *Test* present a later development of the ring legend than the Talmud, if that is what he means. Josephus (*Ant* VIII 2 5) presupposes a ring of Solomon. The often published passage from the great Paris magical papyrus (Suppl. grec. 574) is no doubt borrowed from Jewish, not Christian magicians. Dieterich believes the section cannot be earlier than the time of Eupolemus, and probably comes from the Essenes (*Abraxas* 142ff., *Leid. pap.* 780ff.). In any case this papyrus, written in the III or IV cent. A. D., but embodying much older material, stands beside Josephus as a witness to the prominence of Solomon and his ring in magic during the earliest centuries of the Christian era. No satisfactory explanation of the clause *ὀρκίζω σε κατὰ τῆς σφραγίδος ἧς ἔθετο Σολομὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν τοῦ Ἰερημίου καὶ ἐλάλησεν* (II. 3039f.) has been advanced. Professor Deissman (*Licht* 187, n. 15, *LAE* 257, n. 10) thinks it may allude to some legend connected with LXX Jer I 6—10. Is it not more likely that the name Jeremiah is a mistake for some demon or dragon name that has been misread? In one of the phylacteria of the Bologna MS which contains the *Test* is the line *ἰδοὺ Σ. υἱὸς Δαβὶδ δράκοντος γλῶσσαν ἔχων βασιλέως ἐγκέφαλιν* (cf. *supra* II, p. 24, n. 2). One can go no farther than to suggest the possibility of a connection. I can discover no Essenic material in the *Test*, unless indefinite prescriptions of "cleanness" can be supposed to be such (VI 10, XIII 2). ³ See my article in *Jl. Palest. Or. Soc.*, I 116—121.

contradictory to that which became customary in Jewish and Christian circles.

A comparison of the *Test*, then, with Jewish thought in the same field confirms the statement which Dr. Kohler makes, that our document is pre-Talmudic¹. It is, moreover, closer to the Palestinian than to the Babylonian Talmud². If Loewe is right in his contention that it was Galilean, not Judean, rabbis who believed in demonology and magic³, we have just the line of tradition we should expect in a Christian work, which would be connected with Palestine rather than Babylon, and with Galilee rather than Judea.

e) One offshoot of Jewish magic remains to be considered. Perhaps the most interesting and valuable of recent publications in this field is Montgomery's *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, inscriptions from a series of magic bowls in rabbinic Aramaic, Syriac, and Mandaic, intended to protect the houses and families of the clients, and dating from the sixth century A. D. Some are distinctly heathen, all are decidedly eclectic, mingling Babylonian, Jewish, and Hellenistic elements, but the majority show Jewish influence and were prepared for Jews. Strangely enough, in view of the place of origin, Persian demonology has left no trace, but "Egypto-Hellenistic magic is one of the prime sources of our texts"⁴. How is the *Test* related to this remarkable series of incantations?

In many respects the similarity is great. We find the same kind of angel names ending in -el⁵, the same trust in their efficacy⁶, and the same conception of demons as the causes of ills and diseases of all sorts. The sealing of demons is mentioned in most of the texts⁷, and Solomon's seal is referred to in some⁸. In a related text Grünbaum found the phrase "jinn of Solomon"⁹.

1 Cf. *supra* I 4.

2 Grünbaum (*ZDMG* XXXI 215) and Perles (*Bousset's Rel. d. Jud.* 35 f.) call attention to the difference. The *Test* comes nearer to the soberer views of the former, as is natural in a Christian work, which would not show direct Babylonian influence. 3 *ERE* IV 612 f. 4 *Op. cit.* 115, cf. 116.

5 *Ibid.* 96 ff.; see review by the writer, *AT* XIX (1915) 292 ff.

6 *Ibid.* 56 ff., III. 7 Cf. *ibid.* 127, 133, 165, 191, 231 f.

8 *Ibid.* 170, 173, 232, 248. 9 *Ibid.* 80, גינא דשלמון.

On the other hand there are decided differences. The magician is not concerned with individual demons or angels. Personal names of demons are few; rather they are addressed as classes, "Demons and Devils and Satans and Liliths"¹, while the angels, even more than in the *Test*, come to be mere charms, not personalities. The black art is personified, and "the Curse and the Vow, and Arts and Practices" are adjured². Certain familiar names appear which the *Test* lacks; for example, Metatron³, Abraxas⁴, and Hermes⁵. Rather more of plainly Hellenistic magic enters into the Aramaic texts; for example, Zeus and Okeanos⁶. Heathen deities appear more distinctly: Sames, Sin, Bel, and Nirig⁷. The charms are much more elaborate than any in the *Test*.

From this hasty comparison it is evident that Montgomery's texts and ours belong to the same world, that of syncretistic Hellenism, but not to the same part of that world, nor to the same era. The *Test* comes from an earlier, or at least a less highly developed stage in the history of magic, and, strange as it may appear, shows really less of Hellenistic influence on its magic, if not on its demonology, than do the Semitic texts.

7. Hellenistic elements and relationships. — No one familiar with the magic papyri can fail to identify the *Test* as a Hellenistic work. Upon the basis of primitive Greek and Roman animism the popular mind had constructed by the time of the early Empire a magic that borrowed from all the races, Babylonian, Persian, Indian, Jewish, and Egyptian, that had contributed to its civilization, and yet was thoroughly naturalized⁸. It is in this world that the *Test* belongs.

¹ *Ibid.* 225; cf. 68. Such summaries are frequent and long, cf. pp. 188f., 218. The magician wishes to include all possible evil spirits.

² *Ibid.* 237, *et passim*. ³ *Ibid.* 207, cf. 98, 113.

⁴ *Ibid.* 148, 196, 232, cf. 57. ⁵ *Ibid.* 147, 196, 207, cf. 123, 113.

⁶ *Ibid.* 197, cf. 113. ⁷ *Ibid.* 238, in a heathen charm, cf. 70f.

⁸ Cf. art. "Demons and Evil Spirits (Greek)" in *ERE* IV 590—4 by A. C. Pearson and art. "Dämonen u. Dämonische" in *Realenc.* IV 408—19 by J. Weiss, with bibliographies.

Onoskelis is no doubt, the well known Greek female demon, although the manner of her birth can be paralleled from both Greek and Jewish sources¹. Enepsigos is probably Hekate². One demon I have identified with Lix Tetrax, two of the original *Ephesia grammata*, in part because, while the name is corrupted, it is in the *Test* connected with a wind as it is in a Cretan tablet of the fourth century B. C.³. In any case the section is Hellenistic, as the charm *βουλταλά· θαλάλ· μελχάλ·* shows; the demon also cures fever, a heathen, not a Jewish or Christian idea. Kynopegos may be identified with Poseidon⁴. Akephalos Daemon appears in the magic papyri⁵. The idea of demons as the cause of disease was familiar to the Greek mind, for the *Kῆρες* were the ancient Greek form of microbe⁶. The similarity of views on this subject among men widely separated in time and place is illustrated by the fact that Plato, Apuleius, and the Talmud all agree in regarding demons as partly human, partly supernatural in their nature⁷.

The magic of the *Test* is not outwardly so different from that of the magic papyri, and the writer was familiar with the praxis of the latter, as VI 10 and XVIII show. But *ὀνόματα ἄσμηα* rarely appear, and when they do they are an evidence that the section in which they occur has come from Hellenism; nor do the incantations and amulets have the elaborateness that characterizes them in the papyri. The angel, a messenger of God, is the agent of healing and protection. No black magic, nor *defixiones* appear. The *Test*, then, differs from the magic papyri chiefly in that it is the work of a Christian using heathen

1 C. IV. Cf. Roscher, *Lexicon*, s. v. Ὀνόσκελις; J. Harrison, *Proleg.* 202 f.; Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.* 1306 and n. 17, 769; Lucian *ver. hist.* II 46; *supra* VI 1, VII 6 b. 2 She is a moon goddess, called *μυριώνυμος*, and has three forms.

3 Ziebarth in *NGG* 1899, 131, Wünsch, *Rh. Mus.* LV (1900) 73 ff. The writer is preparing an article in defense of this identification. 4 C. XVI.

5 Lond. P 46 145 ff., *Gr. Pap. Br. Mus.* I 69 f.; Deissmann, *Licht* 194, *LAE* 139. Of course the headless ghost is an international figure (cf. Washington Irving's *Legend of Sleepy Hollow*), but allusions to fire and lightning in both accounts make the identification certain.

6 Harrison, *Proleg.* 163 ff., Bouché-Leclercq, *Astrol. Gr.* 24 n. 1.

7 *Sympos.* 202 e; Apuleius *de Socr.* XIII. Cf. *supra* VII 6.

materials rather than that of a heathen working on Jewish or Christian matter.

The passages in the papyri which mention Solomon merely show that his fame as a magician was spreading beyond the limits of Judaism and Christianity¹. One is inclined to think that some legend of Solomon's dealing with demons is back of the line that speaks of Solomon's laying his seal on the tongue of Jeremiah².

8. Christian elements and relationships.

a) Relation to the New Testament. — The thought of our text regarding Christ has already been sufficiently discussed³. As to demonology the New Testament is not sufficiently detailed to permit a comparison of individual figures except in the case of Beelzebul, who is a purely New Testament character, so far as our knowledge goes, and who has been fully adopted into our text⁴. In general it is quite evident that Paul and the writers of the Synoptic Gospels believed in demonic activities such as are described in the *Test*⁵. They differ in the essential point that Christ's is the only name to use in exorcism, and, according to Luke, it could safely be invoked only by real Christians⁶; all magic books were to be burned⁷.

New Testament language has been adopted by our writer in the phrases *στοιχεῖα κοσμοκρατόρες τοῦ σκότους*, applied to the seven spirits of evil⁸, or *στοιχεῖα οἱ κοσμοκρατόρες τοῦ σκότους (τοῦ αἰῶνος) τούτου* applied to the thirty-six *decani*⁹, and *ἄρχαι καὶ ἐξουσίαι καὶ δυνάμεις* as designations of angelic beings¹⁰. Dr. Conybeare has collected and discussed a considerable number of words and phrases common to our text and

1 Par MP 850, 853, 3040.

2 Cf. Deissmann, *opp. citt.* 184, 252, Dieterich, *Abraxas* 139; cf. *supra* p. 64, n. 2. 3 Cf. *supra* V 7. 4 Cf. *supra* VI 1 and p. 44, n. 7.

5 Dibelius, *Geisterwelt*, 37—114.

6 Mk IX 38ff.; Lk IX 49f.; Ac XIX 13—17.

7 Ac XIX 19. 8 C. VIII 2.

9 C. XVIII 2, combining Gal IV 3, 9; Col II 8, 20 with Eph VI 12. MS P omits *τοῦ αἰῶνος* as do the best witnesses in Eph VI 12.

10 C. XX 15, Eph. I 21; Col I 16; II 15 and I Pt III 22 are combined; but MS P, putting *κοσμοκρατόρες* for *δυνάμεις* has the order of Eph VI 12.

the New Testament¹. He comes to the conclusion, with which we must on the whole agree, that the similarity of phrase is due to common environment. "Paul merely glances at a system of belief which the *Testament* sets before us in lengthy detail"². But the environment of our writer includes the New Testament. Not as if he had first hand acquaintance with it. That is excluded by those passages which deal with its incidents or ideas. When he describes the "Gadarene" demon, Leontophoron, he refers only to the outstanding features of the story which any one would remember who had heard it read or told³. Likewise in mentioning Jesus he alludes only to characteristic features of Christian doctrine which would impress themselves on a hearer who was δεισδαιμονέστερος. The story of the rejected cornerstone, combining as it does Ps CXVIII 22 and Is XXVIII 16 after the manner of I Pt II 6f.⁴, but referring them to an actual stone, reads like anti-Christian polemic from the Jewish side. Certainly our writer was not familiar with the Christian application of these verses, if he was a Christian.

After weighing the evidence one is driven to the conclusion that the author of the *Test* had the same relation to the New Testament that we have found him sustaining to the Old Testament and the apocryphal literature. All this constitutes part of the background of his thinking, and he had a superficial knowledge of it derived from hearing it read in the Sabbath worship, or mentioned in sermons and discussions; an occasional phrase or quotation sticks in his mind, or he may borrow from other better instructed magicians; but he is not working with copies of any of this literature before him. He composes freely without literary trammels. It is auricular knowledge with an absence of literary dependence rather than a very early date which makes the *Test* at once like and unlike the New Testament⁵.

1 *JQR* XI 5f. 2 *Ibid.* 6. 3 C. IX; cf. *supra* VI 7, p. 50.

4 C. XXII 7f., XXIII 2—4. Cf. Mt XXI 42 and parallels; see above VII 6, p. 61f., also IX 2 and n. 16, p. 102.

5 Cf. Conybeare, *JQR* XI 10; "The allusion [to the miracle of Gadara] is not of such a kind as to involve our Gospel text in its present form, but rather reflects the oral tradition which went before it."

b) Relation to the early Church. — To what class of Christians would such a work as the *Test* appeal? One would expect to find much Gnostic material in such a work, especially in view of the fact that so many so-called "Gnostic amulets" have been preserved, many of them coupling the name of Solomon with Abraxas and similar words of power¹. In fact, Dr. Conybeare concludes, "It is probable . . . that the *Testament* was the favourite book of the Ophiani, or of some analogous sect which combined a belief in Emmanuel with a mass of pre-existent Jewish superstitions"². With this we cannot agree.

The passage on which Dr. Conybeare seems to base this judgment appears to me directly to contradict it. The seven ruling demons, faith in whom Origen ascribed to the Ophiani³, are, to be sure, just the sort of beings in which the author of the *Test* believes. But these seven, which with the "mother" play so important a part in Gnosticism⁴, are certainly the seven planets. In the *Test* the only group of seven which appears is to be identified with the Pleiades⁵; they have none of the characteristics of the Gnostic seven⁶, nor is there any "mother" mentioned with them. Sophia is personified in Proverbs and Wisdom as in the *Test* long before her appropriation by Gnosticism.

The prohibition of the invocation of angels' names "um irgend eine Sache" in the *Second Book of Jeu*⁷ is a direct attack upon such practices as the *Test* sought to further. A similar condemnation of heathen magic and astrology appears in *Pistis Sophia*⁸,

1 In the British Museum is a bronze nail with the inscription, ABARAXAS. ASTRAEL IAO SABAO (drawing of a serpent) SOLOMONO; cf. H. B. Walters, *Cat. of the Bronzes in the Br. Mus., Greek, Roman, and Etruscan*, p. 370, No. 3194. Henzen, *Bull. d. Inst. di Corr. Arch.* 1849 p. 11 cites from a magic nail the inscription, AO SABAO SOLOMONO. Wessely, *Eph. Gram.* 22, 202, cites *ιαο σολομων σαβαο* from Montfaucon *Tab.* 164. 2 *Op. cit.* 14.

3 *Contra Cels.* VI 30, Conybeare, *JQR* XI 13.

4 Cf. Bousset, *Hauptprobl.* c. I, pp. 9–58.

5 So Bousset, *op. cit.* 21 n. 2, decides; as does also Conybeare himself, *op. cit.* 24 n. 2, though suggesting the planets as an alternative.

6 Cf. Bousset, *op. cit.* 27. 7 Schmidt, *K-Gn. Schriften*, 305, 30f.

8 *Ibid.* pp. 15–18, 167.

but, as Dieterich pointed out, the Gnostic insisted he had the key to the true science¹, and it was this that gave Gnostic amulets such tremendous vogue. Now one of the striking facts about the original *Test* is that, outside the chapter on the thirty-six decani (XVIII), which, as we have seen, is of Egyptian origin², it contains practically none of the names which are commonly found on Gnostic amulets, or are regarded as characteristic of Gnosticism; such names as Abraxas and Ialdabaoth. The distinctly Gnostic elements belong to sections which have been assigned on other grounds to the later recensions³.

The one piece of cosmic mysticism occurring in the *Test*, the directions for seeing "the heavenly dragons dragging the chariot of the sun"⁴, presents a contrast to *Pistis Sophia* c. 136, which describes the sun as a great dragon with his tail in his mouth⁵. The words and phrases in the list of the *decani*⁶ which have a Gnostic sound may be in part really of Gnostic origin; for example, *ιαε' ιεω' υιοι Σαβαωθ*⁷, *καλλιόν ἐστι Σολομων ενδεκα πατέρων*⁸, *ιοῦδα ζιζαβοῦ*⁹. Some, perhaps all, are borrowed by Gnosticism and the *Test* from the same sources, Judaism, heathenism, and Christianity¹⁰. None of the characteristic features of the Gnostic systems, such as dualism, emanations, syzygies, and mystic names being found in the *Test*, and there being so few allusions of any kind to Gnostic language, the conclusion must be that our text has not come under Gnostic influence.

One story in the *Test* brings it into touch with Ethiopia. From Ethiopia comes a story of Solomon's fall which closely parallels that in the *Test*. In the Talmud it is Asmodaeus who temporarily deposes the King by seizing his ring. In this Ethiopian legend Pharaoh's daughter seduces him. She urges him to worship her idols; he refuses. She entices him until finally he promises on oath that he will do whatever she wishes. Then

1 *Abraxas*, 151f. and n. 2. 2 Cf. *supra* VII 5.

3 Cf. *infra* VII 11 and 12. 4 C. VI 19.

5 Schmidt, *K-Gn. Schriften* 233 18f. 6 C. XVIII.

7 *Ibid.* § 16. 8 *Ibid.* § 18, P only. 9 *Ibid.* § 21.

10 E. g., *Σαβαωθ*, *Ἀδωνάτ*; cf. § 17.

she ties a thread across the middle of the door of the temple of her gods (that is, across the door half way up), brings three locusts, sets them in the temple of her gods, and says to him, "Come to me stooping so as not to break the woolen thread, kill these locusts before me, and twist their necks." When he complies, she says to him, "From now on I will do thy will, since thou hast made offering to my gods and hast prayed to them." The writer, moved by the same apologetic tendency as in the *Test*, explains that he acted thus on account of his oath in order that he might not perjure himself, although he knew that it was a sin to enter the idol temple¹.

The parallels between this legend and that in the *Test* are too striking to be overlooked. Furthermore, Ethiopic magic and demonology as a whole are much like those of the *Test*. "Very great importance is attached in (Ethiopic) magic spells to the knowledge of names and the power resident in them; and in this potent element of the magician's art Jewish, Christian, and pagan ideas curiously meet In Abyssinia, Biblical sacred names, together with a large number of fanciful appellations much resembling those in the Jewish Kabbala, were magically pronounced for the purpose of warding off the power of demons and all kinds of diseases"². The use of slips of paper as amulets to be tied to the person or wall³, the prominence of Michael, the use of angelic names against demons and diseases⁴, the lilith-like Werzelya⁵, and the power of Solomon over demons almost make the impression that it is the *Test* which Margoliouth is describing⁶. Remembering also the similarity of the *Test* and Ethiopic Enoch one might be led to the conclusion that the

1 Prof. Dr. Carl Bezold, *Kebra Nagast, Die Herrlichkeit der Könige, nach den HSS. in Berlin, London, Oxford, and Paris*, c. 64, in *Abh. der philos.-philol. Klasse der königl. bayer. Ak. d. Wiss.* 23. Bd., 1 Abt., München 1905, 60f. Salzberger, *Salomosage* 96, says the same story is found in Kisāṭ; cf. *infra* § 9, p. 80.

2 G. Margoliouth, "The Use of Charms and Amulets in Ethiopia," *ExT* XXI 9 (June 1910) 403. 3 *Ibid.* 404. Cf. *Test* XVIII 22—42. 4 *Loc. cit.*

5 Montgomery (*AITN* 261f.) gives several parallels to the story of Christ's meeting with a lilith. In Canaan *Aberglaube* 27f. the story is told of Solomon.

6 *Op. cit.* 405.

Test must have come from the land from which the Ethiopic church received its legends, that is, from Egypt.

Lest one should infer too much, it is to be noted that legends similar to those in our text are to be found in other parts of the Christian world. Dr. Conybeare has discovered a parallel to the story of the corner stone which human agency could not lift¹ in life of St. Nino, the mother of the Georgian church². In the Georgian life of the saint and the Armenian history of the Georgians is a story of a cedar column, the seventh and last necessary to the erection of the first church in the newly converted kingdom, which the king and all his people were unable to move, but which, in the early morning, after the defeat of the hosts of evil by St. Nino's prayers, is moved by invisible hands to the base prepared for it³. In Rufinus' *Ecclesiastical History* the same story is told of the "Iberians" and their king, but the miracle is heightened by leaving the pillar suspended above its base⁴. One might think of a combination of the stories of the corner stone and the aerial column in this last legend, but the connection is very tenuous.

Dr. James writes to me: "I would add two more references to your bit of *testimonia*. In the Syriac *Obsequies of the Virgin*, Wright, *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the NT*, 1865, p. 42, is the story of the old man and his son [*Test XX*] — the end of it only, and in different guise, but unmistakably the same tale. It is from a fifth century MS (see p. 12). Also in a tract called *Inventiones Nominum* which I printed in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1903, p. 224, § 27, is, 'Tres sunt Orniae.... Tercius est Ornias princeps demoniorum.' In one MS this is emended to 'Ornias princeps Lacedaemoniorum' in allusion to I Macc. XII 7; but I feel sure it is an emendation. It is interesting to find an allusion in Latin."

Returning from these excursions to outlying fields of Christian thought and life we find every reason for believing

1 *Test XXII* 7, XXIII. 2 *Guardian*, Mar. 29, 1899, 442.

3 *Stud. Bibl.* V (1908) 38—41, and 83f., edited by Miss Wardrop and Dr. Conybeare. The accounts are full of wild stories of demons and exorcisms.

4 *Ibid.* 60, *Eccl. hist.* I x; Migne, *PL* XXI 482.

that the *Test* belongs in the ordinary current of Christian faith and practice. From Paul on down the church fathers believed in the real existence and the dangerous powers of demons¹. "Aus dem tiefsten Gefühl heraus, von der Hilflosigkeit und niedergedrückten Stimmung, wie dieser Glaube sie erzeugt hatte, eine Rettung gefunden zu haben, schreibt ein Christ des II. Jahrh. (Clemens Alex., Theodoti Exc. 71, 72) die Worte: 'Verschiedenartig sind die Gestirne und ihre Kräfte, heilsame, schädliche, rechte, linke Von diesem Widerstreit und Kampf der Kräfte rettet uns der Herr und gibt uns Frieden vor dem Kampfe der Kräfte und der Engel, den die einen für, die anderen wider uns führen'"². Origen also seems to believe fully in the "powerful names" known by "the Egyptians, or by the Magi among the Persians, or by the Indian philosophers called Brahmans," as he does in the power of the name of God and of Jesus and of angel names³. That Christians practise sorcery or exorcism by demonic names he indignantly denies; it is the name of Jesus which drives out demons. Jesus has freed the Christian from all superstitious fears⁴.

If such was the case with the leaders in the Christian church, how can we expect that the rank and file of their followers should fully grasp and consistently apply the one great idea in which Christian magic differed from heathen, that Christ's was the sole name of power to use for all purposes of healing and protection? The newly converted idolater cannot at once rise to the full heights of Christian spirituality⁵. The ancient church replaced the heathen deities with the crucifix

1 Cf. von Dobschütz, *ERE* III 413—30, art. "Charms and Amulets (Christian)," very strangely H. L. Pass, *ibid.* IV 578—83, art. "Demons and Evil Spirits (Christian)" treats only of angels, but see now VIII 277f., art. "Magic." See also Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu*, 291—5. 2 Wendland, *Kultur* 81.

3 *Contra Cels.* I 24f. cf. V 45. οὕτως οὐ τὰ σημαινόμενα κατὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλλ' αἱ τῶν φωνῶν ποιότητες καὶ ιδιότητες ἔχουσι τι δυνατόν ἐν αὐταῖς πρὸς τὰδε τινα ἢ τὰδε. I 25 20, *KV Com.* II 76. 4 *Ibid.* VIII 57f.

5 Experience as a missionary in India has vividly impressed upon the writer's mind the difficulties which converts to Christianity have in acquiring its point of view. But modern western Christianity is not without illustrations of the same problem.

and the images of the saints and madonna, and the old abracadabra with angel names¹. At a very early time on Christian amulets the Lord's Prayer, verses from the Psalms, and other familiar passages replaced the heathen myths and incantations². Similarly the writer of the *Test* is making a brave, though but partially successful, attempt to put Christian (i. e., Jewish and Christian) ideas in the place of heathen. This whole movement is most illuminatingly set forth in an excerpt quoted by F. C. Burkitt from the Syriac homily *De magis, incantoribus, et divinis*, in which "the writer complains that his fellow-Christians, even the clergy, resorted to Magicians and Jews. He says (col. 395): 'Instead of the blessings of the Saints, lo, they carry about the incantations of the magicians, and instead of the holy cross, lo, they carry the books of devils One carries it on his head, and another round his neck, and a child, who knows nothing at all, carries about devils' names and comes (to church) Polluted and abominable priests take refuge in the names of demons . . .'"³ Magic grew in power in the church, especially from the fourth century on, and was officially recognized in the sixth and seventh⁴. Our text is a document of this progressive paganizing of official Christianity rather than the product of some obscure heretical sect.

c) Relation to mediaeval Christianity. — That the *Test* belongs to orthodox Christianity is further demonstrated when one turns to study the preservation of the ideas for which it stands in the European world. Illustrations are too numerous to present in detail. The Queen of Sheba will serve as one. Kraus has collected many references of Byzantine writers to the fabled queen, which show that in using her the *Test* was following, or inaugurating, Christian tradition⁵.

1 Cf. Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu*, 252f.

2 Cf. Deissmann, *Licht*, 24, 167, 297, *LAE* 39, 232, 415ff.

3 In *PSBA* XXIII (1901) 77f. The homily is "ascribed in MSS to S. Ephraim and edited as his by Lamy (vol. II, col. 393—426), but . . . in my opinion is more likely to be the work of Isaac of Antioch (*circ.* 450 A. D.)"

4 Cf. von Dobschütz, *ERE* III 414.

5 "Die Königin von Saba in den byz. Chroniken," *BZ* XI (1902) 120ff.; cf. Nestle, *BZ* XIII (1904) 492f.

As to Solomon there was in the beginning some difference of opinion among Christian writers. Early anti-Jewish polemics, like the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*, for example¹, find Solomon used to offset the claims of Jesus. Not only did their Jewish opponents apply many a Messianic passage to the wise son of David, but they made the claim that he had anticipated and excelled Jesus in his power over demons, thus undermining the Christian argument that Jesus was the Messiah because he had broken the power of Satan, and weakening the Christian appeal to a world that was languishing under the oppressive fear of demonic activities. To offset this Jewish claim these Christian writers bitterly attacked the memory of the wise king, maintaining that his was only a temporary victory over the demons, who overcame him at the end of his life. Leontius of Constantinople argues at some length that Christ's greatness is manifest in his power over demons while he was here on earth. In the midst of his description of the cure of the Gadarene demoniac he abruptly turns the request of the "Legion" to enter the swine to account in this fashion: *Τίνι εἶπεν ὁ λεγεὼν τῶν δαιμόνων· Εἰ ἐκβάλλης ἡμᾶς, ἐπίστρεψον ἡμῖν εἰς τὴν ἀγέλην τῶν χοίρων εἰσελθεῖν; Σολομῶντι, τῷ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα κτίσαντι, ἢ τῷ Δεσπότῃ Χριστῷ, τῷ τὰ σύμπαντα ἐν τῇ χειρὶ βαστάζοντι; Ἀλλ' ἐροῦσιν εὐθέως οἱ φιλοδαίμονες Ἰουδαῖοι· Τί οὖν; ὁ Σολομῶν οὐκ ἐδεσπότευσε τῶν δαιμόνων; οὐχὶ πάντας ὑφ' ἐν ᾧ ἕνα συνέκλεισεν; οὐχὶ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον τοῦτον δεδοίκασιν; Ἀλλ' ὁ Ἰουδαῖοι μαγγανοδαίμονες, μάτην ταῦτα προβάλλεσθε· μόνος γὰρ ὁ Δεσπότης Χριστὸς κραταιῶς τὸν ἰσχυρὸν ἔδησε, καὶ τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ διήρπασε. Σολομῶν γάρ, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐδέσποσε τῶν δαιμόνων βασιλικῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐδεσποτεύθη πρὸς τὰ τέλη καταφθαρεῖς. ἀγαπήσας γὰρ τὸν τῆς πολυγαμίας ἔρωτα, τῇ τοῦ διαβόλου μαστροπότῃτι δελεασθεὶς, . . . ἐρρύπωσε τὸν τῆς θεογνωσίας θάλαμον. . . . Πῶς οὖν δαιμόνων δεσπότης, ὁ τῶν δαιμόνων δοῦλος;²*

1 Cf. *infra* p. 103 f.

2 From the homily *In mediam Pentecostem*, Migne, PG 86, col. 1980; According to Loofs, *Das Leben usw. des Leont. v. Byz.*, summarized by Krumbacher, *BLg* p. 54 f., this Leontius was a Constantinopolitan presbyter who lived

Similarly in the *Disputatio* of Pseudo-Gregentius, in reply to the claim of Herban the Jew that Solomon had ruled all the demons the archbishop replies: *Σολομῶν ἐταπείνωσε δαίμονας; οὐκ οἶδας τί διαγορεύεις. πρὸς καιρὸν μὲν ἡσφαλίσατο τούτους ἐν τοῖς ἀγγελίοις καὶ σφραγίσας κατέχωσεν. ἀλλὰ γε τὸ τηνικαῦτά μοι ὁκόπει, ὅτι νητῶς καταπολεμηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν δαιμόνων καὶ ἡττηθεὶς περὶ σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ ἐκινδύνευσεν, ὥς ἡ γραφὴ μαρτυρεῖ¹.*

The original *Test* shows no suspicion of a conflict of claims between Solomon and Christ, but in c. XV 10—12 Rec. B (MS P) attempts to combine the Jewish and Christian viewpoints. As to the glorious king's sad end, these early fathers think of him as falling a prey to the demons through the seduction of women, or vice versa. But the majority of Christian writers, like Josephus², ascribe his fall into idolatry to his love for women without the interposition of demonic agency³. The *Test* in one place takes the former view⁴, but in the closing chapter apparently the latter. Here again our text shows its early date.

The conception of Solomon as a great magician who was powerful over demons and disease is witnessed to by scores of amulets and incantations, and especially by such books as the *Clavicula*⁵. Many of the demons of the *Test* lived on. Asmo-

about 485—542. Cf. Gelzer, *Leont. v. Byz.*, etc., and *Hist. Ztschr.* LXI (1899) 1—32, Fabricius, *Bib. Graec.* VIII 319ff.

1 Migne, *PG* 86, col. 644 A. Gregentius was bishop of the Homerite church in Taphar in southern Arabia in the early part of the sixth cent. The *Disputatio* is not authentic, but may contain historical materials. Cf. Smith and Wace, *DCB*, Krumbacher, *BLg* 59, Bardenhewer, *Patrol.* 477. The mention of ἀγγεῖα makes connection between the Arabic type of tradition and the *Test*; cf. XV 9, XVIII 43, XXV 7, where the word is found only in MS P, and XVI 7, where Recs. A and B both should probably have it, though A reads φυλακὴν.

2 *Ant* VIII 7 5; cf. 1 Kg XI 43.

3 Georgius Syncellus, P 181, V 145, B 341; Georgius Hamart., *Chron.* II 43 (Migne *PG* 110, 252—64); Glycas, *Ann.*, Migne *PG* 158 353f.; Joseph. *Hypomn.* 74, (Migne *PG* 106 89 D). 4 C. VIII 8, 10.

5 Solomonic amulets can be found in many museums as well as in a large number of mediaeval MSS. They occur in Syriac, Arabic, and Hebrew, and in Latin, Greek, and modern European languages; e. g., Sachau, *Verz. Syr. HSS. Berlin* I 367, No. 101, f. 54b: Sol. on horseback attacking Asmodaëus;

daeus goes through many transformations¹. Obyzut appears in the Abyzu of Pradel's *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete*, while Ornias appears in the same documents². Gaulmin and Migne were right in bringing the *Test* and Psellus together. The great Byzantine's *περὶ ἐνεργείας δαιμόνων διάλογος* is but the effort of a master mind to systematize the ideas which the *Test* merely registers. Withal, this whole complex of Byzantine demonology and magic makes the impression of being a more highly developed form of the conceptions with which our text is operating. The roots of the tree run back to the Sumerians, the Babylonians, the Iranians, and the Pelasgians, the *Test* stands for the blossom, Psellus gives us the ripened fruit dissected and analyzed.

9. Relation to Arabian folklore. — Arabic literature, since it is especially rich in demon lore and Solomonic myth, invites particular comparison with the *Test*. In general Arabian beliefs and practices in the field of demonology and magic are not essentially different from those of our text except in one feature which Islam inherited from heathenism, the idea of the Jinn,

Schwab, *Dict.* 421, "ΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ ΘΕΟΥ; sur une hématite figurant un Salomon à cheval, perçant de sa lance un ennemi terrassé, avec la légende ΣΟΛΩΜΩΝ, au Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque Nat. II 3039". The late Prof. Nestle wrote me of a Sol. on horseback as an amulet against *malocchio*, published by Bienkowski in *Eranos Vindobonensis*, 1893, 288. Amulets in MSS are well illustrated by those in *cod. Bonon. univ.* 3632, cf. *supra* p. 24. Cf. Heim "Incantamenta magica," in *Jbb. für class. Philol. Sup.* XIX (1893) pp. 463—576, Nos. 56 = 169, 61, 62, 236, 237, and Sorlin Dorigny, "Sal. als Reiter," in *Rev. des Études Grecs* IV (1891) 217—296. The pilgrim of Bordeaux in the IV cent. was shown the "crypta ubi S. daemones torquebat," Schürer *GV* III 418, from Tobler, *Palaest. descript.* (1869) 3, Pal. Pil. Text Soc., *Bordeaux Pilg.* 20. Dr. Conybeare drew my attention to Gannurini's ed. of St. Silvia's *Perigrinatio* (IV cent.), according to which the ring was kept in the Church of St. James (p. 96 and 95 n. 2). The tradition was that Vespasian took it to Rome, whence Constantine returned it (*ibid.* 96 n. 3), cf. Petri diaconi *liber de locis sanctis*, *ibid.* 117; see Pal. Pil. Text Soc., *The Pilgrimage of S. Silvia to the Holy Places*, 64 and 125.

1 As Markolf, Morolf, Kitovras, Saturn; cf. Fr. Vogt, *Die deutschen Dichtungen von Sal. u. Markolf*, I; J. M. Kemble, *The Anglo-Saxon Dialogue of Sol. and Saturn*.

2 Cf. Index I, s. v. "Dämonen," and Reitzenstein, *Poim.* 297 ff.

which are often kindly and beneficent creatures¹. In our writer's mind there is properly no place for any good among demons, although he is once or twice betrayed by his pagan materials into referring to their healing powers². The wild exuberance of Arab fancy as we see it in the *Thousand and One Nights* is another mark of differentiation.

The Quran and even more the *Arabian Nights* have made all the world familiar with Solomon's authority over the Jinn and with the latter's terrible forms and powers. In the Quran are allusions to the fallen angels, Hārūt and Mārūt³, and to the devils who were subject to Solomon, some as builders, and others bound in fetters⁴. In the *Nights* we find full accounts of how Solomon placed rebellious Jinn in bottles, or in cucurbites of copper, poured lead over them, and sealed them with his ring⁵, with tales of their later escape from these prisons⁶.

According to the Quran the Jinn are not allowed to listen at the gates of heaven, but God has placed the stars there as weapons for the angels to throw at them if they make the attempt. In the *Nights* the Jinniyah Maymunah "made for the firmament, thinking to listen by stealth to the converse of the angels," and when she ascended "skywards till she drew near the heaven of the world, the lowest of the heavens," she found an Ifrit there before her⁷. In another story "Allah suffered his angelic host to shoot down the Ifrit with a shooting star⁸.

1 Cf. Wellhausen's account of primitive Arabic beliefs, *Reste* 148—67, and Canaan, *Aberglaube* 6—27, for modern demonology; also *Encycl. of Islam*, I 1045 f., art. "Djinn," by D. B. Macdonald.

2 Sura II 97 ff., *SBE* VI (Quran I) 14; Sale *ad loc.* quotes the legend substantially as told in Midrash Yalkut c. 44, see St. Clair-Tisdall and Muir, *Sources of Islam*, 30 f., and Weil, *Bibl. Leg.* 208 ff. Zohra resembles Shunamite in her activities.

3 Sura XXXVIII 35 ff., *SBE* IX (II) 179, cf. Sale, *ad loc.*; XXVII 7, *SBE* IX (II) 101. 4 Lane-Poole III 110 f., Burton VI 84, *Nights* 566 f.

5 Burton VI 85. The most famous is that of the "Fisherman and the Jinn," Burton I 38; cf. MacDonald's transcription from Galland's MS in *Or. Stud. Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, also separately published. 6 Burton III 223 f.

7 Burton, I 224, Night 22; cf. Quran, Sura XXXVII 6—9, *SBE* IX (II) 168; III 31, *ibid.* VI (I) 50 and n. 2; LXVII 5, *ibid.* IX (II) 293; LXXII 8 f., *ibid.* 305; Burton VI 100, Night 571, VIII 293, Night 870.

The likeness and unlikeness of the conceptions in the *Test* are apparent.

Salzberger's dissertation on the *Salomosage*, although it does not reach the fall of the king, presents a rich collection of legends, particularly with regard to his relations to the demons. He gathers them under four rubrics, the punishment of the demons, their appearance before Solomon, the description of certain individuals, especially Sahr, and Solomon's ring¹. Two descriptions of the appearance of the devils as they are marshalled before the king are given from three Berlin MSS of Kisa'i. The portrayal of demonic forms as given "nach dem korrekteren und vollständigeren Text der dritten Berliner Handschrift des Kisa'i"² would seem most strikingly like that in the *Test*, were it not that the other two MSS give in a longer and shorter form descriptions which are still more similar³. Solomon inquires from the demons, just as in the *Test*, what their activities are, and, having learned, chains them so they may injure mankind no more. The ring, as in the *Test*, is brought down from heaven, and by its aid Solomon becomes master of the demons.

Yet, with all these close resemblances, there are also great differences between the *Test* and the Arabic legends. All the Jewish stories of Solomon's glory and wisdom, his wonderful ring, the building of the Temple by the aid of the demons, and his dealings with the queen of Sheba have grown marvellously under the fructifying fancy of the Arabs. Beside the marvels of the Quran and its commentaries, and especially the *Arabian Nights* the *Test* is dull and tame⁴. Most of the features in which we found Jewish legend to have evolved beyond the *Test* are to be found in still more highly developed form among the Arabs; for example, Solomon's power over the animals is greatly extended⁵;

1 (1) *op. cit.* 98f., 113ff.; (2) 99—112; (3) 112—115; (4) 115—29.

2 *Ibid.* 99, Mg. 40, f. 72b.

3 *Ibid.* 105ff.; Pm. 627, f. 160af. gives the longer form, which most resembles the *Test*; Spr. 86, f. 226a ff. the shorter.

4 Cf., for example, Lane-Poole, III 51f., 110f., 239, 317, 329, 454.

5 In the Quran he knows the language of the birds; Sura XXVII 16, *SBE* IX (II) 100.

Sahr is the Talmudic Asmodaeus, but worse; Iblis, the devil, whose refusal to worship Adam leads to his fall¹, is not, like Beelzebul in the *Test*, subject to Solomon, but carries a step farther that independence and insolence which Asmodaeus shows in the Jewish legends; the king's fall has quite a different aspect in the Quran².

The ring also, as Salzberger shows, develops a new character in Arabic legend different from that which it has in the *Test*, evolving along the lines suggested by the Talmudic story of Asmodaeus' theft of it³. Kisa'i is the first to describe it fully⁴. It is so glorious that no one can look at it without repeating the Moslem creed, and has four considerable legends engraved upon it⁵. It is either brought by Gabriel, or of itself comes from the throne of God and appears upon Solomon's hand.

Solomon's fall according to Kisa'i was due to conscious or unconscious idolworship, which, if I understand Salzberger, was connected with the sacrifice of locusts⁶. This tradition, then, connects the *Test* on the one hand with Ethiopia, and on the other with Arabia. Since Ethiopia was closely connected with Arabia in Christian history, we have probably to think of a Palestinian Jewish tradition which never found its way to Babylon, nor, so far as I know, into official Palestinian Jewish literature, but passed by way of the Jewish colonies in southern Arabia into Ethiopian and Mohammedan legend, and directly from Palestinian Judaism into our Christian work, for we cannot suppose that the *Test* arose in Arabia. This being so, one of the links that would connect our text with Egypt is broken.

These examples are sufficient to illustrate both the likeness and the unlikeness of the *Test* to Arabic literature. They show how Arabic legend, where it resembles our work, has developed its

1 Sura II 33f.; VII 19ff.; XV 30ff.; XVII 63f.; XVIII 47ff.; XXXVIII 75ff., *ibid.* VI (I) 5, 138f., 246f., IX (II) 8, 20, 181.

2 Sura XXXVIII 33f., *ibid.* IX (II) 178 and n. 2.

3 *Salomosage* 115-9. 4 *Ibid.*, from Mq. 40 f. 70b-72b.

5 In the *Nights* an oath by the names on Solomon's ring is peculiarly powerful, Burton III 224f., Night 177; cf. VII 317 n.

6 *Op. cit.* 96; refers to Pm. 627, f. 151b-155a.

ideas farther and in a different manner, and how in many particulars it rests upon the sort of Jewish tradition seen in the Talmud.

10. Unique matter in Recension A. — Having studied the material relationships of the *Test* as a whole we now undertake the same task for the individual recensions. As Rec. A is nearest the original, it has little matter that calls for comment. Its expansions are of a purely narrative sort¹. MS L alone has undergone a considerable revision by a mediaeval magician, who added nothing new, but merely mutilated the document. The single addition of importance in this recension is the inscription on the ring².

11. Unique matter in Recension B. — The peculiarities of Rec. B, and particularly of MS P, the only complete MS of this recension, consist in the main of unimportant interpolations and alterations. There are, however, a few additions of moment. These may be classed under four heads: (1) those which show familiarity with demonological tradition; e. g., the reference to the ghosts of the giants³, to the female demon Obyzuth as *πνεῦμα μυριώννυμον καὶ πολύμορφον*⁴, and to Enepsigos, another female demon, as *μυριώννυμος*⁵, the allusion to a cycle of legend regarding *Ἐλβονρίων* and *οἱ ἑπτὰ δαίμονες*⁶, the added charms in XVIII 23, 27 f., further information regarding Abeszethibu⁷; (2) those which are Gnostic in character; e. g., the allusions to the eleven fathers and the eleventh aeon⁸; (3) those which have a cabalistic tendency; e. g., the introduction of Apharoph for Raphael, of *χμδ'* for Emmanuel, and of *χμ'* for Raphael⁹, and

1 Cf. c. I 1 f. and XXVI 8—10. 2 Cf. infra VII 14. 3 C. XVII 1.

4 C. XIII 3; cf. *Ἐκάτη μυριώννυμε* Par MP 2745, Orph. Hymn. *passim*, *Ἐκ. πολυνώννυμε* Par MP 2815; her many names are given in *cod. Par.* 2316, f. 432, cf. Reitzenstein, *Poim.* 299 (one is *Ἀβιζᾶ*), Pradel, *Gr. Geb.* 23 (275) (*Ἀβυζοῦ*), Montgomery, *AITN* 260 (No. 42), 262, Gaster in *Folklore* XI 133, Avezuha; *πολυνώννυμε* is frequent. For *πολύμορφος* cf. Par MP 2726, 2799, of Hekate and Selene; *cod. Par.* 2316 f. 318^v (Reitzenstein, *Poim.* 297) *Στραγγαλιὰ πολύμορφε*. 5 C. XV 2. 6 C. IX 7.

7 C. XXV 1—5, possibly omitted by accident from Rec. A. See also additions in VI 4. 8 C. XVIII 18, 31.

9 C. XIII 6, XV 11. See other additions in XVIII 3, 23, XXII 8, XXIII 4.

(4) those which show familiarity with Christianity. Additions are found in every section that refers to Christ; viz., VI 8, XI, XII 3, XVII 4, and XXII 20. The additions in the first three passages are not important. The remaining two, however, seem to be due to an attempt to make the Christianity of the *Test* less "equivocal," since in XVII 4 the "becoming man" of the Savior is mentioned, and in XXII 20 the one to be born of a virgin and crucified is called *ὁ μονάρχης θεός*. These additions lead to the belief that in XV 10f, where Rec. A is wanting by accident, the positive Christian ideas advanced, viz., that it is the son of God who is to be stretched on the tree, that his mother is never to know man, and that he is especially fit to receive dominion over all the demons because he overcame the devil (*διάβολος* rarely occurs in the *Test*) are probably the work of the B redacteur. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the *Test* elsewhere makes no attempt at systematic thought or generalization. At any rate we cannot definitely claim these ideas for the original writer, and must conclude that B is not only much better instructed in the faith, but also later.

12. Unique matter in Recension C. — Rec. C deserves a special investigation of much greater proportions than can be given here, in order to determine its sources and relationships. As we have already seen, its language is late, and the codices in which it is found as well as its unique material relate it to the *Clavicula*¹.

Many problems I must leave to others. Why is Beelzebul called Eltzianphiel²? What is the meaning of Onoskelu's birth *ἀπὸ φωνῆς βηρσαβεὲ ἱππικῆς χρηματικῆς*³? Whence comes the idea of the bird that flies over God's head? One of the most interesting and baffling sections is that which we have called the "Prologue". In spite of defective grammar the editor has

¹ Cf. *supra* II 4, IV 2c. ² Rec. C XI 1; cf. *Τζιανφιέλ*, X 1.

³ *Ibid.* XI 6. Dr. James writes, "I am clear that *χρηματικῆς* has something to do with *χρεμετίζειν*, *neighing of horse*, and I compare Jer. V 8, *ἵπποι θηλυμανεῖς ἐγενήθησαν, ἕκαστος ἐπὶ γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον ἐχρεμετίζον*. When David sinned with Bathsheba, *βηρσαβεέ*, he was a *ἵππος θηλυμανής*. See *Test* V 8, *θηλυμανεία*."

been able to select from some source certain high sounding prayers, which; I think, have no parallels in the LXX, the New Testament, or the early fathers. Possibly he borrowed from some, to him well known, liturgy.

The magical cup and table in c. XI 7ff. are related to the "marvelous cup of crystal middlemost of which was the figure of a lion faced by a kneeling man grasping a bow with arrow drawn to the very head, together with the food-tray of Sulayman, the son of David" in the story of "Sinbad the Seaman and Sinbad the Landsman" from the *Arabian Nights*¹. The added magical formulae connect this recension more closely than the others to the magical literature of the Middle Ages on the one hand, and to the magical papyri on the other. The word *Agla* (XIII 6), which by *notarikon* stands for "thou art mighty forever, O Lord," indicates dependence upon Jewish cabalism, and probably a relatively late date, for the word is not in the magic papyri, so far as I can discover, but is a favorite in the Middle Ages².

The magical recipe of c. IX 9f. and the list of fifty demons in c. X have many marks which show that they are later than the original *Test* and have arisen in a different circle. The list is not concerned solely or primarily with the cure of diseases; it relates the powers, some good, some evil, of each demon, and implies that these powers are under the control of him who knows the demon's seal. Furthermore, each demon rules a certain number of inferiors. These ideas are to be found, on the one hand, in Gnosticism, which details the number of spirits ruled by each *ἄρχων*³, and, on the other, in mediaeval

1 Seventh Voyage in the Calcutta edition, Burton VI 80.

2 The word is an acrostic from the first four words of the second blessing of the Shemoneh 'Ešreh: אֵלֹהֵינוּ גִבּוֹר לְעֵלָם אֲדֹנָי. Since this liturgy and also the practice of *notarikon* are early, one can argue as to date only on general probabilities; cf. *JE* I 235, IX 270—82; Schwab, *Dict.* s. v. אֲגִלָּה. It occurs often in Horst, *Zauberbib.*, I 127, II 90, 103, 121, 123ff., etc.; in Mather's *Key*, p. 7; in Harl. MS 5596 (cf. *supra* II 4) f. 30^{a1} in an incantation to secure treasure: ὁρχίζω ὑμᾶς, δαίμονες, εἰς τὰ ὀνόματα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ τετραγράμματον διπερὶ ἐστὶν ἀγλα· ἀγλατὰ· ἀγλατ' ἀγλαῶρ; also f. 30^{b2}, 32^{b2}; often in Latin *Clavicula*. 3 Cf. p. 85, n. 2.

magic¹. The resemblance between c. X and the language of *Pistis Sophia* regarding the five ἄρχοντες and the ψῆφοι and σφραγίδες of the thirteenth αἰών², and the various χαρακτῆρες, σφραγίδες, and lists of names in chapters 5—40 and 45—52 in the *First Book of Jeu*³ is most striking. Furthermore, there are close resemblances between the magical figures of the Coptic papyri, the *Clavicula*, both Latin and Greek, and the unique sections of this recension.

We cannot attempt to trace the connecting links between these widely separated branches of magic, which, no doubt, go back to a common source in Hellenistic syncretism. The facts presented are an interesting illustration of the wide wanderings of superstitions, and the tenacity with which they maintain their forms in their migrations.

13. Unique matter in MS D. — On internal grounds and by comparison with Recs. A and B we have decided that MS D c. I—VI and VIII present in general the form of the original story of Solomon out of which the *Test* was developed⁴. From what sources did this legend come? As it now stands, it is quite plainly a Christian redaction of Jewish *midrashim* regarding Solomon, Palestinian, perhaps Galilean, in origin, rather than Babylonian⁵. That the legend of c. I is ultimately Jewish is suggested by Nathan's stopping to bury a dead countryman, a trait borrowed from Magianism⁶. Traces of later influences are to be found in c. VII⁷. The story of Solomon's flying through the air appears in Jewish mythology, where he is said to have ridden on an eagle⁸, but in Mohammedan legend, according to the Quran on a wind⁹, and in the

1 Cf. Trinity Col. (Cambridge) MS 1404 in French; Harl. (Br. Mus.) 6483, which contains "all the names, orders, and offices of all the spirits Sol. ever conversed with" (f. 1). 2 Cc. 138 ff., Schmidt, *K-Gn. Schr.* 235 ff.

3 *Ibid.* 260—97, 308—29. 4 Cf. *supra* IV 2. 5 Cf. *supra* VII 6d, p. 64 f.

6 Cf. Tob I 19, II 3 ff. Dr. James points out to me that the story is found in Ps.-Epiphanius, *Vitae Prophetarum*, see ed. Schermann (Teubner 1907), pp. 4, 54, 89, Migne, *PG* 43, col. 425, and thinks this is its probable source. For D it would then be indirectly Jewish, I suppose. Calish, *JE* IX 176, says the rabbis are practically silent as to Nathan. 7 Cf. *supra* IV 2.

8 Grünbaum, *ZDMG* XXXI 23.

9 Suras XXXI 81, XXXIV 11, XXXVII 35, *SBE* IX (II) 52, 151, 179.

Arabian Nights on a magic carpet¹. If the story originally referred to Asmodaeus' usurpation of the throne, then we have also Jewish sources. This chapter, then, would seem to be an addition from a Jewish-Mohammedan type of tradition. All the remainder of this version we have already traced to Jewish sources².

From considerations of textual and literary criticism we concluded that D in its present form was late, but that its archetype (*d*) was the starting point for the *Test*³. From its language and style we concluded that it was Byzantine⁴. Our conclusions based upon a study of its subject matter accord with this and take us one step further: an originally Jewish document or cycle of legends has been thoroughly worked over by an educated Christian in early Byzantine times. Since there are no Christian elements in those parts of *d* which were taken over into the *Test*, and the quality of the Christianity in Rec. A is much poorer than in D, it is natural to conclude that *d* had nothing Christian in it when it was transformed into the *Test*.

14. Solomon's seal. — The origin of the seals supposedly engraved on the ring of Solomon is of subordinate importance, since they are in any case secondary additions in our MSS. The simplest form is that found in Rec. B, which attempts no reproduction, but merely says the inscription was a pentagram. Since this is the western type of the tradition, it cannot have been original⁵.

Rec. A presents an interesting formula consisting for the most part of unintelligible words and containing those combinations of vowels so common in Hellenistic magic. MS L alone reproduces the seal with the legend in the form of a circle, the formula appearing around the circumference, while the interior contains magic signs. In the manuscript in which L is found, Harl. 5596, the *Clavicula* contains a seal of different shape on

1 Burton III 267. 2 *Supra* VII 6. 3 *Supra* IV 1, 2, 3. 4 *Supra* V 1.

5 Cf. *JE* XI 438 ff., 448, Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge z. sem. Sagenkunde* 251. The text of the inscriptions as given in our MSS will be found below, p. 100f. Canaan, *Aberglaube*, p. 112f., *et passim*, gives the seal of Solomon as usually the sixpointed star among modern Arabs, but also the five.

which the same legend was to be written. In Bologna University MS No. 3632 (V of the *Test*) there is found among many such "pentacles" a circle inscribed τοῦ σολομῶντος μεγάλου, within which is written the same legend. No doubt the editor of Rec. A got his seal from some such collection. The wording of the inscription would seem to link it to the older amulets and magic papyri, but in any case it is younger than the *Test*, which shows little trace of such influence.

In Rec. C twelve large seals are found, the first a rectangle with various transverse lines and magic sings, the remaining eleven round and also containing various mystical symbols. In the fifth and the ninth are figures that look like the signs for Virgo and Scorpio, in the seventh for Aquarius, in the eighth for Pisces; the third, fourth, and fifth contain among others modifications of the Christian monogram XP . The fact that these same seals are found in a Vienna MS which does not contain the *Test* is, I think, indicative of their origin. We must conclude that the original *Test* contained no description or reproduction of the seal.

15. Summary and conclusions. — If our previous conclusions are correct, the original Jewish stem of the present *Test* consisted of the narrative parts of chapters I, II, XX, XXII, XXIII, and XXIV, i. e., of those parts which are common to the *Test* and MS D. Upon this parent stem have been grafted (1) certain sections which describe the demons more fully, (2) two brief references to the work as a *Test*, which give it the name (XV 13f., XXVI 8), other considerable sections containing demonic prophecies whose later fulfilment is represented as constituting the basis for Solomon's faith in their testimony, and which, therefore, are intended to validate the work to the public (XII 4, XV 12ff., XX 21)¹, and (4) additions made merely for the story's sake or intended to link the parts of the story together (VI 3, 5f., XIX, XXI, XXII 7f., 17).

In this division of the *Introduction* we have given attention mainly to the origin of the first of these four classes of additions,

¹ Note also the late (P) addition XV 8—11.

which includes the demonological, astrological, and magical elements in the work¹, additions marked by the questions *τίς εἶ σύ; τίς καλεῖσαι; ποίῳ ζῳδίῳ κεῖσαι; ποίῳ ἀγγέλῳ καταγεῖσαι*; It is for the sake of answering these questions that the *Test* was written. As we have seen, the material for the answers has been drawn through Judaism from Babylonia in Ephip-pas (XXII) and possibly in the lilith-like Obyzuth (XIII) and from Persia in Asmodaeus (V); from Hellenistic Egypt come the decani although the section has been much altered by Jewish or Christian revisers (XVIII); from Hellenistic Greek mythology come Onoskelis (IV), Lix Tetrax (VII), Akephalos Daemon (IX), Enepsigos (= Hekate, XV), Kunopegos (= Poseidon, XVI), and possibly the dog, Rhabdos (X, = ? Cerberus) and Pterodrakon (XIV = ? Typhon)², from Hellenistic mysticism the recipe for a cosmic revelation (VI 10f.); from (perhaps Galilean) Jewish sources come the seven *κοσμοκράτορες*³, the giant, Machthon⁴, the demon of the Red Sea, Abezethibou (XXV), and probably the Shunamite (XXVI); from Christian, or Jewish-Christian sources in part, come Beelzebul (III, VI 1-9), Leontophoron, the demon of Gadara (XI), and perhaps the demon of epilepsy called *κορυφὴ δρακόντων*, beside the charms which include some allusion to Christ (XV 10f., XVII 4).

What sort of a man could have held such inconsistent and ill-digested views drawn from all these diverse sources. He cannot have been a heathen for he knows Judaism and Christianity, the Old Testament and the New too well. He cannot have been a Jew because of the Christian elements. Dr. Conybeare suggests that we have here as in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, "a Christian recension of a Jewish book"⁵. Although I cannot agree with Schürer that there are no Jewish passages in the book⁶, Dr. Conybeare's hypothesis does not seem to

1 MS D shows that some of this was in the original story, *d.*

2 Azazel, the serpent tempter of Eve, has human hands and feet in the *Apoc. of Abraham* XXIII, Bonwetsch p. 33; cf. Hughes, *Ethics Jew. Apoc.*, 211.

3 C. VIII; it has some Hellenistic and Christian additions.

4 Is he a Titan rather than one of the Nephilim?

5 *JQR* XI 13f. 6 *Th. Litstg.* 1899 110.

meet the facts in the case. There is too much Christian material in the *Test*. Particularly is it to be noted that, in both places where the word *testament* occurs (XV 14, XXVI 8), it is closely connected with passages which are Christian in tone; c. XV 10f. in the form in which we have it is the most characteristically Christian section in the entire work; c. XXVI 8 in Rec. B, which we believe to represent the original here, is less markedly so than is MS H with its reference to the "Jews," and yet we have discovered that the whole of the last chapter is based on a legend which otherwise comes to us from a Christian source. Moreover, the demonology of the work, which so much resembles that of the New Testament and the pseudepigrapha which were accepted in the Christian church, and the language with its resemblances to that of the New Testament even in passages where there is no quotation or direct allusion point to a Christian origin. The absence too of smaller inconsistencies from the narrative, especially of Rec. A, the impossibility of finding the joints in the mending, point to unity of authorship for the *Test* as such. We conclude, then, that while the original story *d* was probably Jewish, the demonological document which first called itself a *Testament*, best represented in Rec. A, was a Christian work.

The man who composed our *Test* bears no distinctive marks of any heterodox circle, yet he was no thorough-going Christian. He was above all a magician, and it is as such that he collected this bizarre potpourri of fragments from almost every nation that had contributed to Mediterranean civilization. He must have been a Greek Christian, familiar, perhaps from childhood, with the language of the Septuagint and New Testament, familiar also with many legends of Jewish origin, but entirely familiar too with the demonology and magic of the heathen world, to which he belonged almost as truly as he did to Christianity. For him Christ is not yet master of the whole world; nevertheless, Christ's is a name to conjure with, and, when he is at a loss for a powerful angel name, the new savior comes into the exorcism. He is a half-hearted Christian in a world where Christianity is not yet the conquering religion. This is the more

evident when one compares Recs. B and C, which introduce elements which reveal the period when Christianity had conquered, and was absorbing its former foes and their superstitions.

VIII. THE TESTAMENT IN LITERATURE AND HISTORY.

1. Solomonic books of healing and magic among the Jews. —

a) The literary starting point for all the later legends regarding Solomon's wisdom is to be found in III Reg III. Here, as Benzinger points out, it is the judicial wisdom of the ruler that is in the writer's mind¹. In c. V 9—14, on the other hand, it is "religiöse Lebensweisheit"². Furthermore, Benzinger believes that in comparing Solomon's wisdom with that of the children of the East and the wisdom of the Egyptians the writer intended to imply that Solomon knew magic and astrology, for these ancients were famous for such knowledge, as the records of the Exodus, for example, testify. How far back may we place this earliest reference to Solomon's magical knowledge? The verses in question can hardly belong to the earlier sources of the Books of Kings as Kautzsch seems to imply³, but rather to the final redaction of the book⁴. The least that one can say is that it must date before the Septuagint translation. More than two centuries, therefore, before Christ, in the leading circles of Palestinian Judaism, Solomon is already a magician. The interpolator of the passage may not have thought of him as the author of magical books, but surely many readers would understand from the allusion to the wisdom of the ancients and Egypt that *ᾠδαί* meant, not psalms, but *carmina*, incantations, and that the discourses *ὑπὲρ τῶν ξύλων* must include their medical, or what amounted to the same thing, their magical uses⁵.

¹ *Könige*, p. 23 f., on I Kg V 9—14.

² I Kg V 9—14 (Heb), IV 29—34 (Eng).

³ According to markings adopted in *Heil. Schr. des AT*.

⁴ So Benzinger, *loc. cit.* Stade and Schwally in Haupt's polychrome Hebrew Bible color it as a "non-Deuteronomic addition of unknown origin." Cf. Steuernagel, *Eintl. AT* 356, and *ZATW* 1910 70, whose suggestions require a very late date.

⁵ Cf. Salzberger, *Salomosage*, 5 ff., for an analysis of the biblical passage.

b) The next reference to Solomon's magical powers, in Wisdom VII 17—22, makes no allusion to writings; indeed the context does not call for it. But it does plainly involve the ascription to the supposed writer of knowledge of astrology, of the nature of beasts and spirits, as well as of men, of the ἐνέργεια στοιχείων, the διαφοραὶ φυτῶν, and the δυνάμεις ῥιζῶν, of "all things that are either secret or manifest"¹. The Wisdom of Solomon, then, is a witness to the acceptance of the legend of Solomon's astrological, demonological, and magical accomplishments in Alexandrian Judaism in the first century B. C., and, let it be noted, by a thoroughly educated and highly cultured Jew of the Dispersion.

c) A still further allusion to Solomon's authority over demons is found in Pseudo-Philo, *de antiquitatibus biblicis*, in *Citharismus regis David contra daemonium Saulis*, which we have already quoted. The lines which concern us here should run, according to Dr. James, as follows: Arguet autem te metra nova unde natus sum de quo nascetur post tempus de lateribus meis qui vos domabit. Dr. James says, "In this last sentence it seems at first sight as though we had a prophecy of Messiah, and a possible Christian touch. But a little consideration will show, I think, that the 'vanquisher of demons' who is to spring from David is not Messiah, but Solomon the king of Genies, the wizard whose spells produced such marked effects in the time of Josephus, the hero, too, of the *Testament of Solomon*, where he figures almost solely as the restrainer and chastiser of mischievous spirits"².

d) The next mention of Solomon's power as a magician is the decisive one, without which one might doubt the interpretations adopted above. There can be no doubt as to Josephus' meaning on the whole when he relates the following: <44> συνετάξατο δὲ καὶ βιβλία [περὶ] ὁδῶν καὶ μελῶν πέντε πρὸς τοὺς χίλιους, καὶ παραβολῶν καὶ εἰκόνων βίβλους τρισχιλίας· καθ'

¹ Following the translations by Siegfried in Kautzsch, *APAT* I 490, and Holmes in Charles, *APOT* I 546.

² *TS* II 3 (1893) *Apoc. Anec.* 183ff.; cf. *supra* VII 6b), and p. 60 n. 2.

ἐκαστον γὰρ εἶδος δένδρου παραβολὴν εἶπεν, ἀφ' ὃς ὅσον ἕως κέδρου. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ περὶ κτηνῶν καὶ τῶν τ' ἐπιγείων ἀπάντων ζώων καὶ τῶν νηκτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀερίων· οὐδεμίαν γὰρ τούτων φύσιν ἡγγνόησεν οὐδὲ παρῆλθεν ἀνεξέταστον, ἀλλ' ἐν πάσαις ἐφιλοσόφησε καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς ἰδιωμάτων ἄκραν ἐπεδείξατο. <45> παρέσχε δ' αὐτῷ μαθεῖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων τέχνην εἰς ὠφέλειαν καὶ θεραπείαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. ἐπωδὰς τε συνταξάμενος αἷς παρηγορεῖται τὰ νοσήματα, τρόπους ἐξορκώσεων κατέλιπεν, οἷς ἐνδούμενα τὰ δαιμόνια ὥς μηκέτ' ἐπανελθεῖν ἐκδιώκουσι. <46> καὶ αὕτη μέχρι νῦν παρ' ἡμῖν ἡ θεραπεία πλεῖστον ἰσχύει· ἰστόρησα γὰρ τινα Ἐλεάζαρον τῶν ὁμοφύλων, Οὐεσπασιανοῦ παρόντος καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ χιλιάρχων καὶ ἄλλου στρατιωτικοῦ πλήθους, τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων λαμβανομένους ἀπολύοντα τούτων. ὁ δὲ τῆς θεραπείας τρόπος τοιοῦτος ἦν. <47> προσφέρων ταῖς ῥίσι τοῦ δαιμονιζομένου τὸν δακτύλιον, ἔχοντα ὑπὸ τῇ σφραγίδι ῥίζαν ἐξ ᾧν ὑπέδειξε Σολομών, ἔπειτ' ἐξεῖλκεν ὁσφρομένῳ διὰ τῶν μυκτῆρων τὸ δαιμόνιον, καὶ πέσοντος εὐθὺς τὸν ἀνθρώπου μηκέτ' εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπανήξειν ὄρκον, Σολομῶνός τε μεμνημένος καὶ τὰς ἐπωδὰς, αἷς συνέθηκεν ἐκεῖνος, ἐπιλέγων . . . <49> γινόμενου δὲ τούτου σαφῆς ἡ Σολομῶνος καθίστατο σύνεσις καὶ σοφία . . .¹

We have quoted the passage at length, because we believe that, having it before the eye and remembering the previous Jewish allusions to Solomonic incantations, one cannot but accept Albrecht Dieterich's conclusion that Josephus means to imply that books were in circulation under Solomon's name which gave the magical, or medicinal, virtues of plants after the plan of the works later written by Pamphilus and called *εἰκόνες κατὰ στοιχεῖον*². And surely the *ἐπωδαί* had long ago been written down.

e) The Mishna says that Hezekiah hid the "book of recipes"³,

¹ *Ant* VIII 44—49 (Naber) = VIII 2 5.

² *Abraxas* 142 f., *Leid. Pap.* 780 ff.

³ In the Gemara, *Berakoth* 10a (Goldziher I 35), *Pesachim* 56a (*ibid.* II 520): גנוז ספר רפואה. רפואה means *Heilung*, in the plural *Arzneien*, *Heilmittel*, Levy-Fleischer, s. v.; cf. Jer XXX 13. See also A. Wunsch, *ZDMG* LXVI (1912) 414.

which, according to Maimonides and Rashi meant a book which Solomon had written; Maimonides holding that it was a book of magic¹, Rashi that the evil consisted in its leading men not to pray to God for their healing². Otherwise rabbinic literature does not refer to such Solomonic works; evidently this sort of tradition was avoided in official Judaism.

f) After Talmudic times I know of no reference to such books until we reach the Jews of the Middle Ages. In fact Moses takes the place of Solomon in Jewish literature and becomes the representative wise man, as Solomon does for the Christians³. Steinschneider gives citations from writers of the twelfth and following centuries who look upon Solomon as the source of all wisdom, including medicine, magic, and astrology⁴. In particular, Scheintob ben Isaac of Tortosa (1260) in his paraphrase of Zahrawi's *Tasrif*, called *ספר השמיות* (XI cent.)⁵, gives "eine Schilderung der Weisheit Salomo's (namentlich in der Naturkunde), unter dessen Namen in Zahrawi ein Verband (רטיה) erwähnt werde, der auf weißer Marmortafel an der Wand seines Palastes eingegraben war, wie verschiedene Rezepte (נוסחאות ופוקחות), die von den Späteren (האחרונים) erläutert worden; Scheintob hat 'hier in Marseille' den Christen mehr davon erläutert, als er in Zahrawi fand"⁶. We have here possible the contract with the demons⁷, and certainly the magical recipes said to have been written on the temple gates⁸. Steinschneider

1 Surenhusius, *Mishna* II 149, *de Paschati* IV 9. Maimonides says: "Haec Mishna est ex Tosaphta, quam exponam propter utilitatem illius; *ספר רפואות* *liber medicinae*, erat liber qui tractabat de medicis quibus se sanare non permittebat Lex, uti sunt ejusmodi res quae proponebantur per figuras; erant enim Astrologiae periti nonnulli quorum dicto homines faciebant suo tempore imagines ac figuras quasdam, qui aliquibus damnum (sic) vel utilitatem adferebant; haec autem figura in lingua Graeca vocabatur *τέλεσμα* Prolixius esse volui in hisce, eo quod mihi exposuerant, quod Shelomo composuisset librum medicinae.

2 Grünbaum, *ZDMG* XXXI 200.

3 Kohler in *JE* IV 518; cf. Gaster, *Sword of Moses*.

4 *Hebr. Übers.* 936, ns. 225 and 226; 849 f.

5 *Ibid.* 740ff. Zahrawi is called Açararius, Azaravi, etc.

6 *Ibid.* 743. Is Scheintob borrowing from the Christian tradition, or vice versa? See below VIII 3 b) (2).

7 Cf. *infra* VIII 3 d) 2) (d). 8 Cf. *infra* VIII 3 c) 2).

is only partly right in trying to relieve his compatriots of the responsibility for the ascription of such works to Solomon¹. The Christians, however, developed the tradition far more than did the Jews from whom they received it.

2. Solomonic books among the Arabs. — A single reference in the Quran and the comments thereon show that among the Jews of Mohammed's time magical books of Solomon were known. Sura II 95ff. reads: "And when there came unto them a prophet from God confirming that *scripture* which was with them, some of those to whom the scriptures were given cast the book of God behind their backs as if they knew it not: and they follow *the device* which the devils devised against the kingdom of Solomon; and Solomon was not an unbeliever, but the devils believed not, they taught men sorcery." The context supports Sale's interpretation drawn from Yahya and Jallalo'ddin, that this device against the kingdom of Solomon consisted in the devils' attempt to blacken the character of Solomon by writing books of sorcery, hiding them under his throne, and after his death pretending he had had in them the recipes by which he obtained his power².

3. Among Christians. —

a) The power of Salomonic exorcisms. — One line of Christian tradition goes back to Josephus and follows him more or less closely, recounting merely the power of the exorcisms he had composed. Origen, who writes "a Salomone scriptis adjurationibus solent daemones adjurari. Sed ipsi qui utuntur adjurationibus illis, aliquoties nec idoneis constitutis libris utuntur: quibusdam autem et de Hebraeo acceptis adjurant daemonia," may be merely paraphrasing Josephus, or he may have had personal knowledge of Solomonic works³. The first I have discovered to quote Josephus expressly is Georgius Monachus

1 *Op. cit.* 936. An interesting reference to Jewish magic, Burton, *Nights* II 234.

2 Cf. Sale *ad loc.* Palmer's note, *SBE* VI (Qu II) 14, does not so well explain the passage, which is concerned solely with books.

3 In *Mattheum comm. ser.* (tract. 33) 110, Migne *PG* 13, 1757, in discussion of Mt XXVI 63.

(c. 850)¹, who is followed by Cedrenus (c. 1100)², Zonaras (c. 1150)³, and Glycas (after 1150)⁴.

b) Solomon the ultimate source of medical wisdom. — Other Christian writers start from the Old Testament notices of Solomon's wisdom, developing the tradition in various directions. In the first place, according to Theodoret (386/393—458), he was wiser than the most famous wise men to whom the Hellenistic world looked back. In his *Quaestiones in III Reg.*, Qu. X he asks, Πῶς νοητέον τὸ "Ἐπλήθυνεν (cod. α, ἐπληθύνθη) ἡ σοφία Σολομῶντος ὑπὲρ τὴν φρόνησιν πάντων τῶν νύων ἀρχαίων, καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας φρονίμους Αἰγύπτου;" He answers, Ἐκ παραλλήλου δεῖξαι αὐτοῦ τὴν σοφίαν ὁ ἱστοριογράφος ἠθέλησεν. Τούτου χάριν καὶ τῶν πάσαι γεγεννημένων σοφῶν ἀορίστως ἐμνήσθη Τούτους, φησὶν, ἅπαντας ὁ Σολομῶν ἀπέκρουσεν, ἅτε δὴ θεόθεν τῆς σοφίας τὸ δῶρον δεξάμενος⁵. Procopius of Gaza, without acknowledging his debt, quotes Theodoret almost word for word⁶. Georgius Monachus⁷ and after him Georgius Cedrenus⁸ give a slightly different version of Theodoret, adding also a part of Theodoret's *Quaest.* XVIII.

In the second place Theodoret represents the wise king as the source from which the ancients derived their knowledge of medicine. He asks, Πῶς νοητέον τὸ "Ἐλάλησε περὶ τῶν ξύλων", and answers, Καὶ τὰς φύσεις, καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις, καὶ τῶν βοτανῶν, καὶ τῶν δένδρων, καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων πεφυσιολογηκέναι αὐτὸν εἰρηκεν· ἐντεῦθεν οἶμαι καὶ τὰς ἱατρικὰς βίβλους συγγεγραφότας ἐρανίσασθαι πάμπολλα καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ζῴου τόδε τὸ μόριον τίνος πάθους ἀλεξιφάρμακον· οἷον ἢ τῆς ὑαίνης χολή, ἢ τὸ λεόντειον στέαρ, ἢ τὸ ταύ-

¹ Or Hamartolos; *Chron.* II 42 4, Migne *PG* 110 249 C; cf. Krumbacher, *BLg* 352—8.

² Migne, *PG* 121 156 Bf. and 196 CD; cf. Krumbacher, *BLg* 368f., Gelzer, *Sext. Jul. Afr* II 1 357—84.

³ *Ann.* II 8, Migne, *PG* 134 168 B, cf. Roger Bacon, *Opera inedita*, ed. Brewer London 1859, vol. I, App. p. 526.

⁴ Migne *PG* 158 349 C; cf. Krumbacher, *BLg* 380—5.

⁵ Migne, *PG* 80 676 AB.

⁶ *Com. ad III Reg.* II 45, Migne, *PG* 87:1 1152.

⁷ *Chron.* II 42 1f., Migne, *PG* 110 249 A. ⁸ Migne, *PG* 121 197 Df.

ρειον αἷμα, ἢ τῶν ἐχνιδῶν αἱ σάρκες. Περὶ τούτων γὰρ οἱ σοφοὶ τῶν ἱατρῶν συγγεγράφασιν, ἐκ τῶν Σολομῶντι συγγεγραμμένων εἰληφότες τῶν πρώτων τὰς ἀφορμὰς¹. Procopius of Gaza quotes Theodoret as far as *πάμπολλα*². Anastasius Sinaites repeats both question and answer almost word for word³. So far as I have discovered, no others use the first part of the reply ending with *πάμπολλα*, but Georgius Monachus, Cedrenus, and Glycas weave into their account of Hezekiah's suppression of Solomon's books the sentence, ἀφ' ὧν οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἱατροσοφισταὶ σφετερισάμενοι καὶ τὰς ἀφορμὰς εἰληφότες τὰς οἰκείας συνεστήσαντο τέχνας, or its equivalent⁴.

c) Hezekiah's suppression of Solomon's books.

1) Origin of the legend. — The question naturally arose as to what had become of all the proverbs, odes, and scientific writings of Solomon. So far as the sources show, this question was first raised and answered by Hippolytus in his commentary on Canticles, portions of which are preserved in Armenian, Syriac, Slavic⁵, and Georgian⁶. The last mentioned version contains a discussion, the essence of which has been handed down also in a quotation or summary found in the *Quaestiones* of Anastasius Sinaites.

In *Quaest.* XLI Anastasius collects several ancient references to Solomon's books and wisdom. Beginning with an unacknowledged quotation from Theodoret⁷, he reproduces Sap VII 16—21 and III Reg IV 26—29, and then adds the following:

1 In *III Reg. Quaest.* XVIII, Migne, *PG* 80 681 AB. Does Jerome have this tradition in mind? Cf. *Quaest. Hebr. in libr. III Reg.* (Migne, *PL* 23 1365 C): Disputavit enim de naturis lignorum, jumentorum, reptilium, et piscium, de vi videlicet et naturis illorum . . .

2 *Com. ad III Reg* IV 33; Migne, *PG* 87: 1 1153.

3 *Quaest.* XLI; cf. *infra* p. 97 n. 1. It is the first part of the ἀπόκρισις and immediately follows a quotation from Θεοδωρήτου ἐπισκόπου Κύρου, which stands at the end of *Quaest.* 40.

4 *Chron.* II 42 4 (Migne *PG* 110, 249 B) for G. Monachus; Migne, *PG* 121 200 B, 224 C for Cedrenus; Glycas (*ibid.* 158 348 D) has, τὰς τοῦ Σ. βίβλους, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ οἱ τῶν ἱατρῶν παῖδες ἀφορμὰς ἔλαβον.

5 Bonwetsch, *KVCom* I 343—74.

6 Bonwetsch, *Hippolyts Kom. u. Hohelied* in *TU NF VIII* (23) H. 2, 22 f.

7 Cf. *supra* n. 3.

Ἰπολύτου ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸ ἄσμα ἁσμάτων. Καὶ ποῦ πᾶσα ἡ πλουσία αὕτη γυνῶσις; ποῦ δὲ τὰ μυστήρια ταῦτα; καὶ ποῦ αἱ βιβλοὶ; ἀναφέρονται γὰρ μόναι αἱ παροιμίαι καὶ ἡ σοφία καὶ ὁ ἐκκλησιαστής καὶ τὸ ἄσμα τῶν ἁσμάτων. τί οὖν; ψεύδεται ἡ γραφή; μὴ γένοιτο. ἀλλὰ πολλή μὲν τις ὕλη γεγένηται τῶν γραμμάτων, ὥς δηλοῖ τὸ λέγειν ἄσμα ἁσμάτων· σημαίνει γὰρ ὅτι ὅσα περιεῖχον αἱ πεντακισχίλια ᾠδαὶ ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ διηγήσατο. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἑζεκιῶν τὰ μὲν τῶν βιβλίων ἐξελέγησαν, τὰ δὲ καὶ περιώφθησαν¹ Perhaps Jerome has this in mind when he says, *Aiunt Hebraei cum inter cetera scripta Salomonis quae antiquata sunt, nec in memoria duraverunt, et hic liber [Eccl.] obliterandus videretur . . . ex hoc uno capitulo [XII] meruisse auctoritatem*².

That general encyclopedia, the *Hypomnesticon*, written by the otherwise unknown Josephus Christianus, mentions *πεντακισχίλιαι παροιμίαι* written by Solomon among the books referred to in the Scriptures but not now found³. Michael Glycas gives a badly garbled account of it all, making Hezekiah's revision fall after the Exile and Ezra's labors, and naming ὁ σοφώτατος Ψέλλος as his authority, evidently by mistake⁴.

2) The writings on the temple gate. — In view of Hezekiah's iconoclastic zeal as to the brazen serpent, it was inevitable that some one should suggest that he had also suppressed the magical writings of Solomon. Two Christian writers present an independent tradition, somewhat like that of Sheintob already mentioned⁵. Georgius Syncellus (c. 800) in his *ἐκλογὴ χρόνο-*

¹ *KVCom* I 343; Migne, *PG* 89 589; cf. *supra* p. 96 n. 6. Anastasius' floruit is placed by Krumbacher (*BLG* 64ff.) between 640 and 700. The *Quaestiones* in their present form are not original, but that does not affect our material, for it is all quoted. ² *Com. in Eccl* XII 13f.

³ Cap. 120, *PG* 106 124 A. The date of the *Hypomnesticon* is still unsettled. Schürer, *GVV* III 420, refers to Gutschmidt, *Kleine Schriften* V 618, who places it in the tenth century, and the "more accurate researches" of Diekamp, *Hippolytus von Theben* (1898) 145—151, who decides for 800 at the latest, possibly a much earlier date. To the writer it appears that aside from certain evident interpolations it may belong to the fifth century.

⁴ *PG* 158 349 A; cf. 122, 537, 540 for Psellus' opinion.

⁵ Cf. *supra* p. 93. The story in *Ez* VIII 7—11 does not appear to have played any part in these speculations.

γραφίας, when speaking of Solomon's reign, merely describes most concisely his wisdom and fall; when he comes to Hezekiah, after expanding IV Reg XVIII 4, he adds, Ἐζεκίας μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰούδα μετὰ τὸ κατασκάψαι τὰ εἰδωλεῖα καὶ τὰ ἄλλῃ ἐκκόψαι καὶ τὸν χαλκοῦν ὄφιν ἐξαλείφαι τοὺς εὐρίσκομένους εἰδωλολατροῦντας ἐξ Ἰουδαίων ἐθανάτου. τοσοῦτον γὰρ τῇ εἰδωλολατρείᾳ συνείχοντο ὥστε τῶν θυρωμάτων ὀπισθεν ζωγραφεῖν τὰ βδελύγματα τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἵνα παρ' Ἐζεκιῶν ψηλαφᾷν πεμπομένων κρύβωιντο ἀνοιγομένων τῶν θυρῶν. ἦν δὲ καὶ Σολομῶντος γραφὴ τις ἐγκεκολλημένη τῇ πύλῃ τοῦ ναοῦ παντὸς νοσήματος ἄκος περιέχουσα, ἣ προσέχων ὁ λαὸς καὶ τὰς θεραπείας νομιζόμενος ἔχειν κατεφρόνει τοῦ θεοῦ· διὸ καὶ ταύτην Ἐζεκίας ἐξεκόλαψεν ἵνα πάσχοντες τῷ θεῷ προσέχωσιν¹. Suidas abbreviates the account and puts βίβλος λαμάτων for γραφή².

3) Solomon's magical books suppressed.—Turning to Anastasius Sinaites again we make the interesting discovery that he ascribes the account of the reforming activity of Hezekiah to Eusebius. The final section in *Quaest.* XII runs as follows: Εὐσεβίου Παμφίλου ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἱστορίας. Τὰς δὲ βίβλους τοῦ Σολομῶντος, τὰς περὶ τῶν παραβολῶν καὶ ᾠδῶν, ἐν αἷς περὶ φυτῶν καὶ παντοίων ζώων φυσιολογήσας, χερσαίων, πετεινῶν τε καὶ νηπιῶν, καὶ λαμάτων πάθους παντός, γραφείσας αὐτῷ, ἀφανεῖς ἐποίησεν Ἐζεκίας, διὰ τὸ τὰς θεραπείας τῶν νοσημάτων ἐνθεν κομίζεσθαι τὸν λαόν, καὶ περιορᾶν αἰτεῖν, καὶ παρορᾶν ἐντεῦθεν παρὰ θεῷ τὰς λάσεις³.

The *Hypomnesticon* of Josephus, which in chapter 120, as we have seen, tells of Hezekiah's revision of Solomon's proverbs, says in c. 74, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι πλείστοι λόγοι, οὓς ἀπέκρυψεν ὁ εὐσεβῆς βασιλεὺς Ἐζεκίας, οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἐπὶ πολλοῖς εὐρίσκεισθαι λόγοις⁴.

The account given by Georgius Monachus of Solomon's wisdom combines part of the Eusebian quotation with express

1 B 376 f., P 200, V 160. See Gelzer, *Sext. Jul. Afr.* II 176—249, Krumbacher, *BLg* 339 ff. 2 *Lex.* s. v. Ἐζεκίας. 3 PG 89 592 Df.; cf. *supra* p. 96 f.

4 PG 106 89 C. C. 74, which is in a part of the work that recounts the deeds of Old Testament characters, is itself a record of the reign of Solomon.

indication of its origin, with extracts from Theodoret and Flavius Josephus, as we have seen¹. Georgius Cedrenus practically repeats Monachus, but with the addition of a clause βιβλίον Σολομῶντος λαματήριον παντὸς πάθους ἐγκεκολαμμένον, apparently borrowed from Syncellus or Suidas; he mentions no authority². Glycas presents on the whole an independent account of Solomon's wisdom and literary activities, but like Anastasius, he appeals to the authority of Eusebius; he says, τὰς τοῦ Σολομῶντος βιβλους, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ οἱ τῶν λατρῶν παῖδες τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἔλαβον . . . παρὰ δὲ Ἐζεκίου κεκαῦσθαι φησιν ὁ πολυμαθὴς καὶ πολὺςτωρ Εὐσέβιος³.

Is this appeal to the authority of Eusebius deceptive? We may not be sure of the date of the *Quaestiones* of Anastasius in their present form, but, whoever the writer of *Quaest.* XII is, he quotes accurately from Theodoret, and from a lost work of Hippolytus. Is not the presumption in favor of accepting his testimony regarding Eusebius, and supposing that he is quoting from some lost work of the great historian⁴? That Eusebius should make such a statement cannot seem at all strange in view of the reference by Origen to "a Salomone scriptis adjurantionibus"⁵.

4) One further reference to the tradition that Hezekiah took summary measures with Solomon's medico-magical writings is of particular interest to us, since it is found in Rec. C of the *Test* (c. XIII 1—12) and, indeed, forms its *raison d'être*. If this

I discover no marks to indicate its date; the quotation above is more closely related to Glycas than Georgius Monachus, yet the similarity may be due merely to likeness of literary method.

¹ *Chron.* II 42 4), *PG* 110 249 B, sec 273 B; cf. *supra* p. 96.

² *PG* 121 200 B, 224 C. Both Monachus and Cedrenus mention the suppression of the books in their accounts of Solomon and again under Hezekiah.

³ *PG* 158 348 Df.

⁴ Although no "archaeological history" by Eusebius is known to historians of Christian literature, Bonwetsch, in his chapter on "Die vornicänische Litt. in altslav. HSS." in Harnack, *Altchr. Lit.* I 900, mentions a Russian MS in the Synodal library at Moscow (cod. 339 [1001] 4^o s; 17, f. 310) which has "Eusebeios(?) Pamphilos, aus der Archaeologie(?)," and strangely enough it begins, "Das Buch aber des Salomo, welches von den Sprichwörtern handelt." It at least has some mention of Solomon.

⁵ See above, VIII 3a), p. 94.

legend was already found in Eusebius, as it was in the Mishna, there were plenty of channels through which redacteur C might have obtained it. Yet the mention of „burning” and “hiding” (c. XIII 4, 8f.) suggests that Rec. C comes from the time of Cedrenus and Glycas, for the earlier writers do not use the word *κατακαύειν*.

d) Solomonic books of incantations in the Middle Ages. —

i) Solomonic books of magic and astrology found in mediaeval manuscripts. — In spite of these records of the sad fate of Solomon's medico-magical literary efforts, such books continued to flourish. The long lists given by M. Seligsohn in his article, “Solomon-Apocryphal Works”, in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* is by no means exhaustive. Indeed Solomon's reputation became such that any thing connected with magic or astrology or science might be ascribed to him¹. The most popular of the works which are consistently handed down under his name is the *Clavicula*; or *Υγρομαντεία*, as some of the Greek copies have it. The two are not exactly the same, but along with the *Sepher Raziel*², the *Semiphoras*³, and others of the sort, are of a well marked type. They consist mainly of prayers and incantations intended to accomplish various purposes, usually by commanding demonic aid. The prayers are usually interlarded with barbaric names, and there are many pentacles, or magical drawings, each of which gives power over the demon to which it belongs, or serves as an amulet for some specific purpose. Lists of the angels and demons who rule the days and hours are given.

None of these works is like the *Test*. It is much older in language than any of the Greek works of this sort, and differs from them all as to purpose; for, aside from Rec. C, which has

¹ See above II 4, 8, 10, 11, pp. 13 and p. n. 1. 18f., 21ff, 25ff. Professor von Dobschütz in a personal note first called my attention to the fact that in the Ambrosiana the *Physiologus* of Aristotle is ascribed to Solomon; *Cat. Codd. Gr. Bibl. Ambr.* I 104, cod. 89, 183. In Lambros, *Cat. of the MSS on Mt. Athos* are illustrations of this, see Pinax A; s. v. *Σολομωνική*. On the *Clavicula* cf. Reitzenstein, *Poim.* 186f., and Steinschneider, *Heb. Üb.* 938.

² See Steinschneider, *op. cit.* 937. ³ Scheibel, *Das Kloster* III, 289ff.

drawn upon them in part, the *Test* is interested in the demons primarily as the causes of disease. The writer wishes to disclose their nature, relationships, and activities for the same reason that a doctor studies diseases, that he may counteract them. These other books are technical works for the professional astrologer and magician, not concerned with the cure of diseases, in fact rarely showing any medical interest, but anxious rather to show how the demons may be used to gain wealth, power, and happiness. The list of fifty demons in Rec. C (c. X) is characteristic of this type of literature. With it compare the list of thirty-six *decani* in Recs. A and B (XVIII) to gain a sharp definition of the contrast. When, therefore, the Christian writers refer to a Solomonic "book of healing" they are not thinking of the *Clavicula*, nor of any of the similar works. The *Test* is the one Solomonic work which fits the term. Having thus cleared the way, we are ready to consider the evidence that goes to show that such a book was actually in use during the Middle Ages.

2) Literary references to contemporaneous Solomonic medical works.

(a) The citations above which mention medico-magical books of Solomon might be supposed not to imply first hand knowledge of any such works. There are others, however, which show that they were well known. Following the brief quotation given above¹ the *Hypomnesticon* continues, τοὺς δὲ δαιμόνων ἐκφρευτικούς, καὶ παθῶν ἰατρικούς, καὶ κλεπτῶν φωρατικούς [λόγους] οἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀγύρται παρ' ἑαυτοῖς φυλάσσουσιν ἐπιμελέστατα, τῶν πιστῶν τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας τούτοις οὐ κεχρημένων διὰ τὸ τῇ Χριστοῦ πίστει καθοσιοῦν ἑαυτοὺς δεδιδάχθαι. The man who wrote this is not depending upon what he has read, but describes what he knows of personal observation. There is no reason why such a sentence could not have been written in the fifth century.

(b) The next allusion is equally direct and unambiguous. Nicetas Acominatus, or Choniates, who was a high official at

¹ See above VIII 3c) 3), p. 98.

the Byzantine court about 1200 and wrote his *History* from personal recollections¹, knew an interpreter and sycophant at the court, Aaron by name, who was also a magician. He relates of him, ἔάλω δὲ καὶ βιβλὸν Σολομώντειον ἀνελίττων ἣτις ἀναπτυσσομένη τε καὶ διερχομένη κατὰ λεγεῶνας συλλέγει καὶ παρίστησι τὰ δαιμόνια συχνάκις ἀναπνυθανόμενα, ἐφ' ὅτῳ προσκέκληνται· καὶ τὸ ἐπιταπτόμενον ἐπισπεύδοντα περατοῦν, καὶ προθύμως δρῶντο τὸ κελεύόμενον². This describes accurately parts of the *Υγρομαντεία* and the Latin *Clavicula*, as well as the new material in Rec. C. The list of fifty demons (c. X) is intended to accomplish just the end of calling in certain demons and the hosts they command, while Paltiel Tzamal uses almost the language of Nicetas in describing the obedience Solomon may expect³. It is no doubt a book of this sort, not the *Test*, which Aaron used, for no mention is made of healing.

(c) Michael Glycas, in the passage already referred to⁴, has a description of Solomon's magical books which we have reserved for separate discussion, because in it he takes a path of his own. His statement is as follows: ἐφυσιολόγησε δὲ Σολομῶν καὶ περὶ λίθων . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ δαιμόνων ἐτέθη βιβλίον αὐτοῦ, ὅπως τε κατάγονται, καὶ ἐν οἷοις εἶδеси φαίνονται, φύσεις δὲ τούτων καὶ ιδιότητος ἔγραψε, πῶς τε δεσμοῦνται καὶ πῶς ἐμφιλοχωροῦντες ἀπολύονται. ὅθεν ἔργα τούτοις ἀχθοφόρα ἐπέταττεν, ὕλοτομεῖν τε, ὡς λόγος, ἡνάγκαζε, καὶ κατωμαδὸν τὰ ἄχθη φέρειν παρεβιάζετο, ᾠδηκότα τε σπλάγχνα ἢ ἐπωδαῖς ἢ βοτάναις περιτιθεῖς ἐθεράπευσεν. ἀλλ' ὁ γε θεὸς Ἐζεκίας θεῶν ἑαυτὸν ἀνατιθεῖς καὶ πάντα τῆς ἐκεῖθεν προνοίας ἐξαρτήσας τῶν ὑπὲρ φύσιν τῷ Σολομῶντι φιλοσοφηθέντων ὀλιγόρησεν. This βιβλίον περὶ δαιμόνων is the *Test* in everything but name. The latter is throughout concerned with bringing down demons; their forms, natures, and peculiarities are most carefully described. One of the chief purposes of the work is to tell how they are discovered in their lurking places and bound or destroyed. A special feature is the labor to which each demon is con-

1 Krumbacher, *BLg* 281—6. 2 Migne, *PG* 139 489 A (= P 95).

3 Rec. C XII 4f. 4 Cf. *supra* p. 95 and p. 96 n. 4; Migne, *PG* 158 349 B.

demned, one of the most striking instances being that of Leontophoron, who is sentenced to the task of cutting wood for the Temple¹. Cures by the means Glycas mentions are to be found². One cannot avoid the conclusion that it is the *Test* which is here described, either from Glycas' own knowledge, or after some popular account³. That he does not name the title need not trouble us⁴.

(d) The next allusion is dubious. In the *Decretum Gelasianum* mention is made of a *Salomonis interdictio*, or as the later texts have it *contradictio*⁵. In the *Decretum* in the next line as a separate item and in the *Collectio Herovalliana* in the same and the following lines mention is made of *phylacteria*, which contain the names, not of angels, but of demons. In pseudo-Isidor, *de Muneris*, a line intervenes between the *contradictio* and *phylacteria*. Probably, therefore, the two are distinct works, and the second is no doubt the *Clavicula*, which is characterized by seals and amulets. We must at least postulate the possibility that the *interdictio* is the *Test*, since in this sort of literature there is a tendency to assimilate titles⁶. It is entirely possible, however, that the *Test* never became sufficiently known in the West to call for a pronouncement against it.

(e) The most important notice we have reserved to the last. In the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila* the Christian says, *Γνωθὶ δὲ ἰουδαῖε, ὅτι [Σολομῶν] προσεκύνησεν, καὶ ἀκριδὰ ἔσφαξεν τοῖς γλυπτοῖς*. The Jew replies, *οὐκ ἔσφαξεν ἀλλὰ ἔθλασεν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἀκουσίως. ταῦτα δὲ οὐ περιέχει ἡ βίβλος τῶν βασιλέων, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ αὐτοῦ γέγραπται*. The Christian accepts the correction: *ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ ἔστην πιστοποιῶν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν χειρὶ ἱστοριογράφου ἐφανερώθη τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ*

1 C. XI 7. 2 C. XVIII 29, 15, etc.

3 Glycas names Psellus as authority for the "contemning" of the books of Solomon; probably he means Eusebius, cf. *supra* p. 97 and n. 4. In this account Glycas is true to the character Krumbacher (*BLg* 380-5) gives him as being a popular, rather than a learned, writer. 4 See below (e).

5 Cf. E. von Dobschütz, "Das Decretum Gel. etc." TU (1912) 13, ll. 332-5, 84, ll. 112f., 74, ll. 242-5; cf. p. 319.

6 See James in *TS* II 2 p. 9 on the convertibility of the titles "testament" and "apocalypse."

στόματος αὐτοῦ τοῦ σολομῶντος ἐγνώθη τοῦτο¹. This allusion is of value, not only for the sake of the help it gives us in dating the *Test*, as we shall see in the next section of our discussion, but also because the title appears here², and from the reference to the locusts we can be sure beyond a doubt that it is our *Test* to which reference is made; we also see that the *Test* was held in high honor in Christian circles.

(f) Summary: the Christian use of the *Testament*. — One might expect to find more allusions to the *Test* in early Christian literature and more evidence of its use. But it was one of those books which circulated among the people without attracting literary attention. Moreover, it represents a passing, though very important, phase of theological development. As the world became more and more Christianized, it could not but prove unsatisfactory to Christian thinking, even in the revised form of Rec. B, and it had no vital attraction which could overcome the fatal weakness of its inconsistent combination of paganism and Christianity. The allusions to it in *Timothy and Aquila*, in the *Hypomnesticon*, and in Glycas are all we could rightly expect in view of its character³.

1 F. C. Conybeare, *Anecdota Oxon.* Classical ser. VIII 70.

2 In connection with the title *διαθήκη* it should be noted that magical literature is perfectly familiar with a *covenant* which S. made with the demons; cf. Schlumberger in *Rev. des Ét. Gr.* V (1892) 87 *διαθήκην ἣν ἔθεντο [δαίμονες] ἐπὶ μεγάλου Σολομῶνος καὶ Μιχαήλου τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου*, the same is quoted by Wessely, *Wiener Studien* VIII (1886) 179; see *Atti e Memorie della RR. Deputazioni di Storia per le provincie dell' Emilia*, N. S., vol. V, Part I, Modena 1880, p. 177, Pellichioni, "Un filaterio esorcistico"; it was copied by Amati from a gold plate in a dealers shop, and is now lost. Vasiljev, *Anecdota*, 332, has a reference to their oath. Bezold, *ZA* XX 3—4 (Aug. 1907) pp. 405 f., gives "Eine arab. Zaubersformel gegen Epilepsie," from the margin of ff. 24^b—27^a of cod. (113) Sachau 199 (Königl. Bibl. Berlin) which mentions the contract between Solomon and the devils. Strangely Fürst translated the title *Bund Salomos*; cf. *supra* p. 28f.

3 One gathers a wrong impression from Dr. Conybeare's note (*JQR* XI 32, n. 6 to § 65) to c. XV 8—11: "This prophecy roughly corresponds to the one which Lactantius, *Instit. Div.*, lib. iv. c. 18, quotes from an apocryphal *Book of Solomon*." Even more misleading is another statement (*ibid.* 11): "The apocryphal Book of Solomon, used by Lactantius in his *Institutions*, was so far Christian as to speak both of the birth from a virgin of Emmanuel and of the crucifixion." But the passage he evidently refers to (c. 18 32 f., Vienna *Corpus* XIX 359 f.) is

IX. THE DATE OF THE *TESTAMENT* AND ITS RECENSIONS.

1. Previous opinions as to date. — Having studied our document on the linguistic and material sides and investigated its sources and relationships, we are prepared to attempt to date it. It will be an advantage first to summarize previous opinion on this point.

a) Fleck regarded the *Test* as a Byzantine work belonging to the Middle Ages, but advanced no arguments to substantiate his conclusion¹. Likewise Istrin, who discovered MS D and recognized it as the basis of the *Test*, regarded the latter as belonging to the Middle Ages (c. 1200), though containing pre-Christian elements².

b) Bornemann concluded that it belonged to the early fourth century, since its demonology resembled that of Lactantius in his *Institutions*³. Toy accepts this verdict without investigation⁴. Harnack merely refers to the *Test* in this fashion: "Verschiedene 'Testamente', so das des Salomo, deren Alter nicht zu bestimmen ist, und die vielleicht gar nicht in die ersten Jahrh. gehören"⁵. Schürer makes no attempt to fix the date, but thinks the passage from Leontius is especially to be considered in this connection⁶.

c) After careful investigation Dr. Conybeare concludes, "It is impossible to say when and where the Christian elements present in the *Testament* were worked into it, but the stress

only a loose epitome of III Reg IX 6—9a, with the addition of the phrase "et persecuti sunt regem suum dilectissimum et cruciauerunt illum in humilitate magna" (*ibid.* p. 360, II. 32ff.). It may well come from some Christian apocryphon (as Roensch supposed) which summarized O. T. history, or even from a *Book of Solomon*, but it can hardly have any connection with the *Test*. *In humilitate magna* does not necessarily imply the virgin birth, while *in ultionem sanctae crucis* (*ibid.* p. 359, l. 10) presents an anti-Semitism to which our document has no parallel.

1 "Est hoc monumentum *Byzantinum* Per mediam vero, quae dicitur, aetatem hic liber late sparsus in mythologiae Salomoneae fonte est habitus." Quoted from Fleck's preface in Migne, *PG* 122, 1315.

2 *Gr. Spiski Zab. Sol.*, 18f.

3 In introduction to his translation, cf. Bibliography II 1.

4 *JE* XI 448f., art. "Sol., Testament of." He evidently knows nothing of Conybeare's work on the *Test*. 5 *Gesch. altchr. Litt.* I 858.

6 *GFV* III 419; cf. *supra* VII 8c), p. 76.

laid on the name Emmanuel and on its numerical value, on the writing of the name on the forehead, the use of the word *ταυ-σθεῖς*, the patripassian conceptions, all have a very archaic air, and seem to belong to about 100 A. D." "In its original [Jewish] form" it may be "the very collection of incantations which, according to Josephus, was composed and bequeathed by Solomon"¹. Kohler accepts Conybeare's results and, as we have already seen, regards our document as representing pre-Talmudic demonology². Salzberger adopts the views of Kohler and Conybeare³.

2. Conclusions. — Which of these dates can we adopt? Unfortunately there are in the work no historical allusions which can aid us. Yet one piece of external evidence immediately proves the late date adopted by Fleck and Istrin untenable, I mean, of course, the mention of the *Test* in the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*⁴. Conybeare's manuscript of the *Dialogue* belongs to the twelfth century, and he says of the work, "The title affixed to TA describes the debate as having taken place in the days of Archbishop Cyril, and to this date belong the allusions to the Trinity in foll. 75 v⁰, 101 v⁰, 103 r⁰. But this title really no more than marks the time at which the work assumed its present form." The materials are in part much older⁵. Since, however, we have no way of proving that the allusion to the *Test* belongs to the older stratum, our *terminus ad quem* must be set about the time of Cyril (died 444), that is at 400.

As to the *terminus a quo* we must conclude that it is 100 A. D., at which date Dr. Conybeare would place the *Test*, regarding the Jewish original as still earlier. But what Conybeare regards as the "Jewish original" was a book of incantations, while we have found the original to be only a story containing no exorcisms, as MS D shows, and the *Test* as such to have been a Christian work⁶. The book which Eleazar in Josephus' story

1 *JQR* XI 12. 2 *JE* IV 578, art. "Demonology." 3 *Salomosage* 10.

4 Cf. *supra* VIII 3d) 2) (e), p. 103.

5 *Op. cit.* XI, XXXIV; cf. also LVI n. 2.

6 Cf. *supra* VII 15, p. 87 ff., VII 13, p. 85, IV 2, p. 32.

used may be represented by the *Hygromanteia*, or *Clavicula*; it cannot have been the *Test*, for a Jew would not have used such a Christian work, nor is it likely to have been written so early.

Can we now date our document more precisely within the limits 100—400 A. D.? We are left to depend upon general considerations of language and subject matter. In view of the lateness of our manuscripts we cannot be absolutely sure of the linguistic evidence, but, as we have seen, it seems to point to a time when the Koinê was in full sway, after the New Testament was written¹, which merely confirms the general conclusion we have already reached.

As to the type of thought and the materials entering into the work, we come to conclusions differing from Conybeare's. The items upon which he most relies are found to belong to a secondary recension. The relation to the New Testament we have explained, by supposing the *Test* to depend, not upon pre-Gospel Synoptic tradition, but upon imperfect, perhaps auricular, knowledge of the written Gospels². The allusion to the corner stone³, which might seem to imply a date before the idea of Christ as the corner-stone became common Christian property, proves nothing, for in the fourth and the sixth century we have the application of the same Old Testament passages to an actual corner stone⁴. Rec. B belongs to the time when Christianity was conquering the world, but the original *Test* to the age of Alexander Severus and his *lararium* with Apollonius, Christ, Abraham, and Orpheus on an equal footing⁵. As Conybeare well shows, its demonology is much like that which Celsus and Origen described⁶. As it appears to the writer, without attempting to be too precise, the conditions of language and

1 Cf. *supra* V 4, p. 40.

2 See quotations above, IX 1 c), p. 106 n. 1, and VII 11, p. 82 f., 8a), p. 68.

3 C. XXII 7 f., XXIII 2—4, cf. *supra* VII 8a), p. 68.

4 Nestle, *ExT* XIV (1903) 528, "The Stone which the Builders Rejected," quoting the Pilgrim of Bordeaux and Antonius of Piacenza from "Itinera Hierosolymitana," ed P. Geyer, in vol. XXXVIII of the *Vienna Corpus*, pp. 23, 173.

5 Cf. *supra* VII 15, p. 87. 6 *JQR* XI 7 ff., 12 ff.

and subject matter are best met by supposing the *Test* to have been written early in the third century.

3. Date of the original Jewish ground work. — Josephus shows that ideas of Solomon's character and his dealings with demons such as are found in *d* (the prototype of MS D and the *Test*) were common among the Jews already in the first century A. D., although they do not appear in the Talmud until the third century¹. Therefore *d* may be as early as the first century of the Christian era. At present our data allow no more precise date.

4. Date of the Recensions. — Rec. A, which differs but little from the original, probably underwent trifling changes with every transcription. The concluding sections (XXVI 8—10) belong to Byzantine times. For MS L the same man was probably editor and copyist, in mediaeval times. Rec. B may well belong to the fourth or fifth century, when Christianity was conscious of her conquest of the world, and her theology was being carefully formulated. Rec. C, although probably containing very old material, presents also much that smacks of the Middle Ages, and is apparently not much older than the manuscripts that preserve it². It may well belong to the twelfth or thirteenth century.

X. AUTHORSHIP AND PROVENIENCE.

1. Authorship: Opinions. — As to the kind of individual who wrote the *Test* there are at least four possibilities: he may have been either a Jew or a Christian; if a Jew, either Aramaic or Greek speaking; if a Christian, either Jewish or Greek in origin. Gaster believes that originally the *Test* was written in Aramaic³. Harnack⁴, Conybeare, and Kohler⁵ think it to be

¹ Salzberger, *Salomosage* 92f.

² Cf. *supra* VII 12, p. 83 and VIII 3c) 4), p. 99.

³ *JAS* 1896 p. 155, 170.

⁴ *Gesch. altchr. Lit.* I 858; it is included under "die von den Christen angeeignete und z. Th. bearbeitete jüdische Litteratur."

⁵ See IX 1b), c) p. 105 and ns. 1f., p. 106.

a Christian revision of a Jewish work. Toy concludes, "the author of the *Testament* is a Greek speaking Jewish Christian"¹. Schürer held it to be the work of a Christian with "no Jewish places" in it².

2. Authorship: Conclusions. — We have found Gaster's assumption of an Aramaic original untenable³. Our new materials render the opinion that the *Test* was originally Jewish likewise impossible. Only the ground work, *d*, which was not a "testament", and certain of the materials were Jewish⁴. Was the author, then, a Christian of Jewish or Gentile origin? A final answer can hardly be given. On the one hand, the abundance of Jewish material and the Jewish trust in angel names, on the other the plainly Christian and heathen elements worked into the warp and woof of the document point in opposite directions. However, if the date for which we have just argued is correct, there is no reason why a Greek Christian should not have written the whole work, for he would be heir of both Jewish and Gentile materials and much more likely than a Jewish Christian to combine them in his faith⁵. In the third century also Christian Jews would be few. The probabilities, therefore, are in favor of Greek Christian authorship.

3. Provenience. — So far as I am aware, no one has attempted to decide from what part of the ancient world the *Test* came — perhaps wisely, for no certain conclusion can be reached. Three regions suggest themselves: Palestine, Egypt, and the province of Asia. Much is in favor of the first, particularly if one think of Galilee, where Judaism and Hellenism were in the closest contact, and where Christianity took its rise and won its first conquests⁶. Again, as we have seen, some of the materials come from Egypt, and some appear in Ethiopia, which was Christianized from

1 *JE* XI 449. 2 *Th. Litztg.* XXIV (1898) 4, col. 110.

3 See above V 6f., p. 42f. 4 See above IX 2 and n. 6, p. 106.

5 See Deissmann's argument regarding the archangel inscription at Miletus, *Licht* 333f., *LAE* 453ff.

6 See above VII 6e), p. 65f.

Egypt¹, while the only early literary allusion to the work by name is Egyptian². One would think that the sand storm demon, Lix Tetrax, had originated in a land like Palestine or Egypt, where such storms were familiar phenomena³. Yet from Ac XIX 19 we see that "Asia" was probably as much a center of magic as Agypt, and if its climate had permitted, we should no doubt have an abundance of magical papyri from that region also.

Against Palestine is the fact that its popular Christianity was no doubt Aramaic rather than Greek speaking, while the *Test*, which is not the work of a leader in the church but of some uninstructed individual, is nevertheless thoroughly Greek in its language and much of its material. Against Egypt the strongest argument is the absence of Gnostic influence and of specific resemblances to the magic papyri. Against Ephesus or some part of "Asia" no decisive objections appear⁴. In its favor are the only two geographical terms in the document, Lydia and Olympus⁵. The very fact that the sand storm receives as its name two of the *Ephesia grammata* points — very weakly, to be sure — in the same direction. Like Egypt, Asia was a meeting place for all the currents of ancient thought.

We are dealing only with probabilities; in a work that borrows so impartially from all lands, no marks are decisive. As it seems to the writer, the probabilities are to be ranged in ascending order, Galilee, Egypt, Asia. Farther one cannot go until more light is thrown upon the whole subject of demonology, magic, and astrology, as well as on Christian origins.

1 Harnack, *Mission and Expansion* II 179, but see above VII 8b), p. 68f., VII 9, p. 70.

2 *Dial. of Tim. and Aquila*, see above VIII 3d) 2) (e), p. 103f. and IX 2, p. 106. 3 C. VII.

4 Perhaps because Asian magic material is scant. Gnosticism was there, but less vigorous. The Milesian inscription offers a point of contact.

5 That is, outside Palestine; c. VIII 4; Olympus might point to Greece, but other reasons are lacking. Where is the "great mountain"? Is it Hermon? Cf. I En VI 4, Montgomery, *AITN* 126.

4. Provenience of the recensions. — As to the place of origin of Recs. A and B I see no possibility of arriving at a conclusion, unless Rec. B may be thought of as western on account of its western form of Solomon's seal, the pentegram¹. The manuscripts of Rec. C are so thoroughly Italian that one is tempted to suppose the recension originated in Greek-speaking southern Italy. MS D is, as we have seen, Byzantine in origin², but whether from Asia Minor or Europe one cannot say.

¹ See above VII 14, p. 86. ² See above V 1, p. 38f.

APPENDIX.

A. Manuskript N with a list of variant readings.

N. Library of the Greek Patriarchate, Jerusalem, Sancti Saba, No. 422; XV or XVI cent., paper, cm. 11×15; beginning and end of codex lacking; as recently numbered, ff. 49^r—93^v. Catalogue, vol. B, p. 541¹:

This manuscript I discovered while spending the winter of 1920—21 in Jerusalem as fellow of the American School of Oriental Research. I had called for the codex to examine the imperfect copy of the *Narratio Iosephi* with which it begins, but in leaving it through came suddenly upon the familiar matter of the *Test*. As the first page of the latter is wanting, the title did not get into the catalogue. Indeed the codex is so abominably written that a number of its selections are not mentioned.

As now bound sheets α—ε contain the *Narratio Iosephi*, beginning with c. I 4². Then begins a new subject and a new numbering, in a smaller but similar hand. Of this sheet α and two leaves of β remain. With sheet γ the second page of the *Test* begins and it ends on f. 5^v of sheet η. F. 88 I found folded into the latter part of the codex. The missing first page evidently was the last of sheet β and in rebinding was lost.

The learned author of the catalogue remarks that the copy of the *Narratio Iosephi* is *λίαν ἀνορθόγραφον*. It is even more

¹ Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, ἥτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων . . . κωδίκων . . . ὑπὸ Α. Παπαδοπούλου Κεραμέως. 4 vols. Petrograd 1899.

² Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*. ed. alt. Leipzig, 1876, p. 461.

true of the *Test*. The copyist either understood Greek very imperfectly, or, what is more likely, had before him a manuscript which he read with the greatest difficulty, but which he tried to copy accurately. The result is a manuscript which often makes no sense at all. Not only are there occasional mistakes of haplography and dittography and constant iotacism, but cases and endings are constantly confused, words are wrongly combined and divided, and all rules of accentuation are repeatedly broken. Worst of all, *ν* is added to almost any word ending in a vowel and even introduced within words.

Nevertheless, since we already have excellent manuscripts of the *Test*, this one proves to have considerable value, for, aside from the missing first page, it contains a complete text of Rec. B. It adds another witness to the long section cc. XIV 3—XVI 1, which is wanting in all manuscripts but P. It has the longer form of P in cc. IX 7, XI 6, XIII 3, 6, XVI 4f., XVII 1, 4, XVIII 4, 18, 23, 27f., 31, 42f., XX 4, 6, 8 (in part), 13, 15, XXII 3, 8, 11, 20, XXIII 4 (in part), XXIV 3ff., and XXV. N follows P in every one of the four instances where it introduces a numerical equivalent for a sacred name (VI 8, XI 6, XIII 6, XV 11), and in all the passages where P improves the theology of the *Test*, especially XIII 3, XVII 4, and XXII 20. This is sufficient to prove that it belongs to the B recension.

However, in a considerable number of instances N does not support P. In a very few cases N follows Q against P, e. g. XX 13. In a number of places it supports C against B, e. g. V 4f. In VII 5 it follows C in a few words which P omits. It often confirms the text of A, e. g. II 3, III 5, XXII 11, 12, but especially in c. XVIII, where it repeats the peculiar word *ρίξ*, or *ρύξ*, though often corrupting it. In VI 4—9, where P makes numerous additions for the purpose of reconstructing the theology and perfecting the demonology of the section, N follows the A recension in the main. It is certainly much nearer the original than P, but in some expressions, such as *πεντηκῆ, οὐ καὶ ψῆφος χμδ* and *τις τῶν καλῶς ζώντων*, it prepares the way for P. In II 8, also, it seems a step nearer the original than P and in passages like II 1 and 3 (*καὶ λεβόμενος*) it suggests

the error which led to diverse corruptions in the different recensions.

The most important contribution made by the manuscript to the text of the *Test* is in the concluding sections. Here H seems so prolix that I had lost faith in it and chosen the B text as nearer the original. Manuscript N, however, coincides with H in part and thus shows that P and Q represent an unduly abbreviated text. In this and a few other instances, where the textual evidence was evenly balanced, N has served as additional weight to tip the scales in favor of a reading I had put into the margin or has suggested a new reading. These emendations will be found on page 121*.

Manuscript N makes certain additions of its own, e. g. in XVIII 16, 22, and XXVI 5. None of them are such as to indicate additional knowledge in matters demonological or magical. The only one of any considerable size or interest is in c. XVIII, where each of the thirty-six decani is equated with ten days of a Coptic month¹. The copyists have not understood the intention of the interpolator and have confused and corrupted his statements, but it is quite easy to reconstruct the entire scheme. This matter adds another connection between the *Test* and Egypt, but since there is not the slightest trace of it in any of the other manuscripts, it is quite impossible to suppose that the original *Test* contained it. It rather shows what we might have expected had the *Test* come from Egypt.

The chief textual fruits of the discovery of manuscript N, then, are the list of emendations already mentioned and the confirmation of the strange word $\phi\upsilon\varsigma$ in c. XVIII. But the greatest value of the manuscript lies in its corroboration of the general scheme of recensions and manuscript relationships already adopted. The fact that it fits in so well goes far to support the confidence that any subsequent discoveries will not invalidate the conclusions reached in the *Introduction*.

The list of variant readings appended will illustrate the character of the manuscript and give the basis for the emenda-

¹ See *Intro*, above pp. 57ff.

tions suggested. Variations merely of spelling, order, and stereotyped phrases, such as καὶ εἶπον, have been passed by. Only where they confirmed some disputed reading or were different enough to be of value in determining manuscript relationships have they been noted. Otherwise it would have been necessary to print the entire manuscript. Even the orthography has been corrected when it was too misleading. Except where some other manuscript is specifically indicated, N has been collated with P.

Lectiones variae ex MS N (= Sancti Saba 422)

cum Rec. B comparatae.

Incipit MS N (f. 49^r) c. I 5, p. 10*, l. 1 τῆς ψυχῆς (+ αὐτοῦ) ἐξομολο-
 λογοῦμενος νυκτὸς κ. ἡμέρας cum rec. B 2 μοι B, om. N 3 ἐξουσιά-
 σει N | § 6. ἐγένετο — N 4 με — N | προσέρχεσθε καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέ-
 ραν καὶ ἐδόθη 5 χάρις B, — N § 7. 7 Σολ. βασιλεὺς υἱοῦ | 8: ἦν
 9 τὰ τε ... ἀρσ. κ. οἰκοδ. τὸν ναὸν τοῦ κυρίου ἐν τῇ σφραγίδι ταύτῃ (om.
 glos. de anuli signo) § 8, p. 11*, l. 1 γενομ. πάλιν ἐδοξ. II. 2—5 ἐκάλεσεν
 τὸ παιδάριον ὁ σολ. κ. ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν τὸν δακτυλίδιον καὶ φήσας αὐτὸν ἐὰν
 ἡμέραν ἐπιστῇ τὸ ... δακ. (f. 49^v) 8 ἔλαβον παρὰ κυρίου κ. Μιχαὴλ τοῦ ἀρχ.
 καὶ λαμβάνοι τὸ πεδάριον τὸ δακ. κ. φάσας τὸ χαλεπὸν δαιμόνιον ῥήψας
 τὸ δακ. ἐποίησεν τὸν στήθος αὐτοῦ τοῦ δαιμονίου λέγων δεῦρο 6 παραγενού |
 καὶ μηδὲν διαλογιζόμενος τὸ μέλλο σοι φράσε § 10. p. 12*, 1 φλέγον
 § 11. l. 3 τὰ ῥηθέντα | βασ. Σολ. 4 ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους τ. δαίμονος 5 καὶ
 ... Σολ. — N | § 12. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ δ. τὸ πεδάριον 6 πεποίηκας 7 s. καὶ
 δώσω (f. 50^r) σοι τὸ ἀργ. ... γῆς καὶ μὴ ἀπ. με cum A § 13. l. 10 ἰσδραήλ
 (sic passim) | μὴ σου ἀνάξομεν | σε ἀγάγω § 14. l. 12 χαίρον κ. ἀγαλλόμενος
 κ. εἶπε τῷ βασιλεῖ βασ. Σολ p. 13*, l. 1 ἡμῖν δέσποτα | πρὸς τ. θυρῶν.
 τ. βασ. σου δεόμενος κ. κραυγάζων 3 μὴ αὐτὸν ἀπαγάγῃς με π. σολομόν
 C. II. ἀκ. ταῦτα ὁ βασ. Σολ. 6 αὐτοῦ κ. ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὰ πρ. τῆς βα-
 σιλείας αὐτοῦ κ. εἶδον 8 καλ. — N | § 2. κ. εἶπεν αὐτὸν ὁ βασ. σολ.
 (f. 50^v) | εἰς ποῖον ζώδιον οἰκεῖσαι; κ. εἶπεν p. 14*, l. 1 δι' ἐπιθυμιῶν
 τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ γῆν παρθένον τὸν ζώδιον κεκληκότες 3 § 3. εἰς — N |
 μεταβαλλόμενος, ποτὲ μὲν ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἔχων ἐπιθυμίαν ἐνὶ πέδον θηλυκὸν
 εὐχρισμον ἀπτόμενος· ἀλγῶσιν πάντῃ 5 πάλιν — N 6 ποτὲ ... (cum HI)
 ἐμφαίνομαι ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν σι δαιμονίων καὶ λεβόμενος (l. κελευόμενος)
 § 4. l. 7 τῆς ... ἀρχαγγ.: μιχαήλ. κ. εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς σολομόν· ὑπὸ ποῖον
 ἀγγέλου καταργεῖσαι; ὑπὸ οὐρεὶν ἀρχαγγέλου τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ θεοῦ
 § 5. p. 15*, l. 1 τῆς f. 51^r 3 γαλὸν | § 6. τὸ σῆνδιον προσπαῦσαι καὶ
 ἐφήμισε μιν 5 ἔασομεν· ἀναφέρο καγὼ σοι § 7. l. 6 ἠὲ ξάμην ... μοι:
 ἐπαρεκάλεσε τ. ἀρχ. Οὐ. τοῦ ἐλθ. § 8. l. 8 κῆτος ἐκ. τ. θαλ. etc. c. B
 p. 16*, l. 2 κακείνῃ οὗτος etc. cum textu, μεγ. κ. θρασύ 3 κόψαι | τελεῖν
 § 9. l. 4 κύριον τ. θ. ... γῆς σαβαώθ 5 παρεῖναι τ. Ὁ. σὺν τῇ μοίρᾳ
 7 ὥδε — N | πάντων τῶν

C. III. βελζεβούλ constanter scr. N | Βεελ. τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν δαιμονίων
 11 σύ μοι φῆς p. 17*, § 4. 1. 1 ὥς etc. c. textu, μεγάλως 3 πρὸς σολο-
 μῶντα | § 5. ὁ δὲ εἶδεν ὁ βασιλ. σολ. 4 τ. θεὸν c. textu 5 θεός: + τοῦ
 ... γῆς c. L | Σολ., f. 52^r | τὸν σὸν θρόνον 6 εἰς ἐμὲ — N

9 § 7. ἀπήτουν ... φάντ.: ἅπαντα ἐγὼ ποιῶ ἀδιαλ. καὶ ἐμφανιζόμενος
 ἕκαστος τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτοῦ

C. IV. 1. 4 εἰη ἔστι ἐν ἐμῇ θηλείᾳ 5 εἶναι, ὦ δεσπότης, ἐβουλ.
 6 ἐδειξέ μοι: ἐν τάχει ἤνεγκε ἐμπροσθεν μου | καὶ ἔχονσα περκαλὴν
 7 δέμας: δεπείε | εὐχρόστον 8 § 3. αὐτῆς, .. αὐτῇ: αὐτοῖ ἔφη (bis) ἐγὼ
 σολ. § 4. 9 ἡνοσκαίλει | σεσομεπεποιημένον p. 19*, § 5. 1. 2 εἰς ἔγ-
 γονος σκολεικοιάξο αὐτ. 3 μοι ἔστιν | φράγγες § 6. 1. 4 με εἶναι
 (— νομιζ.) 5 μελαχρο. | μου 6 λαθρέως κ. φανερά 7 βλάπτει
 7s. κακουργοῖ 9 πορίζουσι p. 20*, § 8. 1. 1 αὐτὸν (f. 53^r) ποθ. γεννᾶται.
 ὁ δὲ 2 φωνῆς ἀκρεῖον τ. κ. σῆχον ἀν(θρώπ)ου μολήβου 3 § 9. δὲ ἐγὼ
 πρὸς αὐτὴν· ποῖον ἄστρον 4 πανσέληνον ἄστρον 5 πλέον διωδεύον.
 καὶ εἶπον ἐγὼ σολ. πρὸς αὐτὴν· ποῖος ἄγγελος καταργεῖ σε. κ. εἶπε· ἐσὺ
 βασιλεύς 6 § 11. εἰς φλέβην 7 στρατ. φωνήσας πρὸς αὐτὴν ξίφει κρού-
 σαι. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· λέγω σοι, βασιλ., ὑπὸ § 12. 1. 9 τὸ ὄνομα ἁγίου ἰωήλ
 10 διὸ c. A | αὐτὴν — N | εἰς ... καν. om. c. W

C. V. p. 21*, 1. 4 δαίμονα ... πονηρόν — N § 2. 6 ἀπειλ. βλ. βλέψας
 πρὸς με κ. ἔφη· τίς ἦν καὶ αὐτῶν 7 § 3. οὗτος τετ. οὗτος (f. 53^v) ἀπο-
 κρίθη 9 ὁ υἱὸς ἡς ἀν., ἐγὼ 11 γηγενήν | § 4. καὶ νῦν τό p. 22*,
 1. 1 φωλεύη ἐν τῷ οὐρανὸν c. C 1s. διὰ τὸν δρακόντων παῖδας 3 καὶ
 ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ πατὴρ ὁ θρόνος ἐστὶν καὶ τὸ ἀξ. μέχρι τὴν σήμερον ἐν τῷ ουρ.
 5 § 5. ἐρωτᾶν, κ. σοῦ γὰρ τὸ β. διαρ. ἐν κ. etc. c. textu 6 προσχωρήσει
 καὶ 7 βασιλ. ἡμ. ἔχεις cum C | ἔχομεν τινα θροπότιταν etc. c. A § 6.
 1. 11 δεσ. αὐτ. (f. 54^r) καὶ ἐκελ. αὐτὸν ἐκῆξεσται κ. ἀπολογεῖσθαι τίς καλ. κ.
 ἐκῆξεσται τί ἐστίν § 7. p. 23*, 1. 1 καλ. παρὰ βροτοῖς· εἰ δὲ μὴ παρὰ κα-
 κούργων ἀν(θρώ)πων etc. c. textu § 8. 1. 4 διὰ τῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἄστρον
 καὶ τριγαμίας κ. ὡς ἐπὶ καὶ ἔφον. κ. δαμάζω § 9. N c. P sed scr. ποῖον
 ἄγγελον, om. τοῦ θρόνου 11. 9—10 ἐπὶ .. καπν.: 8 λέγεται γλαναῖος ὁ
 ἐπὶ μερικῶν ἀνθρώπων (f. 54^v) καπν. ἡ κάλαμος στύρακος ὑποκαίωντων ἀσμό-
 διον § 10. p. 24*, 1. 1 (fin.) 8ς στὸ ὄνομα κεκλ. κλάνος 2 ποτ. τῆς(ς)
 συρίας εὐρ. διότι κακεῖνα τὰ μέρη ἐξήλωσα πάντοτε κατοικῆν καὶ ἐν π(ᾶν)
 τῷ κόσμῳ πλην οὐκ ἡμην, κύριέ μου § 11. 1. 6 δεσμεύσαντος 7 ἀληθῆς
 ἐστίν | ἀξιῶ δέ σε: ἔνα δὲ ἀεὶ | μὴ με κατ. bis § 12. 1. 9 σίδηρον φο-
 ρέσας ἀλλὰ ... ποιήσας (f. 55^r) 10 ἀνατρ. τ. ποσὶν σου εἰς ὑπονογίαν τοῦ
 ναοῦ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς 11 ὑδρίας δέκα δοθῆναι αὐτόν p. 25*, 1. 1 αὐτὸν
 2s. τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀσμόδιος § 13. 1. 4 σοφίαν ταύτην τ. δουλ. σου | χολὴν
 καὶ καλέμμα στύρακος λύων ὑποκαίων 6 ἡ φωνὴ ὁδὺς πικρίας

C. VI. 1. 9 προσκ. τῆς ἐνδοξότερον καὶ ἐπηρώτησα αὐτ. λέγων· ὁ δὲ
 βελζεβουὺλ 10 ἄρχης 11 μόνον ὑπολελειφθέν 12 οὐράνιος — N
 8 § 3. καὶ μετ' ἐμὲ δευτέρος λέγε θὰν ἡγουν δευτέρος θεός 4 καρτῶ τὰ
 ἐν ταρτάρῳ δεσμὰ cum A p. 26*, 1. 2 ἐλ. καὶ εἰς θρίαμος | §§ 4—9. N
 cum A | § 4 τί ἐστίν ἡ πραξίς σου 4 τοὺς δαίμονας | ἀνθρώπων
 5 εἰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐγύρω | ἐν πολ. ἐγύρας 6 ἀποστέλω | ἐπάγω — N
 § 5. 1. 7s. 8ν ... γένο(ς) σου τὸν ... τρεφόμενος c. L 8 ἐγὼ αὐτὸν οὐκ

ἐνέγγον πρὸς (— σε) c. L 9 ἐφῆπας κακεῖνος δέσμῳ δὲ θεῖς αὐτὸς ἀπὸ
τὸν βυθὸν τῆς θαλάσσης § 6. 1. 10 ἐκεῖνος ὁ υἱός σου 11 τῆς θαλ. τῆς
ἐρ. 12 οὐ γὰρ p. 27*, 1. 1, § 7. ἡ δὲ εἶπον αὐτόν· σὺ δὲ ποῖον ἄστρον
οἰκεῖσαι 2 ἐσπέρειον § 8. 1. 3 φράσον | ποῖων ἀγγέλων | τοῦ ἁγίου
τιμίον ὀνόματος τοῦ παντ. θ. καλούμενον παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἐβραϊστὶ πεντηκῇ
οὐ καὶ ψῆφος χμδ. ἔστιν δὲ νόητον ἑλληνιστὶ ἐμ., τὸν δεδοκώταρομέον. ἐὰν
δὲ μή τις τῶν καλῶν ζώνοντων ὀρκίσει τὸν ἐλεθεῖ τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ
τῆς δυν. (f. 56^v) § 9. 1. 9 ἐν ... αὐτόν — N | ἡλλάλαξαν φωνὴν πάντες
οἱ δαιμ. διὰ τ. βασ. αὐτῶν c. B' § 10. 1. 11 αὐτὸν ἐπηρώτησα | βούλει
ἀφ. λαβεῖν 12 τὴν c. A | ἔφη ... βασ. 13 θαλασσίους p. 28*, 1. 2 οἰκ.
ἐρ. etc. N c. P 3 ἡμέρας | τοὺς (1^o)

C. VII. 1. 8 πρὸς ... μου: πρὸς με 13 ἐπὶ πολλῆς ἀναστάντα με
πῆψε p. 29*, 1. 2 αὐβρα ἐκείνη § 4. 5 κἀγὼ f. 57^v § 5. 1. 9 στρό-
φους ... ἀγροὺς: στρωφώνο κ. πῦρ αὐτὸν εἰποῇ στήον κ. ἐν πυρὶ ἀγρ.
10 οἰκους ἐνμπυρῖζω καὶ κατὰ γω 11 ὑποδύνων ἡμέρας (— εἰς ... καὶ)
§ 6. p. 30*, 1. 1 ποῖον ἄστρον οἰκεῖσαι 2 τοῦ ἐν τοῦ νότου εὐ(ρι)σκόμενος
4 εἶδοντα πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρ. ἔχοντο εἰς τὸ μητρογέτον 5 βούλ· τάλλα·
θαλλάλ· μελχᾶλ § 7. 1. 8 ἡμιτριταῖος πᾶνεται 9 καταργ. 10 ζαζαήλ
P. 31*. c. VIII. 1. 4 τὸ δόντα μοι τοιαύτην ἐξ. 6 ἦλθον πρὸς με |
συνπλεκόμενα, ἔμορφα τὸ εἶδει § 2. 1. 8 ἐθαν(- μασα in fine pag.) f. 58^v |
εἰ δὲ ὁμοθυμαδὸν εἶπον μιᾷ φωνῇ ἔφησαν 9 τὰ λγ στοιχεῖα οἱ κοσμο-
κράτορες τοὺς σκότους | § 3. καὶ εἰσὶν οἱ πρῶτοι | ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ vel ἡ statim
om. N p. 32*, 1. 1 κλοθὸν ἢ ἔστι μαχία | τετάρτη λεγομένη 2 ἡ δύ-
ναμις 4 § 4. θεὰ 6 § 5. αὐτόν 7 ἀρξ. ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης 3 πλέκω
(bis) λέγω αὐτὰ ὡς κακεῖς ἐρέσεις ἐρεθίζω 9 ἀγγ. τὸν κατ. με λαμεχελαλ
10 ἐρήας ρῆδον 11 τοῦ τόπου — N p. 33*, 1. 1 βαρηχηαήλ § 7.
1. 2 καὶ πάντα π. μαχ.: μάχην ἔστιν τὸ ὄνομά μου | εὐσχ. περιεξ.: εὐχη
μόνος ἡσχῆσε κ. περησχοιθῆναι ποιῶ § 8. 1. 5 μερίζω· χωρίζω (— ἀπομερ.)
8 βαλθηνούχ | ordinem sectionum habet N ut A p. 34*, 1. 3 ρηθῆλ |
§ 10. δύναμις καλοῦμαι· τυρ. ἀνιστῶ 5 καθὲ παρέχων 7 ὅτε ἐκελεύσων
ἀρτ. δεσμῆς ἡ δὲ ἀκ. μελλήσει] 8 ὡς φιλ. — N | ἐμοὶ δὲ καταλ ἀντῆς
ἐποιδειμοῖαν τη(ς) σοφίας 10 ἔχνος αὐτῆς 11 ἐπειδὴ σύντομαι ἐκελ.
12 κ. ἐτ. . . πεντ: ἐπεὶ διακοσίας πηχῶν πεντ. τὸ μήκος p. 35*, 1. 1 ἔφησα
... καὶ δεινῶς γογγῆσε τὰ κελεστέντα αὐτ. κατ.

C. IX. 1. 3 N post θεόν (mss. CP) add. τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς | ἐτ.
δαίμον 4 ἀν. μὲν: ὡς ἔχων § 2. 1. 5 ἰδὼν αὐτόν εἶπον c. W | λέγει
... καλ.: τί λέγεις 6 καλοῦμαι — N | ἔμαντόν 7 ποιήσασθαι: περι-
ποιῆσαι 8 ποιῆσαι: τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχω | ὅταν ὡς: ἔνηαν § 3. 1. 11 ἐγόγ-
γυσεν | οἰμοι: ἡμῖν p. 36*, 1. 2, § 5. ἡδονήν: ἀδόδδεν | ἤκουσε θέλω δὲ
3 ἡ μη φωνὴ ἡμῖν 4 βοβοὶ 5 γιν. δ. ἡμ. 7 § 6. ἄωρῖαις | πλεῖον
πορεύομαι καὶ τὸ 12 ἐκποιῶν p. 37*, 1. 1, § 7. N cum P; ... οὐδὲ γὰρ
οὐπω, .. ἐπενυχόντων αὐτόν ... ἐλθὼν εἶπον τὸν ἴδιον ὄνομα ... § 8.
1. 2 μεχρίον πάλιν ἀνάξω πρὸς με

C. X. 1. 4 ἦλθε πρὸς με κύων. τὸ σχ. μεγ. 7 §. 2. γενόμενος | ἀθέ-
σματα 9 ἀθέσματα 10 κατασχῶν p. 38*, 1. 3, § 3. τοὺς φρενεῖν ἀν-
θρώπους τοὺς τῶν ἐμῶν 8 § 5. τὸν λίθον πρ. μεταλενόμενον 12 § 6. δς
δ' ἂν ἐπιστρέψης καὶ δείξῃ σου 13 τὸ δακτυλίδιον 14 ἄγαγέ μοι ὥς

τὸν δαίμοναν | § 7. καὶ ἔδειξεν αὐτὸν ὁ δαίμων τὸν (bis) πρ. λ. 16 ἤνεγκεν
§ 8. ll. 17ss. cum. P: τὰ δύο . . . (— ὁμοίως) . . . τηρεῖται . . . λαμπάδας πυ-
ρὸς . . . παραπέμποι . . . τεχν. p. 39*, l. 9, § 9. ἦρον | πετάλου 4 ἀνα-
φωρέσιν | ἦν δὲ ὁ λιθ. ἐκεῖνος ὡς περ κερασίου τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ὁμοιού-
μενον § 11 l. 9 καταργεῖσαι | βάρη ἐόν

C. XI. l. 11 πρὸς με λέοντος etc. cum P 12 πν. εἰμὶ πν(εύμα)τι μηδ.
§ 2. l. 13 ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν πᾶσι p. 40*, l. 1 κατὰκειμε | ἐφόρμωμεν 3 § 3. ἐκ-
βάλλω 4 δεικτικὸν (f. 63^v) δέ εἰμι | ὑπ' ἐμὲ λεγεῶν 6 § 4. τί σου ἡ
ἐργασία καὶ τί τὸ ὄνομά σου | λεοντόφορον 7 § 5. πῶς οὖν καταργεῖς
8 ἔχεις 11 § 6. εἰς τὸ μέγαν ὄν. τ. θ. σαβαώθ 12 καταργῇ μὲν τὰ τῆς
δυνάμεώς σου 11 ἔχων πολλὰ παθῶν p. 41*, l. 2 κατὰ τοῦ — N 3 κα-
ταργοῦσα § 7. l. 5 αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν λεοντόφορον 6 εἰς ἀπόκαψιν

C. XII. l. 8 ἦλθε πρὸς με δρακόντων τρικέφ. φοβεροχθρῶς § 2.
l. 10 τρικέφαλον καὶ τρίβολον 11 νήπια | ἐπιδένω καὶ κονφένω κ. πάλιν
ἐν τῇ τρ. μου κεφ. ὑπόδυνα κ. τύπτω 13 τὸ εἰκ. — N | κ. τριζ. — N
p. 42*, l. 2, § 3. σιωμένης | ἡ προωριστον § 4. l. 7 ἀνάγω | ἔσω — N
Ἀραβίας: + ὅστις καὶ ἀσὸν ἐκεῖσε καὶ καταβληθεὶς κοσμησθῇ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρ.
12 § 6. τί ἐστὶν τὸ ὄνομά σου 13 πληθουρ. | ναὸν, εἶχεν γὰρ χ. α.

C. XIII. p. 43*, l. 1 καὶ πρὸς τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐκελ. | ἦλθε
πρὸς με 2 καὶ αὐτὸν λυσίτριχον § 2. l. 4 ἡ δὲ . . . σύ — N 5 μα-
θεῖν . . . ὄντα: καὶ ἔφη· ἀκουσον τὰ κατ' ἐμέ 6 ταμὴ σου 7 προσκα-
θείσας 8 μαθεῖς § 3 l. 9 κ. ἐλέγξαι αὐτ. P: — N 10 τίς εἰ σύ:
λέγε μοι παρὰ τοῖς ἀν(θρώποις) πῶς καλεῖσαι | ὀβηζθγελαιονθ. 11 κα-
θεύδομαι | κόσμον: + ἐπὶ ταῖς νύκταις 12 ἀποστοχαζόμενος p. 44*, l. 1 λίαν
αναχώρισας | κ. νῦν με εἶναι: μὲν εἰμὶν | δεκτικὰ μέρη | οὐκ ἐποίησας
— N § 4. l. 4 στόματα χαλινοδοσμία § 6. l. 8 ποῖον ἄγγελον 9 (— ὑπὸ)
τὸν ἄγγελον τ. θ. τὸν καλούμενον βαρφαάν, . . . ὁ κ. νῦν καταργούμενος εἰς
τ. ἅπαν χ. ἐάν . . . καὶ ἐπιγινώσκει γ. ἐπιγράψει τότε etc. § 7. l. 12 ἔμ-
προσθεν — N p. 45*, l. 1 βλέπουσιν καὶ 2 δύναμιν καὶ (f. 67^r) κρα-
τέωσιν τὴν δεδομένην μοι παρὰ

C. XIV 3, l. 11 πολλαῖς — N 12 ἐμόρφους | τοῦ ξέλιν (f. 67^v)
τούτου 13 § 4. ἀπέρμε 14 ἐβάσταζεν ἡ ἐφόρησα] 15 ἔρος 16 τὴν
γυναῖκα ἐκείνην p. 46*, l. 1, § 5. θέλειςον | μονον — N 2 καταρο-
σόμενα 4 συγγενέσθαι § 6. l. 7 ἄπερ: ἄπτην 10 ποῖον ἄγγελον κατ-
αργεῖ σε 12 βαζαζόθ

C. XV 3, l. 15 ἦλθε πρὸς με γύνῃ § 2. l. 19 ἐνείψυχος § 3. l. 21 με-
ταβ. καὶ γίνομαι ὡς 22 καὶ γίνομαι — N § 4. l. 24 εἰς τὴν σελ. § 5.
l. 26 ἕτερον δὲ παλ. παρ' αὐτὸν κατάγομεν κ. φαίν. p. 47*, l. 5, § 7. αὐ-
τὴν ἀλείψουσιν τρεῖς κ. καταδεσμεύσας μὲ τὴν ἀλλήσον καὶ σφραγισάμενος τῇ
σφραγίδι § 8. l. 9 συνλευσθ.: σκελευθήσεται § 9. l. 13 κάτακλιεῖς
§ 10. l. 16 πολλοῖς καιροῖς 17 ὅμοιος ὡς ἐν σειεῖ ὕμῃ ὁ πάντα ἡμᾶς κατ.
§ 13. l. 25 ἀποασεβῶν p. 48*, l. 3, § 15. παραδωθῆναι

C. XVI. l. 5 καὶ . . . δαμ. — N 8 ἀποδεχ. χρυσίον κ. ἀργύριον.
ἐτοιούτον εἰμὶ | τὰ ἀλόμενα τ. ὕδατος 10 § 2. εἰς κύμα μέγαν 14 οὐ-
τως . . . σωματ.: οὐ γὰρ εἰμὶ ἐπιθυμῶ σώματος § 3. l. 16 ἄρχων τῶν δαι-
μόνων ζεῖ καὶ βασιλεύει εἰς 18 σκέψιν (f. 71^r) τινὰ ζῆν p. 49*, l. 1, § 4.
δόξαν καὶ — N 4 ὄνομα ἀλ. νατῆα· ἀποστ. δὲ 10 § 6. ἱαμέθ: μεῖσθαι

C. XVII. 1. 15 ἤλθε ὁμβρός μου 16 χεροσπάθην χαλκὴν p. 50*, 1. 1 ὁ 2 πνεῦμα γίγαντος 3 τῶν ὀνομάτων γιγ. § 3, 1. 9 κατατρώγει § 4. 12f. ὁ μελ. σωτήρ καλεῖσθαι παρ' ἀν(θρώπ)οις 14 ἐπιστρέψῃ ἡττήσῃ 16 § 5, ἀπέκλεισα

C. XVIII. 1. 1f. ἤλθον ὁμπρός μου λς πνεύματα 4 θεραιοπρ.. σφηνγό-
σωμα, πυροειδῆ, τυποσώματα, βοωπρόσωπα, ὀθεοπρόσωπα, πτηνοπρόσωπα
§ 2. 1. 7 τοῦ κοσμοκράτορος | τοῦ αἰώνος § 3. 1. 8 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κατακλ.
ἡμῖν p. 52*, 1. 1f. pro ἐγὼ . . . Πράξ praebet N φαρμουθίου καλοῦμαι. ad
marg. adscr. ἀπὸ κρίου πρῶτο(ν ἔως) δεκά(του) 3 κροτ. σκηλέβω | ἐγκλ.
'P.: ἐγὼ κλήροσι ἄκας § 6. 1. 4 φαρμουθῇ κρίου. ὁ δευτ. ἔφη· β̄ ᾱ (1. ἀπὸ)
ἰ ᾱ ἔως κ̄· ἐγὼ δευτ. καλ. βαρ. 6 ἐγκλ. Βαρ. — N 7 § 7. φαρμουθῇ
κρίου γ̄ ἀπὸ κ̄ ἔως λ̄. ὁ τρίτος | ἀρατοήλ 8 καὶ σφόδρα βλάπτω | ἀρα-
τοσαήλ 10 § 8. πάχο ταύρου ἀπὸ πρῶτον ἔως δεκάτον | ῥοπεῖ | λήμα
κ. συνοχᾶς κ. συνδονᾶς ἐκπέμπων 12 § 9. πάχο ταυρίου β̄ ἔως κ̄ 13 κη-
ριζουδάλ | καὶ σφηνόσια (f. 74^r) κορῶ ἐπιτελῶ | ἐὰν . . . ἀναχωρῶ — N
p. 53, 1. 2, § 10. πάχο ταύρου γ̄· ἔως κ̄ | σφοδραήλ | παρίσθμια P, παρ-
θεμνία 3 ὀπισθ. P, πιστότερον | βαήλ 4 σφοδραήλ | § 11. παῦνι
διδίμου ᾱ· ἔως (κ̄ eras.) ᾱ 5 σφαδορ 6 ἐπιπήξω 7 σφαδορ | § 12. παῦνι
διδίμου ἔως κ̄ 9 βελζεβουλ

§ 13. 1. 10 παῦνι διδίμου γ̄ ἔως η̄'· κ̄ ἔως λ̄ | ουρταήλ 11 ἰὰθ
σαβάθ | κουρταήλ 12 § 14. ἐπιφημῇ (f. 74^v) καρκίνου β̄ | μεταθι
14 § 15. ἐποιφημη καρκίνου ἀπὸ β̄ ἔως ιᾱ καὶ η̄'· κ̄· | ἐντέκατος | κανι-
κοταιήλ 16 κ. τ. τ. ὄν. (P) — N p. 54*, 1. 2 πλύνας δάφνας 3 § 16.
ἐπηφημῇ καρκίνου γ̄· ἀπὸ κ̄ ἔως τὸν λ̄ 4 σαφθορωθαήλ | ἐκβάλω 6 ἰαέ
. . . Σαβ. — N, v. infra | ἄς φορέσει ἐπὶ τ. τρ. ἢ κ. τὰς πρὸ τ. οὗς εἶθῃ | post
ἀναχωρῶ add. τὴν μέθην διαλύω. μεσόρρον λέοντος ᾱ ἀπὸ πρῶτον ἔως δέκα.
ἄκουσον, βασιλεῦ σο(λο)μόν, τὰ ὀνόματα ὕπου θέλῃ φορέσει ὁποῖός ἐστιν·
τῶν ἀγγέλων τὰ ὀνόματα· ἰαεῶ· ἰελεῶ· ἰωελέτ· σαβαῶν ἡθῶθ βαέ (om. N
supra 1. 6)

8 § 17. βωθο(πο eras.) θήλ 9 ἀθοναῖθ . . . βωθωθήλ | § 18. μεσορείου
λέοντος β̄· ἀπὸ ᾱ ἔως η̄'· κ̄ 10 Δερ. καλ. — N 11 ἐπάγω: ἐκπιῶν, ὄνομα
δέ μοι ροκλίδ 12 ὅτι κολεῖ καλλιῶ ἐστίν 13 § 19. μεσόριον λέοντος γ̄ ἀπὸ
εἰκουστοῦ λ̄ 14 κωμετήλ p. 55*, 1. 1 κουμεταήλ | § 20. θῶθ πάρθη
ἀπὸ ᾱ ἔως δεκάτον 3 πυρετ(ῆς) ἐνάτης 4 ἐπιέχρει τὸν τράχηλον κ.
λέγων τὴν σπονδὴν ταύτην 5 ἀναχώρει ἀπὸ τοῦ πλάσματος (f. 76^f) τοῦ
θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου τὸν θρόνον ἀναχωρεῖ ἀπὸ . . . θεοῦ

7 § 21. θῶθ πάρθη β̄ ἀπὸ ιᾱ ἔως κ̄ | ἐροπαήλ 8 σπασομὸς 9 ὕπου
δ' ἂν εἴρω 10 εἰς τοῦ οὗς τοῦ σπάχωντος εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν ἐκ τρίτου τ. ὄν.
ταῦτα· ἰουδαρζῇ· βαβωνηδονηδέ 11 § 22. ὁ ὄγδῃ κ. δεκ. παρθένου γ̄ ἀπὸ
εἰκοστοῦ πρῶτον ἔως λ̄ ὄγδο καὶ 12 βολδομιχ p. 56*, 1. 2 τούτου P:
+ ὀρκίζω σε βολομόχ καης (1. κατὰ τῆς) δυνάστεας αὐτῶν ἀναχώρισον ἀπὸ
τοῦ οἴκου τούτου | § 23. ζηγός ᾱ ἀπὸ ᾱ ἔως ῑ 3 ἐγὼ, κ(ύρι)ε σολομῶν,
καλ. ῥοῦξ μαδέρον | χαρτ. ἀβηβηλίου σφηνειραφαήλ· ἀναχωρῶν με δούρον
4 § 24. φανόφ ζηγός β̄ ἀπὸ ἡ̄ (1. οἱ?) κ̄ ᾱ ἔως λ̄ 5 κήρηξ νουθάθ 6 φο-

νουβωήλ 7 (f. 77^r) § 25. φαωφῇ ζηγός β̄ ἀπὸ η̄ κᾱ ἔως λ̄ 8 γράψει
... ρορίξ, δ. οὐσ(ονσ)λάθ(?) κ. περιάψη

10 § 26. om. N 12 § 27. ἀθούρ σκορπῆος β̄ ἀπὸ ιᾱ ἔως η̄ κ̄ ο η̄
κ̄ γ̄ ἐγώ, κήριξ σολομόν, καλ. ἐφθάδα p. 57*, l. 1 1 ἐ(ν)λάμνο κασσιτηρήω
| ἐφθαδά | τ. λοχ. — N 2 § 28. ἀθούρ σκορπίο νγ̄ ἀπὸ η̄ κᾱ ἔως λ̄ ὁ η̄
κδ̄ ἔφη· ἐγώ, κήριξ σολ., ἀκτόμεν καλ. 4 ὕλο | ἀργ. μαρμαρώθ, ἀκτόμε
διωξ. 5 § 29. χοίαν τοξότης ᾱ ἔως ῑ | ἐγώ, κήριξ σολ., καλ. ἀνατρέθ
7 ἀρ. χαρ. ἀποδιώξων ἀνατρέθ | § 30. χοιακον τοξότου β̄ ἀπὸ η̄ κη̄ ἔως
λ̄, ὁ η̄ κς̄ καὶ ἑτερα δέκατος· ἐγώ, κήριξ σολ., καλ. ἐνόθ. 9 ἀλλαζῶλ ...
ἐνῶνθ καὶ γράψει χαρτ. 10 § 31. χήακα τοξώτης γ̄ ἀπὸ κβ̄. λ̄. οη̄ κς̄
ἔφη· ἐγώ κήριξ σολ., ὥφθη καλ. 11 ὑπατικούς | αἰμ.: ἐνμωροραγκὰς φιλω̄
12 ἔων P (1°): ἐώλ, (2°): ἐῶ | ἀξιωφῆθ | δὸς πίει τοῦ πάσχοντος

14 § 32. τίβη ἐγοκέρου κέρατον· οη̄ κη̄ ἔφη· ἐγώ, κήριξ σολ., ἄρπας καλ.
15 γράψει εἰς φῖλλον δαφνις κόκο φνη̄ δίσμος (+ μῶς eras) καὶ 16 § 33.
τοβῆθ κέρατος β̄ γ̄ ἀπὸ ιβ̄ εἰκοστός οη̄ κθ̄ ἔφη· ἐγώ, κήριξ σολ., καλ. (no-
men om.) p. 58*, l. 1 1 σε κανοσίτρ 2 μαρμαρώθ | § 34. πο β̄ (l. τοβ)
ἐγόκαιρος τω γ̄ ἀπὸ εἰκοστοῦ πρώτου ἔως λ̄. ὁ λ̄ ἔφη· ἐγώ, κήριξ σολ., καλ.
ῆψησικεράθ 3 ποιῶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις 5 βοηθεῖτε, φεύγω καὶ ἀναχωρῶ
καὶ ἀναπληρῶν ἡμερῶν ἑπτά | § 35. μεσει δρηχόν ᾱ ἀπὸ ᾱ ἔως ζ̄, ὁ λᾱ
ἔφη· ἐγώ, κήριξ σολ., καλ. ἀλλεβωρίθ 7 νυκτὸς φαγήσας καὶ ὀστέον ἀπὸ
8 § 36. μεσει· χηρη̄ δρηχόν β̄ ἀπὸ ᾱ ἔως λ̄, ὁ λβ̄ ἔφη· ἐγώ, κήριξ σολ., καλ.
ιχθῆος 10 § 37. μεση δρηχόν β̄ γ̄ ἀπὸ κᾱ ἔως λ̄, ὁ τριασκοστός τρίτος ἔφη·
ἐγώ, κήριξ σολ., καλ. ἀγαχώνηον 11 σπαργάνοις κατὰ φάραγγι 12 κούρ-
γος· οὔργος· ῥογος· ὅς ὅς

14 § 38. φαμενόθ ιχθῆος ἀπὸ ᾱ ἔως ῑ, ὁ τριακ. τεταρ. ἔφη· ἐγώ, κήριξ
σολ., καλ. ῥηξ (nomen om.) 15 α ῆ β 16 § 39. φαμενόθ ιχθῆος β̄ ἀπὸ ιᾱ
ἔως κ̄, ὁ τρ. πέπτος ἔφη· ἐγώ (bis), κήρηξ σολ., καλ. ῥιξ φηνόθ 13 § 40.
φαμενόθ ιχθῆος γ̄ ἀπὸ κᾱ λ̄. ὁ τρ. ἐκ. ἔφη· ἐγώ κήριξ σολ., καλ. βιανακῆθ
p. 59*, l. 2 ἐπήφθονον 3 μηλτον· ἀρθονα· ἐνᾱθ 6 ὕδροφονεῖν | § 42.
N cum P, atque § 43, sed post κατέκλεισα add. ἄλλους δὲ εἰς ἀγγεῖα ἀπέ-
κλεισα, et in § 44 ὑέλων pro φιάλω, et τόπους εἰτήμασα ... κλιθεῖναι

C. XIX. N cum P. § 1. σολ. ὁ βασ. | παντὸς ἀνθρώπου τοῦ ὑπὸ
— ὕλον § 2. πᾶς τῶν βασιλέων τ. γ. πάσης | θεωρεῖν | δοθ. ἡμῖν
επροσφέρασι δόρα, χρυσ. κ. ἀργ. πολὺ | κ. πολ. κ. διαφ. ἐκόμεζον προσφορὰς
εἰς τὸν ναὸν κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ χαλκ. τε καὶ | ξύλα σεπτὰ προσφέρομεν εἰς
p. 60*, § 3. ἐν οἷς — N | σάβα ἡ βασ. | ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεόν

C. XX. 1. 7 γέρας μου | λέγε ... ἔφη· ὁ γέρων λέγων § 2. l. 6 προ-
σωπ ... μοι· πρὸς σε εἰμι ἐκοδήσον με § 3. l. 12 ἐλθόντος ἐπηρώτησα
τὸν νέον· ἀληθῶς οὕτως ἔχει § 4. l. 13 om. πατέρα 14 om. ἐπιπε-
πλησμένος et π(ατέ)ρα ... βασιλεῦς 15 ἀθέσμιτα p. 61*, l. 1, §. 5. οὖν
| ἀκ. τοῦ νέου 3 ἀλλ' εἶπεν· οὐχὶ ἀλλὰ θανατωθήτω

§ 6. πρεσβύτην | τ. δαίμονα ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἀνηγγεῖλέν μοι καὶ λέγοντά
μοι οὕτως· ἐγώ δὲ σολ. (+ ἀκούσας ταῦτα eras) ἔθνυμ. λίαν διὰ | εἰπέ μοι,

ὡ κατάρτατε § 7. 1 9 ἔτι τρεῖς | τελευτήσει 10 ἀνελεῖ | § 8. ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει. (f. 72^r) ὁ δὲ ἔφη· ἀληθῶς ταῦτα § 9. 1. 12 ἔλθ. τ. γῆρ (μεταστήναι eras.) εἰς τὸ μέσον μετὰ καὶ τοῦ 13 φιλίαν τρ. ἅμα καὶ εἰς τὸν τροφὴν αὐτ. παρασχόμε § 10. 1. 14 τὸν νέον τ. νῶν σου καὶ ἐπιμελοῦμαι αὐτοῦ 15 οἱ δὲ προσκυν. p. 62*, 1. 5, § 12. ὠπτάμεθα | ἀπὸ τ. θ. 6 § 13. εἰς τὸ ὄν. τ. τεθ. (c. Q) ὥστε φαίνεσθαι | ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀν(θρώπ)οις (— φύσεως) § 14. 1. 9 ἐν 10 ἐν μέσῳ | μιγενητο § 15. cum P | ὡς ἄτον μὴ | — ἄτονούμεν § 16. p. 63*, 1. 2 δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ θεωροῦντες ἡμᾶς ὅτι ἄστερες ἐπίπτουσιν 3 § 17. οὐ οὕτως δὲ 4 ἀλλὰ ἐκπίπτου ἐπὶ (ex ἀπὸ corr.) τὴν γῆν διὰ 5 πολλῇ 6 πόλεις: πολλοὺς § 19. 1. 11 οὐκ . . . πενθοῦντα: ἔμελλον ἐπεροτᾶν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔλθον πρὸς με ὁ ἄν(θρωπ)ος κατὰ πένθος καὶ μελλανόμενος τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ πλήτον ἑαυτοῦ τὸ σῶμα § 20. 1. 14 παρακαθέξομαι | ἡμέραι § 21. 1. 16 Ἰσραήλ

C. XXI. 1. 1 δοξάζουσα καὶ αὐτὴ τὸν 2 ἦν εἰκοδόμου τετελειωμένον ἔδωκε σίκλον χρυσίου κ. ἀργ. κ. χαλκοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ μυρ. 3 § 2. εἶδε | τὰς ἀναφοράς 5 λίθους τοὺς τιμίους ὥσπερ λυχνοὺς ἀστραπτ. 6 λυχνικοῦ λίθον 7 § 3. κριθιδανόμενον 8 λησειδώτου | πλόκην περιπλεγμένην 9 στάδιον δεκάξι ταύρους 10 § 4. N cum C 12 καὶ . . . γῆς P: — N

C. XXII. p. 65*, 1. 1 ἄπεστ. δὲ μὲ ὁ βασ. ἀράβων ὀνόματι ἀρδάκης | ἡ δὲ . . . οὕτως — N 2 βασιλεῦ σολομῶν τοῦ ἱζλ, ἰδοὺ ἤκουσ. πάντα περὶ σου καὶ παν. τὰ πέρατα, etc. cum Q § 4. 1. 14 εἰρηνεύσεις πᾶσαν ἀραβίαν | ταύτην τὴν δικαιοσ. p. 66*, 1. 1 § 5. ὑποτεταγμένοι ὑπαρχίαν ἀπολέσεις 2 καὶ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ μου — N

4 § 6. ἀκούσας καὶ ἀναγνοὺς 5 πτύξας αὐτὴν 6 § 7. καὶ . . . συνεπλ. — N 7 ἀκρογων. μέγας ἐκλεκτός (— κείμενος) | ὅντινα βάλομεν εἰς § 8. 1. 10 οἱ συνπουργῶν τὸν λίθον ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸν ὅτε ἀνάγῃ τὸν λίθον ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ λιθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ πτερυν. 12 τ. θεματ. αὐτῷ — N | ἐκείνος πᾶν — N | § 9. μνησθεῖς: γνοῦς N 13 ἀρδάκου 14 τὴν | μετὰ σε 15 § 10. ἐπὶ τοῦ 16 πνέει — N § 11. p. 67*, 1. 3 κ. σφραγ. τ. δακτ. cum H | ἐπίσαξω καὶ. τὴν καμ. κ. θέσε τ. ἀσκὸν ἐπὶ τὴν καμ. κομίσεις ἐνθ. | τάξεται | θησαντροὺς μὴ ἀπο ἀλύσεις

§ 12. 1. 5 Τότε: τοῦτον N | τὰ τελεσμένα | καὶ . . . ἀσκὸν — N 7 ἥπιστ. καὶ ἄρα δυνατὸν τ. πν. τ. πον. σὺλ. | § 13. καὶ ὄρθρου mecum 8 ἐνωπ. . . πνοῆς καθῶς τ. ἀσκὸν . . . ἐπεθ. τὸ στόμα τοῦ ἀσκοῦ τῷ δακτυλίδιον 10 τοῦ δακτ. . . . στόμα P: — N 11 § 14. σταθεῖς εὐθέως p. 68*, 1. 1 § 15. κ. οὕτως ἐπέμενεν ὁ 2 πλέον ἐν τ. χώρᾳ ἐκ. 3 § 16 ἐπέσαξεν τὴν καμ. ὁ παῖς κ. ἐπέθηκεν τ. ἀσκ. ἐπὶ τ. καμ. 5 καὶ εὐφ. ἐδόξαζον

§ 17. 1. 9 με § 18 1 13 πεφνησμένος § 19. 1. 15 εἶμι ὁ λεγ. ἐφήπ. πας p. 69*, 1. 1, § 20. ναί, κῆρι σολομῶν βασιλεῦ, ἐφιπτ. | σταυρωθ. (f. 88^r) ἐπὶ ξύλον, ὁ καὶ προσκυνήσαντες ἄγγελον ἀρχάγγελον

C. XXIII. εἶπον ἐγὼ σολομῶν βασ. πρὸς αὐτόν 5 μεφέρειν | ἔπητα ἄλλα § 2. 1. 10 στήσεις | βούλει: + κῆρη βασ. σολ. 11 § 3. ἵνα ἀναγάγῃ σε κ. φυσηθεῖς ὁ ἀσκ. ἐν τούτῳ κ. ὑποδέδοκεν τὸν λίθον p. 70*, 1. 1 ἔθετο ἐπάνω εἰς τὰς γονίας τοῦ ναοῦ § 4. 1. 3 ἡ ῥέθεισα | κ. τὰ λοιπα: τοῦτον οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλον ἀλλήνα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ θέλημα κατισχύσαι etc. cum P

C. XXIV, § 4. p. 71*, 1, 2 ὁ κίονας ὑπερμεγέθη σπόδρα διὰ τὸν ἄερα
 4 βαστάζοντα — N

C. XXV. βασιλεὺς σολ. (f. 89^v) | τὸν ἕτερον δαίμονα τὸν ἂν ἐλθόν
 8 καὶ σὺ τίς εἶ κ. τί σου § 2. 10 ἀβεξεβισοῦ | καὶ ἤμουν πότε μὲν καθε-
 ζόμενος 12 § 3. πνεῦμα περοτὸν ἐπιβ. 13 ss. ἐγὼ . . . καρδίαν: ἐγὼ
 εἶμι ὁ σκληρόνας τὴν καρδίαν φαραῶν καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν
 μουσὴν τὸν Ἰσραηλίτην. § 4. ἐγὼ ἐκεῖνος δ' ἐπικ. . . οἱ μαχόμενοι (f. 90^r)
 τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐγύπτου p. 72*, § 6. 1 4, ἐποίησα καταδιῶξαι ὀπίσω τὸν νῖδν
 Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐγγύζειν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐρυθρῇ θαλ. διέρηξεν ὁ θεὸς
 τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ διεπέρασεν τοὺς νιοὺς Ἰσραὴλ 6 τότε . . . ἐκεῖ: παρη-
 μῶν 7—10 § 7. καὶ διεγένετο καὶ ἐκάλυψεν καὶ ἔμειναν 11—14 § 8.
 ἀλλὰ παραμένει αὐτοὺς βαστάζον τὸν κίονα ἤγονν τὸν στεῖλον δν ἐκ τῆς
 ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ἐκόμισαν καὶ ὤμοσαν. . . ὁ θεὸς τοῦ ἱηλ δς παρεδ.
 ἡμᾶς ἀποχειρό σου οὐ . . . τοῦτον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς . . . § 9. . . τὸν (f. 91^r)
 θεὸν τοῦ οὐνοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ . . . κυρίου μετὰ πάσῃν εὐπρεπίαν καὶ ἐμ-
 νήσι(την) ἐν . . .

C. XXVI. 1 1, p. 73* τῆς βασιλείας μου ἐ γυνέκες καὶ ἄλλες πολλὰς
 μοι γυνέκες οὐκ 2 πορεύθῃ 3 ἐκεῖ: ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου αὐτοῦ 4 ἐβουλ.
 δοξάσε αὐτ. πρὸς § 2. 1. 5 μοι | σομανήτην 6 μολόχου 7 ἀγα-
 πᾶς 8 τὸν μέγαν θεὸν (f. 91^v) τὸν καλούμενον ῥ. κ. μ. ἐὰν ἀγαπᾶς τὴν
 παρθένον

τίς δὲ ἔστιν ἡ ὑποθ. τοῦτο με ἀνάγγασε προσκυνεῖς καὶ ποιῆσαι; § 4.
 . . ὁμοιωθῆς τοῖς ἔθ[ν]εσιν τῶν . . . ἡμ. ἐμὴ πνθ. οὐδαμῶς θύσω θεοὺς
 ἄλλ. καὶ παρεβίασε hoc a loco cum H

N cum H comp. 12 Σολ.: + τοῦ βασιλέως ἱηλ ἀνάγκασε αὐτὸν προσκν-
 νῆσαι τοῖς θεοῖς ἡμῶν καὶ ἐὰν μὴ βουληθῇ ἐπακοῦσαι σου 12 αὐτῷ in αὐ-
 τῶν corr. N 13 ὁμ. τοῖς θεοῖς ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ | καὶ αὐτὰς σφάζει ὑπὸ τὰς
 χεῖρας σου καὶ λέγον ἐν ὀνόματί σου ραφᾶ κ. μολόχ p. 74*. pro sec. 5 praebet
 ms. N textum hunc: ἐγὼ παρενόχλων τοῖς (ἐ)βουσαίοις διὰ τὸ ἀγ τ. παρ-
 θένον ταύτην τὴν ὥραιαν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν καὶ καλὴν τὴν ὕψιν σφόδρα καὶ
 εἶναι αἰῖρις(?) ἀγαθὴν ἐνώπιόν μου. καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με· ἀθέσμιτός μου ἔστιν,
 βασιλεῦ, καὶ κοιμηθῆναι μετὰ μοῦ ἔθνη ἁλλοτριῶ· ἀλλὰ προσκύνησον τοῖς
 θεοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου καὶ ἰδοὺ καὶ ἐγὼ δοῦλ(η) ἐνώπιόν σου. Ἐν δὲ τὸ πι-
 στεῖναι μὴ ἐπεκαθήσαν μὴ δι' ὕλης τῆς νυκτὸς λέγων· πῶς λαλεῖς ἀγαπᾶν
 με καὶ οὐκ ἀκούεις τῆς φωνῆς τῆς δοῦλ(ης) σου. Εἰ γοῦν βούλῃ προσκυνῆ-
 σαι τοῖς θεοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου, μὴ ἔστω σοι σχολιὸν τοῦτον· λάβε δὲ ἐν τῇ
 χειρί σου ἀκρίδες εἰ καὶ ἄρρας σφάξον ὅπως (f. 92^v) λήψεις με εἰς γυναι-
 καν· καὶ ἔσομαι ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ λαός μου μετὰ σοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ τάλας ὡς διτε-
 λος (sic) καὶ οὐδὲν ὕμνησα τῆς ἀκριδος τὸ αἶμα καὶ σφάξας εἰς τὰς χεῖ-
 ρας μου ἐν ὀνόματι μολόχ καὶ ραφᾶ εἰπὼν καὶ ἔλαβα τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ἤγον
 αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τ. βασ. μου

p. 74*. § 6. N cum P. ἐξ οὗ . . . Μολοχ: καὶ ἐν τῷ εἶναι με ἐν αὐτῇ
 ἠνέγγασεν ἡ γυνὴ ἐκείνη οἰκοδομησάιν ναοὺς τοῖς βαὰλ καὶ ἥρα ἐγὼ τὸν ρα-
 φὰν κ. τὸν μολόχ

§ 7. N cum H. πάνη — N | αὐτήν· + καὶ ἀπέστη τὸ πνεῦμα ἀπ'
 αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ πορευθῆναι με ὀπίσω τῆς ἀθμείας μου | καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη τὸ

πν. μου καὶ ἐσκορπίσθην τὸ σπέρμα μου κ. ἐδοθ. τῷ δούλῳ μου ἱεροβάμ
δέκα σκῆπτρα. τὰ δὲ δύο σκῆπτρα ἀπομείναντες πρὸς με διὰ δαδ τὸ πνᾶ
(l. τὸν πρᾶ) μου· διὰ τοῦτο ἐλέησεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὰ δύο σκῆπτρα ἔασε τὸ
πεδίον μου τούτων σινηκαν παριθέντα (sic) μοι ὑπὸ τῶν δαίμ. καὶ ἐμνήσθην
δι' ὅσα εἶπον ἀληθῶς εἶπον· ἔφησα γάρ μοι περὶ τούτων· ὑπὸ τ. χείρας μου
δισάτει τελευτῆσαι καὶ ἐκλείπει ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ (ἡλίου)

§§ 8 et 9. N cum H. τοῖς ἡλ καὶ ἀφῆκαν αὐτὴν εἰς μνημ. ὅτι προ
τελ. μου μακαριούσε με ὥστε οὖν φυλαχθῆναι τὴν διαθήκην μου πρὸς ἡμᾶς
(p. 75*) μυστ. μεγ. (f. 93^v) κατὰ παντός ἀκαθάρτου πνς ὥστε γινώσκειν
ἡμᾶς | ἰσραὴλ ἱποτάξε ἐπ' ἐμὲ πάντα τὰ δαίμ. ὥστε εἶναι σφραγίδα |
ταῦτα οὖν . . . δακτ. τοῦ θεοῦ (§ 9) — N | προσετέθει με πρὸς τοὺς πρᾶς |
ἐν ἡλμ — N | οὐ ὑπὸ θρόνου ad finem om. N, sed add. ὃ πρέπει τιμὴ καὶ
προσκύνησις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν

B. Manuscript E.

A Narrative Concerning Solomon the Prophet.

E. Library of the Greek Patriarchate, Jerusalem, Sancti
Saba, No. 290; XVIII cent., paper, cm. 17×21,7; 204 ff.;
unpublished. Catalogue, vol. B, p. 415.

The first one hundred thirty-eight leaves of the manuscript were written by Gerasimos, a monk from Chios in 1719 at the *μόνη τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνδόξου προφήτου Ἡλίου τοῦ Θεσβίτου* (f. 48^r and 139^v), probably, therefore, at Mar Elias near Jerusalem. The "Narrative Concerning Solomon", however, is in a section of the book which was written by other, and it would appear to me somewhat older hands, although nearly every work in this latter part of the codex is strongly marked by modern Greek forms.

The "narrative", found on ff. 177^v—191^r, is in a clear strong hand, comparatively easy to read. It is not free from errors, but is immeasurably superior to MS N, to those of Rec. C, or even to L. It is unique in that it is not merely marked by occasional late Greek forms, as are several of the others, but is entirely written in Modern Greek of a style much more colloquial than modern newspaper Greek. Aside from its relation to the *Test*, it has some value as a sample of colloquial Greek of the XVII or XVIII century.

Its nearest relative is MS D. In other words it is not a "testament" at all, but a story. Certain sections read like a

paraphrase of MS D into Modern Greek. Indeed, it occasionally uses the very phrases of D, for example in D c. IV 6—9, 13 f., 16¹. Moreover it follows the outline of MS D, beginning with the story of David's sin, and then recounting the beginning of the building of the Temple, the favorite slave's difficulty, the capture of Or-nias, the sending of Or-nias and the slave to capture the demons, and their work upon the temple². All of D cc. IV—VII 3 is repeated in E, often almost word for word³. From this point on, however, E parts company with all the other accounts. It tells how Samael was examined and replies and is set to work in exactly the manner of the *Test*⁴. Then it goes on to narrate how, after the Temple was finished, Solomon shut all the demons up in vessels, how the Temple was dedicated, how later the Chaldeans came and released the demons, and how later still Jesus came and by the cross overcame them all, adding that this was the symbol engraved on Solomon's ring and that anyone who properly uses this sacred symbol may escape all their attacks⁵.

The differences between E and D go still farther than this conclusion. The resemblance between the introductory sections telling of Solomon's parentage is after all superficial. The account of the devil's frustration of Nathan's attempt to forestall David's sin (D c. I 4—6) is entirely lacking in E and the account of Nathan's parable and David's repentance is quite different⁶. When (D c. III 4) Or-nias and the slave are sent to bring in the other demons, they bring Beelzebul, who is examined as in the *Test*. Here MS E uses material from the accounts of both Beelzebul and Asmodaeus, in something like this order, *Test* cc. III 6, IV 1—3 a, V 8 f. VI 4, 7 f., 9 (part). Then it resumes the matter and order of D (c. III 8)⁷.

There are fewer resemblances in language between E and the *Test* than between D and E, and yet in the account of Beelzebul the same words are often used and the likenesses are such

1 E, c. V 3—6, 8 ff.

4 E, c. IX 7—10.

7 C. IV 11 ff.

2 E, c. I—IV 1, 12.

5 E, cc. X—XII.

3 E, c. V—IX 4.

6 E, c. I 6—9.

as very strongly to suggest some kind of literary dependence. This is particularly true if one omits the account of Onoskelis and Asmodaeus from the *Test*, an account which breaks into the very middle of the examination of Beelzebul (cc. III 7—VI 1a). On other grounds also this appears like an interpolation, for only in these chapters does Beelzebul figure prominently.

Just how it comes about that some traits which plainly belong to Asmodaeus are ascribed to Beelzebul it is difficult to explain. That Raphael and the gall of a fish called γλιανός belong to Asmodaeus cannot be disputed¹. It is plain also that the writer of E is combining two accounts from the fact that in two separate places he introduces the means by which the demon is to be laid². He must have known two descriptions of the chief demon and he preferred the name Beelzebul because of its use in the Gospels. MS E is more definitely Christian than any other of these documents.

We have in our manuscripts a "synoptic problem" rendered even more complicated by the discovery of E. The resemblances in phrasing and in order are too close to permit of an oral theory, but on the other hand, the differences are such as to preclude the conclusion that the *Test* was derived directly from either D or E or either of them from the other. Rather we must go back to an original "narrative", *d* which included a brief account of Solomon's parentage, the building of the Temple, the capture of Ornias, the use of demons in the building, the incident of the father and son, the gifts from foreign monarchs, the letter of the Arabian king, the capture of Ehippas, and the placing of the cornerstone and the aerial column. This *d* possibly had also some reference to Samael, for he appears in both E and D. Both the introductory account of Solomon's birth and the concluding reference to Samael were developed differently in the two editions.

E steps in to make the connection between *d* and the *Test*. In c. XVII is a nameless demon whose "work" is exactly that of Samael in E and who is frustrated in the same way, by the

¹ E, c. IV 7.

² E, c. IV 7 and 9.

sign of the cross¹. The demon is, moreover, "shut up . . . like the other demons" (XVII 5), an idea especially prominent in E². As the *Test*, which was *ex hypothese* written by Solomon, could not tell of the future escape of the demons from their vessels, the writer had a demon foretell it and the power of the coming Son of the Virgin to overcome them again (XV 8—12), all of which is given in much fuller detail in E. The relations may be explained by supposing E to be based upon *e*, a manuscript derived from *d* and forming the original also from which the *Test* was developed. E, of course, represents a considerable expansion of *e*. A great deal of liberty must be allowed to editors and copyists in such literature as this. This will explain changes and omissions of all kinds. The use of various sources is also to be expected. In one passage E mentions Jeremiah, Baruch, and Abimelek, and evidently depends on the *Paralipomena of Jeremiah*³.

In the transcripion of E which follows⁴ I have tried to be as faithful to the manuscript as possible, only correcting obvious errors and not trying even to introduce consistency.

1 E, c. IX 8f. 2 E, c. X 2. 3 E, c. XI 1f. 4 See pp. 102*—120*.

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ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝΤΟΣ

TEXTS

WITH

CRITICAL APPARATUS

Sigla et compendia in apparatu critico et in textu adhibita

Uncis rotundis () circumduxi vocabula vel litteras, quae in codice compendio scripta sunt, velut (*ἡμέρα*) = *δ*.

Uncis rotundis () in apparatu critico circumdedi numeros sectionum interpretationis a Conybeare scriptae.

Uncis fractis < > circumdedi ea quae in codice perierunt vel a scriptore omissa sunt. Uncum fractum < post vocabulum posui cuius terminatio a scribente omissa est. His signis [] inclusi lectiones in suspicionem vocatas, ubicumque errorem primum vel interpolationem praesuppono.

Asteriscu * in textu apparatuque insignivi manuscriptorum editionumque initium et paginarum numeros.

+ vel add. = addit, addunt

— vel om. = omittit, omittunt

cf. = confere(ndum)

cod(d). = codex, codices

conj. = conjicit, -unt (quidam scriptores recentiores)

cor(r). = corrigit, -unt

ego = proponit editor

exp. = explicit, -unt

f., ff. = folium, folia

inc. = incipit, -iunt

ins. = insere, -it

i. q. = idem quod

l. = lege(ndum) vel linea

leg. = legit, -unt

MS (ms.) = codex manuscriptus

MSS (mss.) = codices manuscripti

n. = nota

pr. = praemittit, -unt

rec. = recensio

s., ss. = sequens, sequentes

tr. = transpone(ndum), -it, -unt

v. = vide(ntur)

A = Rec. A, i. q., MSS HIL

B = Rec. B, i. q., MSS PQ(N)

C = Rec. C, i. q., MSS STUVW

C^o = narratio altera de Onoskelu ex rec. C

D = Dionysii monasterii (Athos) cod. 132, cf. supra p. 10

E = Monasterii Sancti Saba (Hierosol.) cod. 290, cf. App. infra p. 125

H = Holkham Hall, cod. 99, cf. p. 11

I = Bib. Nat., Suppl. grec cod. 500, cf. supra p. 12

L = Harl. cod. 5596, cf. supra p. 13

N = Monasterii Sancti Saba (Hierosol.) cod. 422, cf. App. infra p. 112

P = Bib. Nat., Anc. fonds grec, cod. 38, cf. supra p. 15

Q = Andreae monasterii cod. 73, cf. supra p. 18

S = Vind. Phil.-graec, cod. 108, cf. p. 18

T = Harl. cod. 5596 fragmenta, cf. p. 18	d = de li daemonis, Cd, cf. supra p. 19
U = Bib. Ambros. cod. 1030, cf. p. 20	o = narratio alt. de Onoskelu, C ^o , cf. p. 19
V = Bib. Bonon. Acad. cod. 3632, cf. p. 21	r = phylacterium, H ^r , L ^r , C ^r , cf. pp. 19, 25, et n. 1
W = Bib. Nat., Anc. fonds grec, cod. 2419, cf. p. 25	s = descriptio altera de XII signis, cf. p. 23 et n. 1
c = corrector	

Bn = Bornemann, versio, cf. Bibliographiam	Fü = Fürst
Bncn = Bornemann, "Conjectanea"	Is = Istrin
Cr = Conybeare	Mg = Migne
Fl = Fleck	tr = versio, velut Mgtr = versio in Migne, <i>Patrologia graeca</i> , vol. 122

ΛΙΑΘΗΚΗ ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝΤΟΣ

HIPQ *Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, κύριε ὁ θεός, ὁ δοὺς τῷ Σολομῶντι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην· σοὶ δόξα καὶ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.*

PQ I. *Καὶ ἰδοὺ οἰκοδομουμένον τοῦ ναοῦ πόλεως Ἱερουσαλὴμ*

5 HI I. *Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνοικοδομουμένης τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἐργαζομένων τῶν τεχνιτῶν, ἐν παιδίον ἔχων προθυμίαν μεγίστην ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ οἰκοδομήν, ὃς ἐποίει τοὺς τεχνίτας προθυμοτέρους πρὸς ἐρ-*

L I. *Βουλόμενος ὁ Σολομῶν υἱὸς Δαυεὶδ ἀνακτίσαι καὶ οἰκοδομῆσαι τὴν Σιών, κελεύσας κατὰ τρόπον καὶ κατὰ χώραν τοῦ συναχ-*
 10 *θῆναι τεχνίτας ἄνδρας τοῦ ἐργάζεσθαι εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, μέσον δὲ τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἦτον ἕνας νέος πολλὰ ἄξιος καὶ πολλὴν προθυμίαν ἔχων κατὰ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ θείου ναοῦ· διὸ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως*

VW I. *Ἐργαζομένων δὲ τῶν τεχνιτῶν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ οἰκοδομήν ἣν τις ἐκεῖσε παῖς νέος ἄλκιμος σφόδρα καὶ ἀρχιτεχνίτης, ὃν*
 15 *ἡγάπα ὁ βασιλεὺς πάνν διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν φρένιμον καὶ ἐπιεικῇ.*

Titulum primarium eruere non possum: v. conspectum titulorum codd. mss. infra, pp. 98* s. Benedictionem vel doxologiam scr. mss. HIPQ; app. crit. v. infra, p. 99*.

Parallela ad c. I cf. infra in ms. D II 1—18.

MSS PQ = Rec. B: c. I, l. 4 inc. ms. P in f. 1^r; Fl p. 113, Mg col. 1316; ms. Q in f. 11^r; Is p. 29. (2) <K>αὶ Is (Q) | οἰκονομουμένον P | Ἱεροσολύμων P, Ἱεροσολήμ Q

MSS HI = Rec. A: c. I, l. 5 inc. ms. H in f. 1^r, ms. I in f. 78^r 6 ἦν γὰρ παιδίον ἐν ἔχων H | ἔχον Is (p. 29 n. 1) | ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκ. τ. ναοῦ H | 7 δς . . . ἐργασίαν I, καὶ ἦν διάγων ὥστε ποιῶν τ. τεχ. πρὸς τὴν ἐργ. προθυμῶς H

MS L: c. I, l. 8 inc. ms. L in f. 8^r col. 1

MSS VW = Rec. C: c. I, l. 13 inc. hae lineae ms. V in f. 436^v, ms. W in f. 266^v fin. initium mss. VW v. infra, Rec. C, p. 76* 14 ἦν δέ τις V 15 ἀγαπᾷ V | ἐπιεικῇ V, ἐπιεικὴν W

PQ καὶ ἐργαζομένων τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, 2. ἤρχετο ὁ Ὁρνίας τὸ δαιμονικὸν κατὰ ἡλίου δυσμὰς καὶ * ἐλάμβανε τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ μισθοῦ

HI γασίαν, καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες ἔχαιρον πάντες ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς προθυμίᾳ. ἦν δὲ ἀγαπώμενος ἄγαν παρ' ἐμοῦ Σολομῶντος, καὶ
5 ἐλάμβανε παρὰ πάντας τοὺς τεχνίτας διπλοῦν τὸν μισθὸν καὶ τὰ σιτίδια διπλᾶ. καὶ ἐπέμενον χαίρων καὶ εὐφραινόμενος ἐγὼ Σολομῶν καὶ εὐλογῶν τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ναοῦ οἰκοδομῇ.

2. Φθονήσαντος δὲ τοῦ δαίμονος ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς προθυμίαν, ἤρχετο καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὁ δαίμων καὶ * ἐλάμβανε
10 τὸ ἥμισυ κτλ.

L πολλὰ ἦν ἀγαπώμενος, καὶ τὰ σιτία καὶ τὸν μισθὸν διπλοῦν ἐλάμβανεν ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς τεχνίτας· καὶ ἔχαιρεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς προθυμίαν.

2. Φθονηθεὶς δὲ ὁ νεώτερος ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος, ἤρχετο ἀόρατος

15 VW ἔπεμπε δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης αὐτοῦ βρώματα καθ' ἐκάστην ὁ * βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐν τῷ δειπνῶ ἀπεδίδου αὐτὸν τὸν μισθὸν ἐπὶ τὸ διπλάσιον.

2. Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ παιδάριον περὶ ἡλίου δυσμὰς ἐπείξετο ὑπὸ χαλεποῦ δαίμονος Ὁρνίου λεγομένου. ἐλάμβανε δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον δαιμόνιον

MSS PQ = Rec. B. 1 τεχνιτῶν ἐν αὐτῷ Q: τεχν., ἐν αὐτοῖς P, τεχ. ἐν αὐτοῖς Fl, τεχ., ἐν αὐτοῖς BnMgtr | § 2. ἤρχετο ego: ἔρχεται (Fl) in ἔρχεται cor. P^o, (ἐ)ρχετο Is(Q) 2 δαιμονικὸν B: in δαιμόνιον corr. P^oFl | δυσμὰς Q, pr. τὰς P, δεσμὰς (δυσμὰς) Fl

*MSS HIPQ = Recc. AB. 2 τ. μισθοῦ — A

MSS HI = Rec. A. 3 οἱ . . . προθυμία I: τοὺς ἀκούοντας ὥστε χαίρειν πάντας ἐπὶ τὴν τ. π. προθυμίαν H 4 δὲ καὶ I | ἡγαπώμενος H | ἄγαν I: λίαν H | παρ' ἐμοῦ I: ὑπὸ τοῦ H 5 διπλὸν I 6 σιτίδια conj. Diels: σιτεῖδια I, σιτήδια Is, στατίδια H | ἐπέμενον ego: ἐπέμενεν H, ἤμουν I | καὶ . . . Σολ. — H 7 τὴν τ. ν. οἰκοδομήν H

§ 2. 8 ἐπὶ — H 9 ἡμέραν ὁ δαίμ. — H | * cf. textum rec. B, l. 2 10 post ἥμισυ textus recensionis A cum rec. B includitur

MS L. 11 πολλὰ ἦν ego: πολλὴν ms. 12 ἔχαιρον ms.

MSS VW = Rec. C. 15. 16 αὐτὸν mss.: l. αὐτῷ 16 * W f. 267^r § 2. 19 δαίμονος: δαιμονίου V | Ὁρν. λεγ.: ὀνόματι Ὁρνίου V

HIPQ ἰ τοῦ πρωτομαῖστορος παιδαρίου ὄντος¹ καὶ τὰ ἡμῖς σιτία. * καὶ ἐθῆλαξε τὸν ἀντίχειρον τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ χειρὸς * ἐφ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν. καὶ ἐλεπτύνετο τὸ παιδίον ὅπερ ἦν ἀγαπώμενον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ σφόδρα.

5 L καὶ ἐλάμβανε τὸ ἡμῖς τῶν μισθῶν τοῦ παιδὸς ὅτι ἄρα ἐπιδίδοντο αὐτῷ καθ' ἐκάστην ἐσπέραν. μετὰ τὸ ἀποδιδόναι καὶ ἀφεθῆναι τοῦ ἔργου ἤρχετον τὸ πονηρὸν πνεῦμα καὶ [ἡγάλαξε· εἶτα λέγει ὁ ἀναγινώσκων ἐκ τρίτου μεγαλόφωνος ἐπάνου τοῦ * ὀχλουμένου· εἶτα] ἐλάμβανε τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς δάκτυλον καὶ ἐβύζανεν αὐτόν. *

VW τὸ ἡμῖς μέρος τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ ὃν ἐλάμβανε παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καθεμίαν ἡμέραν. καὶ οὐ μόνον τοῦτο ἐποίει ἀλλ' ἔτεμε καὶ τὸν δάκτυλον τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ χειρὸς καὶ ἐξεθῆλαξε τὸν ἀντίχειρον τοσοῦτον ὥστε τὸ παιδάριον ἀσθενεῖν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ λεπτύνεσθαι.

MSS HIPQ = Recc. AB. 1 τοῦ . . . ὄντος: om. A, l. fortasse ἐνὸς τῶν παιδαρίων μου, cf. D II 2 | πρωτομαῖστόρου Q | παιδαρίον ὄντος Q, conj. Bn: παιδαρίον, οὕτως P | κ. τὰ ἡμ. σιτ. B: τῶν σιτείων αὐτοῦ I. τοῦ σιτείου αὐτοῦ H | * H f. i^v 2 τ. ἀντίχειρα . . . χειρὸς ἐθῆλαξεν B | ἐθῆλαξεν ἐν I per geminationem | * I f. 78^v | ἐφ' HQ: ἀφ' P | ἐφ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν H: — I, ἐφ' ἐκάστης ἡμέρας PQ 3 παιδιον A: παιδάριον B | ὅπερ . . . αὐτῷ (§ 3, p. 8*, l. 2): — Q 4 ὑπ' (ὕπερ H) ἐμοῦ σφόδρα A: παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πάνν P

MS L. 5 τὸ μισθίον ms. | ὅτι ego: εἴτι ms, l. forte αἵτινα | ἐπιδίδον τὸ ms. 6 ἐκάστη ἐσπέρα ms. 8 * f. 8^r 2 10 ἐβύζανεν: in marg. lat. scr. man. rec. *sugebat* | * a sect. 3 ms. I. cum rec. A (mss. II) includitur, cf. p. 8*, l. 1

MSS VW = Rec. C. 11 ὃν: 8 mss. 12 καθεμίαν ego: καθῆν vel καθεμ- mss. l. fortasse καθ' ἐκάστην 13 καὶ (1^o) — V | δάκτυλον . . . τοσοῦτον: δεξιὸν δακτ. ἡγουν τὸν ἀντίχειραν, καὶ ἐξεθῆλ. W | καὶ (2^o) — V 14 ἀσθενεῖ V | καὶ ante καθ' ponit V

HILPQ 3. Ἐγὼ δὲ Σολομῶν ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνακρίνας τὸ παιδάριον εἶπον αὐτῷ· οὐχὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς τεχνίτας τοὺς ἐργαζομένους ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ σὲ ἡγάπησα καὶ ἐπεδίδουν σοι ἐν διπλῷ τὸν μισθὸν

- 5 VW 3. Καὶ δὴ ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν
 <ιδῶν> καὶ <ἐκπετάσας> τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν· ὁ θεὸς
 θεῶν καὶ μόνε βασιλεῦ βασιλέων, ἀποκάλυψόν μοι τὴν τοῦ παι-
 δὸς πᾶσαν βάσανον διὰ τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ φοβερὸν καὶ πανάγιον·
 ἦλθε δὲ φωνὴ λέγουσα· »πρόσειπε εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν οὗς τοῦ παιδὸς
 10 τάδε· >δαφνών· μαγατά· παλιπούλ· < ἔγγραφον δὲ ποιήσον ἐν
 ἀγεννήτῳ χάρτῃ ταῦτα· * * * καὶ παραδοὺς πυρὶ ὑποκάπνισον
 αὐτῷ, ἔχων δὲ καὶ βοτάνην τὴν λεγομένην κισσὸν καὶ λίθον
 ἱασαφήτην ἐν τῇ χειρὶ σου· καὶ ἐν πέμπτῃ ὥρᾳ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐρώ-
 τησον τὸν παῖδαν, καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ σοι ἅπαντα· ταῦτα ἀκούσα·
 15 Σολομῶν καὶ ποιήσας ἀπαρallάκτως ἠρώτησε τὸν παῖδαν. *

MSS HILPQ = Recc. AB. § 3. (3) 1 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς σολομῶν LP |
 ἐν: καλέσας P | ἐν ... ἡμερῶν: ὁρῶν τὸν νεότερον δν ἡγάπα ὁ βασιλεὺς
 σφόδρα ἐν ἀθυμία κατέσχον σκνθροπάζων καὶ τῇ ὄψει παρελαγμένος ἐκάλεσεν
 αὐτόν L | ἀνακρίνας ... αὐτῷ A: τὸν παῖδα ἐπρωήτησεν αὐτόν λέγων P,
 καὶ ἀνακριν. οὕτως εἰπών· τί ὅτι σὺ λυπούμενον βλέπω σε L 2 ὑπερ A:
 παρὰ B 3 τ. ἐργάζ. ... θεοῦ — L | ἐργάζ. ... ναῷ in spatio puro a
 prim. man. relicto adscr. P^o 4 ἀγαπῶ B, ποθῶ L | καὶ διπλὰ τὰ μισθία
 καὶ τὰ σιτία ἐπιδίδωσι L | κ. ἐπεδίδου(ν) James) σὺ (I, σοι) H, κ. δίδωμι
 σοι I, διδούς σοι P (-σοι) Q | ἐν διπλῷ IB: διπλοῦν H | τοὺς μισθοὺς B

MSS VW = Rec. C. § 3. 6 ἰδῶν, ἐκπετάσας supplevit James 7 βασι-
 λεὺς τῶν βασ., ἀποκαλ. με πᾶσαν βασ. τὴν τ. παιδ. V 9 καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν
 ἦλθε φωνὴ κτλ. W | παιδός: παιδάριον V 10 ἔγγραφον W | * V f. 437^r
 11 χάρτην mss. | *** omitto sigilla magica mihi insensibilia 12 κισσὸν
 ego: κύσαν mss. 13 ἱασαμφήτην V, I. ἱάσπιδα? | ἐν πέμπτῃ ... νυκτὸς W:
 τῆς νυκτὸς ὥρα ε V 14 ἀνάγκη V, ἀνηγγέλη W 15 * a sect. 4 mss.
 VW (rec. C) cum recc. AB includuntur

καὶ τὰ σιτία· καὶ πῶς ἐφ' ἐκάστην * ἡμέραν λεπτύνη; 4. τὸ δὲ αἰδίον εἶπεν· »δέομαί σου, βασιλεῦ, ἄκουσόν μου τὰ συμβάντα. 5. μετὰ τὸ ἀπολυθῆναι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ ἡλίον δυσμὰς ἐν τῷ ἀναπαύεσθαι * με, ἔρχεται πονηρὸν κμόνιον * καὶ ἀφαιρεῖ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ ἡμισυ τοῦ μισθοῦ μου καὶ τὸ ἡμισυ τῶν σιτίων μου, καὶ λαμβάνει μου τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα καὶ ἡλάξει μου τὸν ἀντίχειρον. καὶ ἰδοὺ * θλιβομένης μου τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ σῶμα μου λεπτύνεται καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν.

5. Καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐγὼ ὁ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν εἰσῆλθον εἰς

MSS HILPQ = Recc. AB. 1 σιτία IB: σιτία H, + διπλάσιον B | κ. 5ς: σὺ δὲ L, καὶ — P | ἐφ' ἐκάστης ἡμέρας (τε P) καὶ ὥρας B | * Mg 117 | λεπτύνη P: λεπτύνης A (-εις) Q

MSS HILPQVW = Recc. ABC. § 4. (4) 1. 1 τὸ δὲ (καὶ τὸ I) παιδίον I: τὸ δὲ παιδάριον B, ὁ δὲ νεότερος L, ὁ δὲ W, ἡ δὲ V 2 εἶπεν HIVW: ἡ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα B, ὑπολαβὼν τῷ βασιλεῖ λέγει L, pr. ἡσυχῇ καὶ πραεῖα ἰ φωνῇ C | δέομαι . . . μοι: ἄκουσον, ὦ θεῖε βασιλεῦ C | βασιλεῦ: — L. : δέσποτα HI | μου A: — PC, δὴ Q | τὰ συμβάντα μοι A: τὰ συμβ. τῷ ᾧ παιδαρίῳ Q, pr. καὶ ἐρῶσὶ (I. σοι) πάντα I, + καὶ ἐρῶσιν πάντα H, + ὁ νόμενος καὶ σιγνάζοντα L, + rubricam ἀπόκρισις τοῦ παιδὸς πρὸς σολομῶντα περὶ τοῦ δαίμονος τοῦ ὀρνίαν H | post τὰ συμβ. in spatio puro minore a man. prim. relicto (om. μοι) adscr. καὶ ὅσα ἔχει τὸ παιδάριον P^c 3 μετὰ ἢ ἀπόλυσιν ἡμῶν HI | ἡμᾶς: + πάντας B | ἐκ: ἀπὸ B, — C | τῆς γαστρίας H | τὸν τοῦ ναοῦ ἔργον (— τοῦ θεοῦ) L | τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ναῶν V | 117 (3^o) — W 4 καὶ μετὰ HI | δυσμὰς Q | ἐν: μετὰ H, — V | ἐν . με: καὶ ὀνίας γενομένης L | ἀναπαυθῆναι HI | * H f. 2^r | μοι P | ἔρχεται V | πον. δαίμ. LC: πον. (-ῶν H) πνεῦμα HI, ἐν τῶν πονηρῶν κμόνιων (-όνων Q) B 5 * P f. 1^v | καὶ ἀφαιρ. . . ἀντίχειρον (I. 7): καὶ τὰ ἡμισυ τῶν μισθῶν μου λαμβάνων· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα θυλάζοντά μοι (in arg. lat. scr. man. rec. θηλάζοντα, *sugendum*) τὸν δάκτυλον τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ως πρῶτ' L | ἀφαιρεται HI, διαφεριητε (I. διαφαιρεῖται) V | ἀπ' ἐμοῦ — C καὶ (1^o) . . . μου: καὶ τὰ ἡμισυ σιτία B | καὶ (2^o) . . . χεῖρα: εἴτα λαμβ. καὶ τ. δεξ. μου χεῖρα B, — C | κ. θηλαζ.: θηλαζ. δὲ (— V) καὶ C 7 τὸν ντίχειρά μου B, τὸν τῆς δεξιᾶς μου χειρὸς (+ τὸν V) ἀντίχειραν C | καὶ οὐ: ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φοβοῦ L | * L f. 8^{v1} | θλιβ. . . ψυχῆς LC: θλιβ. τ. ψυχ. ου HI, θλιβομένη μου ἡ ψυχὴ B, + οὕτως W, + καὶ οὕτως V, + οὕτω B | ου — LC 8 λεπτ.: — H, λεπτύνεσθαι C | καθ': ἐφ' I | ἡμέραν: + ὡς 117, δέσποτα, καὶ οὐκ ἔχω πονεῖν δρᾶσαι καὶ ἀποστᾶν (sic) ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ πονηρὸν καὶ κἀκίστον δαιμόνιον, τοιοῦτως (ω supra o scr. prim. man.) πάσχον-ος) L

§ 5. (5) 1. 9 Καὶ — LC | ἐγὼ — L | ὁ β. Σολ. II: Σολ. ὁ βασιλ. H, βασιλ. — BC | εἰσῆλθα Q, εἰσῆλθε L, ἦλθον HI | ἐν τῷ ναῷ C | εἰς . . αὐτῷ (p. 10, l. 2); ἐκ τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ· ἐν λύπῃ ἁλλ(ῇ) καὶ ἐξ ὕλης τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξομολογούμενος καὶ προσερχόμενος L

τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐδεήθην ἐξ ὅλης μου τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξομολο-
 γούμενος αὐτῷ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ὅπως παραδοθῇ ὁ δαίμων
 εἰς τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ ἐξουσιάσω αὐτόν. 6. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ
 προσεύχεσθαι με πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐδόθη
 5 μοι * παρὰ κυρίου Σαβαώθ διὰ Μιχαήλ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου δακτυ-
 λίδιον ἔχον σφραγίδα γλυφῆς λίθου τιμίον· 7. καὶ εἶπέ μοι·
 « λάβε, Σολομῶν υἱὸς Δαυίδ, δῶρον ὃ ἀπέστειλέ σοι κύριος ὁ
 θεὸς ὁ ὑψιστος Σαβαώθ, καὶ συγκλείσεις πάντα τὰ δαιμόνια
 τὰ τε θηλυκὰ καὶ ἀρσενικὰ καὶ * δι' αὐτῶν οἰκοδομήσεις
 10 τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐν τῷ τὴν σφραγίδα ταύτην σε φέρειν τοῦ
 θεοῦ. »

MSS HILPQVW = Recc. ABC. 1 καὶ — V | ἐδεόμην C | μου — A
 τῆς — IW | ἐξομολ. αὐτῷ (τὸν θεὸν H, — L) W: τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐξομολ-
 γούμην αὐτῷ C, — B 2 νύκταν κ. ἡμερ. HL, νύκτα κ. ἡμέρα I, νυκτὸς κ.
 ἡμέρας B, νυκτὸς κ. ἡμέρας V, compendiis scr. W | ὅπως: πῶς Q | παρα-
 δώσει κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον εἰς κτλ. L | παραδοθῇ: παραδοθεῖν H,
 + μοι B, + με V 3 τὰς — P | μου: αὐτοῦ L, — Q | ἐξουσιάζω Q,
 ἐπεξουσιάζει L | § 6. καί: κ om. W in literis rubricandis | ἐγένετο: ἐν τῷ
 γένετο H 4 με: om. sed προσεύχεσθαι scr. I, μοι P, αὐτόν L, + καθ'
 ἐκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ νύκταν C | πρὸς τὸν θεὸν HI: τὸν κύριον L, τῷ θεῷ C,
 — B | τοῦ . . . γῆς ILC: — B, κ. τ. γῆς — H, + μετὰ συντετριμένης καρ-
 διας ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ L 5 μοι: αὐτῷ L | * I f. 79^r | παρὰ
 κυρ. Σαβ.: — L, + χάρις B | διὰ . . . Ἱερουσαλὴμ (l. 9f): σφραγῆς· ὑπὸ μιχαήλ
 τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου· λέγων· ποιεῖ οὕτως σολομῶν καὶ δῶς αὐτῷ τὸ δακτυλίδιον·
 τιμιώτερον εἶδιν λίθου τιμίον L, add. L glossam de anuli signo, v. infra, p. 100*
 et fig. p. 101* | ἀρχαγγ. αὐτοῦ P | δακτύλιον C 6 ἔχον IQBn: ἔχων HPW,
 ἔχω V | σφραγίδας W, compendio scr. forte idem V | γλυφῆς: κολαπτὴν I
 | λίθου τιμίον: λίθιδος τιμὴν C, pr. ἐκ B, add. glossam de anuli signo HI, v.
 infra, p. 100* | § 7. μοι: μου P, με Q 7 Σολ.: + βασιλεῦ P, βασιλεὺς Q |
 οὐκ VW | δῶρον — HI | ὁ HIP: ὁν Q, ὅπερ C | ἀποστέλλει I, ἀπέστειλάν
 σι V | ὁ θεός HB: — IC | κυρ. Σαβ. ὑψ. Ἰσραὴλ C 8 ὁ ὑψ. — Q |
 καὶ συγκλ.: ἵνα συγκλείσῃς C | πάντα τοὺς δαίμονας Q | δαίμ. τῆς γῆς P
 9 τὰ τε . . . ἀρσεν. (ἀσεν. H) HI: τὰ ἀρσηνικὰ κ. θυλικὰ V, — W,
 ἀρσενικὰ κ. θήλεα B 9 καὶ δεῖ μετ' αὐτῶν ἀνοικοδομησάι P | Q
 f. 11^v | δι': μετ' Q | ἀνοικοδομήσεις QV 10 τὴν Ἱερουσ.: ναὸν κυ-
 ρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου, add. glossam de anuli signo C, v. infra, p. 101* | ἐν
 . . . θεοῦ ego: τὴν σφραγίδα ταύτην σε φέρειν τοῦ θεοῦ I, φέρειν σε τ.
 σφρ. ταυτ. τ. θ. (add. glossam de anuli signo, v. infra, p. 100*) B, τῇ σφρα-
 γίδι ταύτῃ ἧ ἐδωκέ σοι ὁ θεός H, ἐν δὲ τὸ τὴν σφρ. ταυτ. φορεῖν cum
 sequentibus conjuncta C, λαβὼν ὁ σολομῶν τὴν σφρ. cum sequentibus con-
 juncta L

8. Καὶ περιχαρὲς γενόμενος ὕμνον καὶ ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς· καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον ἐκέλευσα ἐλθεῖν πρὸς με τὸ παιδίον καὶ ἀπέδωκα αὐτῷ τὴν σφραγίδα, 9. καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· »ἐν ἣ ἂν ὥρα ἐπιστῇ σοι τὸ δαίμόνιον ῥίπον τὸ δακτυλίδιον τοῦτο εἰς τὸ στηθός τοῦ δαίμονος λέγων αὐτῷ· >εὐρο καλεῖ σε * ὁ Σολομῶν, < καὶ δρομαίως παραγίνου πρὸς με μηδὲν λογισάμενος ὧν μέλλει σοι φοβῆσθαι.«

10. Καὶ ἰδὼν κατὰ τὴν εἰθισμένην ὥραν ἦλθεν ὁ Ὁρνίας τὸ

MSS HILPQVW = Recc. ABC. § 8. (6) l. 1 Καὶ — LV | περιχ. . . ἐπαυρ.: εὐχαριστήσας κύριον τὸν θεὸν τ. οὐρ. εἴτις (l. ὅστις) εἰσακούει τὴν δέησιν καὶ προσευχὴν τῶν προσευχομένων καὶ τὸ ζητούμενον, οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς (ἔστην ἔως) L | γενομ.: + ἐγὼ σολομῶν B, + (ὁ βασιλεὺς H) ἐπὶ τοῦτο (τοῦτον H) πάλιν HI | κ. ἐδοξ. — HI | τὸν — P | τοῦ θεοῦ V 2 τοῦ . . . γῆς — HI | παύριον W | ἔκελ. ἐλθ. (ἔωσθην H, l. ἐπελθεῖν?) . . . παιδ. (l. 3) HI: ἐκελ. τὸν παῖδα (τὸ παιδάριον V) VW, ἐκάλεσα τὸ παῖδα (νεόν L) BL 3 καὶ — L | ἀπέδωτο L, ἐπέδωκα P | αὐτῷ: — L, αὐτὸν W | τὴν σφραγίδα A: τὸ δακτυλίδιον B, τὸ δακτύλιον (-ίον V) VW, + ταύτην I, + τοῦ θεοῦ L | § 9. κ. εἶπον αὐτῷ IPW (αὐτόν) H (εἶπεν) L: — Q, κ. φήσας αὐτῷ V, + λάβε τοῦτο καὶ B 4 ἐν . . . δαίμονος (l. 5): πορεύου ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον σου· μετὰ δὲ ἀφεθῆναι τοῦ ἔργου καὶ ἐσπέρα(ν) ἥδη γενέσθαι καὶ ἐλθόν(τος) τοῦ πονηροῦ πνεύματος ὅπως ποιῆσαι τὸ πρότερον· ῥῆψε τὸ δακτυλίδιον ἐπάνω τούτου L | ἐν ἰα ὥρ < V | ὥραν H | ἐπιστῇ σοι: ἐπιστήσῃ H, ἐπεστή σοι I, ἔλθῃ πρὸς σὲ B, σοι — C | ῥιπ. . . δαίμ. H (ῥ. τουτ. τ. δακτ. . . δαίμονιον) Q: (εἰς τὸ in mg. sin.) στηθ. τ. δαίμονιον ῥ. τουτ. τ. δακτ. P, ῥ. αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τ. στ. τ. δαίμ. (+ τὸ δακτ. V) ὃ καὶ ἔλαβον τοῦτο παρὰ θεοῦ Σαβαώθ C, ῥ. τ. δακτ. τουτ. ὃ ἔλαβον παρὰ κυρίου σαβαώθ· καὶ ῥίπον αὐτὸ εἰς τ. στηθ. τ. δαίμονος I 5 λέγων αὐτῷ HC: καὶ εἶπὲ αὐτῷ IB, εἶτα εἶπέ L, + ἐπ' ὀνόματι (-τος Q) τοῦ θεοῦ B 6 * P f. 2^r | ὁ: — C, + βασιλεὺς B | Σολ.: + ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ παντοκράτορος (— καὶ . . . φοβῆσαι) L | δρομαῖος P, δρομαῖος I | παραγένον V, ἔρχον B | δραμῶν παραγ. πρὸς με δρομαίως ἐπειπὼν καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν δαίμονα φθαλά· πιστηφοῦ (πιστιροῦ V)· ἀλακαρτανάκ· C | μηδὲν . . . φοβ (l. 7) (pr. καὶ) C: μὴ διαλογιζόμενος ἃ μέλλει σοι λέγειν I, καὶ μὴ ἀμελήσεις εἰς ἄπερ (t. 3^r) μέλλει σοι λέγειν H, μηδὲν δειλιάσας (δειλιάζων Q) ἢ (μὴ δὲ P) φοβηθεῖς (-ῆς P) ἐν ᾧ μέλλεις ἀκούειν παρὰ (ὑπὸ P) τοῦ δαίμονος. (7) καὶ λαβὼν τὸ παιδάριον τὸ δακτυλίδιον ἀπῆλθεν B

§ 10. l. 8 Pro § 10 habet L hoc: λαβὼν δὲ ὁ νεανίας τὸ δακτυλίδιον πορευθῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ θείου ἔργου· ἐργαζόμενος εἰτα ἐσπέρα γενέσθαι· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου σχολάσαντες· ἦλθον πάντες οἱ τεχνῆ(ται)· ἐπὶ τὰς κατοικεῖας αὐτῶν· ἦλθε δὲ καὶ ὁ νέος ἐπὶ τὴν κατοικεῖαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ πονηρό(α-τος) δαίμων καθὼς τὸ σῆνθες, τούτου | εἰθισμ. Kurz: ἡθισμ. BC Is, ὀρισμ. HI | εἰσῆλθεν VW

χαλεπὸν δαιμόνιον ὡς πῦρ φλεγόμενον ὥστε λαβεῖν κατὰ τὸ
 σύνηθες τὸν μισθὸν τοῦ παιδαρίου. 11. τὸ δὲ παιδάριον κατὰ
 τὸ ῥηθὲν αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Σολομῶντος ἔρριψε τὸ δακτυλίδιον
 ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος τοῦ δαίμονος λέγων αὐτῷ· »δεῦρο καλεῖ σε ὁ
 5 Σολομῶν,« καὶ ἀπῆει δρομαίως πρὸς τὸν Σολομῶντα. 12. ὁ δὲ
 δαίμων ἐκραύγασε λέγων τῷ παιδαρίῳ· »τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας;
 λάβε τὸ δακτυλίδιον καὶ ἐπίδος αὐτὸ πρὸς Σολομῶντα, κἀγώ
 σοι δώσω τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον πάσης τῆς γῆς· μόνον μὴ
 με ἀπαγάγῃς πρὸς Σολομῶντα.« 13. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ τὸ παι-
 10 δάριον· »ἤ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, οὐ μὴ σε ἀνέξομαι ἐὰν
 μὴ ἀπαγάγω σε πρὸς Σολομῶντα.« 14. * καὶ ἦλθε τὸ παιδάριον
 καὶ εἶπε τῷ Σολομῶντι· »βασιλεῦ Σολομῶν, ἡγαγόν σοι τὸν

MSS HILPQVW = Recc. ABC. 1 φλέγων HI | ὥστε ... Σολ. (I, 7)
 — Q | ὅπως τε λάβῃ P | κατὰ τ. σύνηθ.: — P, post παιδάριον ponit C
 2 § 11. τὸ ... δαίμονος: ἐν τῷ ἅμα ῥήψας τὴν σφραγίδα αὐτοῦ ἄνω τοῦ-
 του L | κατὰ ... Σολ.: — C, cf. not. ad I. 5 3 τὸ ῥηθὲν: τὸ ρη-
 θέντ < H, τὸ ρηθέντι I, τῷ ῥηφθέντι Is, τὸ προσταχθέν P | αὐτῷ: αὐ-
 τοῦ H, — P | Σολ. H: βασιλέως Σ. I, βασιλέως P | τὸ δακτ.: τὴν σφρα-
 γίδα C 4 ἐπὶ: παρὰ H | δαιμόνιον P | λεγ. αὐτ. I: καὶ λεγ. αὐτὸ H,
 εἶτα λέγ < L, καὶ εἶπεν PVW | ὁ: — C, + βασιλεὺς P 5 Σολ.: + ἐν
 τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ παντοκράτορος L, + ἐπεῖπεν δὲ καὶ τὰ ῥηθέντα
 ὀνόματα C | καὶ ... Σολομῶντα: — LC | ἀπῆει Kurz: ἀποίει HI, ἀπεί Is,
 ἀπῆγε P, ἀπῆγαγε Bncn | τὸν — I | Σολ. HI: βασιλέα P | § 12. Pro
 § 12 habet L hoc: ἀκούσας (f. 9¹¹) ταῦτα ὁ δαίμων βρονχίζόμενος λέγ(ει): τίς
 ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ σολομῶν 6 ἐκραύγασε IP: ἐκραύγαξεν H, ἀνέκραξεν C |
 λεγ. τ. παιδ. I: λέγων· παιδάριον PVW, τ. παιδ. — H | ἐποίησας: + πρὸς
 με P 7 δακτύλιον W | κ. ἐπίδ. αὐτὸ (αὐτὸν H) HI: — BC | πρὸς Σολ.:
 IVW: πρ. τὸν Σ. H, ἀπ' ἐμοῦ P | κἀγώ σοι δώσω HI: κἀγὼ ἀποδώσω P,
 ἐγώ σοι δώσω Q, καὶ δώσω σοι C 8 τὸ ἀργ. κ. — B | πάσης — B |
 μόνον: ἐὰν W, + λάβε τοῦτο ἀπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ B | μὴ: μοι H 9 ἀγάγῃς VW
 | ἀπάγῃς με B | Σολομῶνα P | § 13. (8) Pro § 13 habet L hoc: καὶ ὁ
 νεανίας· ἔλθε καὶ εἶδε | καὶ ... παιδ. HI (— αὐτῷ) V; τὸ δὲ παιδ. λέγει
 (εἶπε W) πρὸς τὸν δαίμονα BW 10 τοῦ: — HW, μον V | Ἰσρ. — H |
 σε: — W, σου Q | ἐὰν ... Σολ.: ἀλλὰ δεῦρο ἔλθέ P, ἀλλὰ δεῦρο ἀκολουθῇ
 μοι Q 11 σε ἀγάγω C | § 14. Pro § 14 habet L: ὁ δὲ ἀκόλουθος γενό-
 μενος ὁ δαίμων ἦλθε ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν οἰκίαν | * H f. 3^v | hic scr. H
 rubricam hanc: ἔλενσις τοῦ χαλεποῦ δαίμον(ος) ὀρνίαν πρὸς σολομῶν(τα) |
 ἦλθε: ἔλθων (ἐλθὼν P) δρομαίως B 12 καὶ εἶπε HIC: χαίρων (χαῖρον P)
 πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα λέγων (λέγον P) B, pr. πρὸς τὸν Σολομῶντα χαῖρον (-ων W)
 βασιῶν (καὶ βασιτάων W) τὸν δαίμονα C | τῷ Σολομῶντι H: τῷ βασιλεῖ I,
 — BC | βασ. Σολ. IC: — HB | σοι HI: — BC

δαίμονα καθὼς ἐνετείλω μοι, καὶ ἰδοὺ στήκει πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν
ἔξω δεδεμένος καὶ κράζων μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ διδόναι μοι τὸ ἀρ-
γύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον πάσης τῆς γῆς τοῦ μή με ἀπαγαγεῖν αὐ-
τὸν πρὸς σέ.»

- 5 II. Καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐγὼ Σολομῶν ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ θρό-
νου μου εἶδον τὸν δαίμονα φρίσσοντα καὶ τρέμοντα καὶ εἶπον
αὐτῷ· »τίς εἶ σύ, καὶ τίς ἡ κλησίς σου;« ὁ δαίμων εἶπεν· »Ὁρνίας
καλοῦμαι.« 2. καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· * λέγε μοι ἐν ποίῳ ζῳδῶ κει-
σαι.« καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ δαίμων λέγει· »Υδροχόφ· * καὶ τοὺς ἐν

MSS HILPQVW — Recc. ABC. 1 καθ' ἐνετ.: βασιλεῦ, ὡς ἐκέλευσας B |
μη (I. μοι) ἐνετ. V | μοι: + δέσποτα BC | στηκ. HI: στήκεται B, ἡστίκη V.
ἡστίκει W | πρὸ IB: πρὸς H, παρὰ C | τ. πυλ. I: τὸν πυλῶνα H, τῶν
θυρῶν (+ τῆς αὐλῆς B) τῆς βασιλείας σου BC 2 ἔξω HI: — BC |
δεδεμ. κ. κραζ. I (— καὶ) H: δεόμενον κραυγάζει VW, κράζων κ. δεό-
μενος P, κραυγάζων κ. δεόμενος Q | φωνῇ μεγάλην H | διδούς
P | μοι IQ: ἔμοι P, με C, — H | τὸ ἀργ. . . χρυσ. HB: τ. χρ. κ.
τ. ἀργ. IW, τὸ χρ. κ. πάντας τοὺς θησαυροὺς V 3 πάσης HIW: — BV
| τοῦ . . . σε — VW | τοῦ IB: καὶ H | με — B | ἀπαγ. με I |
ἀγαγεῖν P

C, II. parallela v. infra in MS D III 1—10. (9) I. 5 Καὶ ταῦτα . . . τρέ-
μοντα: ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ σολομῶν τὴν τοιοῦτην ἐκπετάσας τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν
οὐρανόν· εὐχαριστήσας κύριον τὸν θεὸν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ποιήτην τὸν τὰ
πάντα κτίσαντα· καὶ δύνανται οἱ ποιήματα αὐτοῦ κτήματα αὐτοῦ εἶσιν τὰ
πάντα L | Καὶ HB: — IC | ἀκ. ταυτ. — B | ἐγὼ HI: — BC | Σολ.
HIB: — C, pr. ὁ H | ἀναστ. HI: ἀνέστη B, ἀνέστην C | ἀπὸ: εἰπὸ V,
ἐπὶ W 6 μου: αὐτοῦ B, + καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω εἰς τὰ πρόθυρα τῆς αὐλῆς
τῶν βασιλείων αὐτοῦ καὶ P, + καὶ ἐξῆλθεν (ἔξω . . . καλοῦμαι, I. 8, omissis) Q,
+ καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὰ πρόθυρα τὰ βασιλικά καὶ C | εἶδον: ἐθεώρει P |
φρίττοντα I, φρίττων H | τρέμων. H | * P f. 2^v | καὶ (2^o): εἴτα L | εἶ-
πον HIW: λέγει LPV 7 αὐτῷ IP: αὐτὸν HC, — L | τίς εἶ σύ AP: — C,
+ καὶ πόθεν εἶ L | κ. τίς . . . σου A: — P, τίς καλεῖ W (-ῆς) V | ὁ δαίμ.
εἶπεν: ὁ δὲ ἔφη PC | ἐγὼ Ὁρν. P 8 καλ. PC: καλοῦμεν L, — HI | § 2.
(10) κ. εἶπον αὐτ. ego: κ. εἶπ < αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς V, κ. εἶπον W, εἶπον οὖν αὐτῷ I,
ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτὸν λέγων H, εἶπε δὲ ὁ σολομῶν L, ὁ δὲ (καὶ ὁ P) σολ. λέγει B |
* Mg 1320 | μοι: + οὖν VW, + ὦ δαίμων B | ἐν C: — AB | ποίῳ ζῳδ.
κεις. P: ποίῳ ζῳδῶν κεις. Q, πρὶν ἐξωδιώκω (ἐξάδιώκο H, ἐξειδιώκω L) σε A,
+ λέγε μοι ποῦ ἀγωνίζεσε L 9 καὶ . . . λέγει: κ. ἀπεκριθὲν τὸ δαιμόνιον
καὶ εἶπεν C, λέγει δὲ L, ὁ δὲ εἶπεν B | λέγει H: — I: | Ὑδροχόφ κ. τοὺς:
— LVW per homoeoarcton | ἰδρωοχρῶς, ἰδροχόω (p. 14, l. 1) H, ἰδρωοχρῶς,
ὑδροχρῶ (p. 14, l. 1) I, νδρωοχρῶ L, compendio scr. W | * I f. 80^r | τῶν
κειμένων Q, ἐν Ὑδροχόφ — PQ

Ὑδροχόῳ κειμένους δι' ἐπιθυμίαν τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Παρθένον ζῳδίον κεκληκότες ἀποπνίγω. 3. εἰμὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπνοτικόν, εἰς τρεῖς μορφὰς μεταβαλλόμενος, ποτὲ * μὲν ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἔχων ἐπιθυμίαν εἰδὼς παιδίον θηλυκὼν ἀνήβων, καὶ ἀπτομένου μου 5 ἀλγῶσι πάνν. ποτὲ δὲ ὑπόπτερος γίνομαι ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐρανίους τόπους. ποτὲ δὲ ὄψιν λέοντος ἐμφαίνω. 4. ἀπόγονος δέ εἰμι * ἀρχαγγέλου τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ θεοῦ, καταργοῦμαι δὲ ὑπὸ Οὐριήλ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου.» 5. ὅτε δὲ ἤκουσα ἐγὼ Σολομῶν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου ἠὲ ξάμην καὶ ἐδόξασα τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς

MSS HILPQVW = Recc. ABC. 1 κειμένους HP: κειμένος I, κείμεαι C, καιομένους conj. Cr | δι' ... κεκληκ. ego (τῶν γονέων monuit Diels, γυναικῶν vel γυναικῶν >certe recte< James): δι' ἐπιθ. τῶν γονέων ἐπὶ τι (τὴν W) παρθένῳ ζωδίῳ (ζῳδίον W) καικληκότες C, δι' ἐπιθυμιῶν τὸν λόγον (-ων H) ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον (-ων H) τὸ (τὴν L, ὅτι H) ἐξῳδίον (ἐξῳδίον H) κεκληκότες (κεκληκῶ L) A, δι' ἐπιθυμιῶν γυναικῶν (γυναικῶν Q) ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον (spatium purum minus reliquit P) τῷ ζωδίῳ κέκληται B, τῷ ζωδ. κεκλ. pro glossa marg. habet Cr 2 ἀποπν. BW: ἐπεπνίγῃ V, ἐπάγω A, pr. τούτους B | § 3. εἰμὶ ... ὑπνοτ.: — A | εἰμὶ: εἰ μὴ PQV FI | ὑπνοτικόν P, ὑπνοτικῶν Q, ὑπνοτικός monuit Diels, forte recte 3 εἰς B: — C, καὶ εἰς τοῦτο A | μεταβαλ. A: μεταβάλλομαι B, μεταλαμβάνόμενος C | ποτὲ μὲν: ὁπόταν B | * H f. 4^r | ὡς: ὅς V, οἱ B | ἄνθρωποι B | ἔχων (+ τὴν W) ... ἀνηβ. C: ἔχων ἔτι (ἔτει H, ἐπὶ L) εἰμὶ (ἡμεῖν H, — L) ἐνὶ τα δον (μετὰ δῶν L) θυλικὸν (-ῶν L) εὐσμον (εἴμι L) A, ἔρχονται εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν (-ίαν Q) γυναικῶν ἐγὼ μεταμορφοῦμαι εἰς (ὡς Q) θῆλυ εὐκοσμον B 4 καὶ — C | ἀπτ. μου B: ἀπὸ ὁμον V, ἀπὸ ὦμον W, δι' αὐτῶν H, δι' αὐτόν I. fortasse ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, vel ἀπ' ὦμων, vel ἀπομνύμενοι 5 ἀλγ. πάνν HIV: ἀλγῶ σοι π. W, οἱ ἄνθρωποι καθ' ὕπνον ἐμπαῖζω αὐτοῖς (αὐτοὺς Q) B | πάνν — L | δὲ: — Q, + πάλιν B | ὑποπτ.: γνότερον C | γένομαι HIQ | ἐπὶ: ὑπὸ B, πρὸς W | ἐπὶ ... τοπ.: καὶ τ. ἐπουρανίους ἐπὶ εἰσέρχομαι τοπ. L 6 τοπ.: κόλπους W | ποτὲ (δὲ — H) ... ἐμφ. HI: πότε δὲ καὶ ὡς λέων (λέοντας Q) B, πότε μὲν ὄψει (καὶ πότε ὄψιν W) λέοντος ἐπιφέρομαι C, add. glossam marginaliam in textum insertam: ὑπὸ πάντων (+ δὲ L) τῶν δαιμονίων (δαιμόνων H) λαβόμενος A, quam in καὶ (— Q) κελεύομαι ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν δαιμόνων corrigere voluit B | § 4. ἀπογ. ... θεοῦ H (— ἀρχαγγ.) I: — C | δὲ — P | * L f. 5^{r2} 7 ἀρχ. ... θεοῦ: — L, pr. τοῦ Q, ἀρχ. Οὐριήλ etc. P | καταργ. ... ἀρχαγγ. I (— δὲ) H: — P | δὲ — Q | Οὐριήλ τ. ἀρχ. ego: Μιχ. τ. ἀρχ. A, + τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ θεοῦ (supra omissa) L, τ. ἀρχ. Οὐριήλ τ. δυν. τ. θεοῦ Q, τ. δυν. τ. θεοῦ οὐρουήλ τοῦ (bis V) ἀρχαγγέλου C 8 § 5. (11) ὅτε (ὅταν I) ... Σολ.: HI: ἐγὼ (+ δὲ P) Σ. ἀκούσας B, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Σ. C, πότε οὖν Σ. L | τὸ δν. τ. ἀρχ. IBC: — HL, + μιχαήλ I 9 ἠὲ ξάμ. A; εὐξάμενος BC | καὶ — LB | ἐδοξ. HIB: δοξάσας C. — L | τ. θεόν: pr. κύριον Q, + καὶ κύριον P | τὸν ... γῆς: τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου C, τὸν θεὸν τὸν δόντα μοι τὴν χάριν ταύτην· καὶ εἶδα πνεύματα ἀσώματα· εἰς σχῆμα μεταβαλλόμενα σεσωματωμένα L

γῆς, καὶ σφραγίσας αὐτὸν ἔταξα εἰς τὴν ἐργασίαν τῆς λιθοτομίας, τοῦ τέμνειν λίθους τοῦ ναοῦ ἄρθέντας διὰ θαλάσσης Ἀραβίας τοὺς κειμένους παρὰ αἰγιαλόν. 6. φοβουμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σιδήρου προσπαῦσαι ἔφη μοι· »δέομαί σου, βασιλεῦ Σολομῶν, * ἵασόν με ἐν ἀνέσει εἶναι, καὶ γὰρ σοι ἀναγαγῶ πάντας τοὺς δαίμονας. 7. μὴ θέλοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ὑποταγῆναι μοι, ἠϋξάμην τὸν ἀρχάγγελον Οὐριήλ ἐλθεῖν μοι εἰς βοήθειαν· καὶ εὐθέως * εἶδον τὸν ἀρχάγγελον Οὐριήλ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατερχόμενον πρὸς με. 8. καὶ ἐκέλευσε ἀνελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης κήτη καὶ ἐξήρανε

MSS HILPQVW = Recc. ABC. 1 σφραγίσαν H | αὐτὸν: + μετὰ δακτυλιδιον εἶτα λαμβάνει ὁ ἀναγινώσκων μετετέρων λίθων βαρυτάτων· καὶ ἐπιθένεν ἐπάνω τοῦ ὀχλουμένου ἕως βοῆσαι· ὅταν βοῇσιν ὁ ὀχλούμενος· ὑπὸ-
ταξον τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀκάθαρτον τοῦ ἐξελεῖν· καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἐξελεῖται ἀπὸ
ὀνόματι τοῦ ἐπουρανίου βασιλέως θεοῦ ἡμῶν· καὶ τῆς σφραγίδος τῆς δωθήσης
τῷ βασιλεῖ σολομῶν(τι)· καὶ σφραγίσας αὐτὸν L | ἔταξα: + αὐτὸν C |
τὴν — LC | τῆς — L | λιθοτόμον C 2 τοῦ τεμν. . . ναοῦ — L |
τέμνειν HIP: τεμῖν W, τέμνει V, κόπτειν Q | τοὺς λιθ. P | τ. ναοῦ: ἐν
τῷ ναῷ B, — C | ἄρθεντ. HI (-τος) L: ἀχθέντας B, τοὺς συναχθέντας VW |
διὰ: ὑπὸ L | Ἀραβ. BC: ἀράβω L, ἀνάγων H, ἀναλαβὼν I 3 τοὺς . . .
αἰγιαλ.: — C | αἰγιαλόν Q | § 6. φοβ. δὲ αὐτ. H(L): φοβούμενος δὲ αὐ-
τός W (αὐτοὺς) I (— αὐτός) P, ἐφοβεῖτο οὖν Q | φοβουμ. . . προσπαυσ.:
φοβούμενος δὲ αὐτό(ς) τὴν ἀπόφασιν τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ τὸν λήθ(ων) ἦνα
μὴ πρὸς ψαῦσι τὸ σῦδιον φοβούμενος V, φοβουμένους δὲ αὐτοῦ· λάβε ὁ ἀνα-
γινώσκων σῖδηρον (in marg. lat. signum O+ scr. man. rec.) ἄλυσσον ἐπίθες ἐπὶ
τοῦ ὀχλουμένου τῷ τραχείῳ καὶ δῆσον σφόδρα ἕως οὐ βοῇσιν· φοβουμένου
δὲ αὐτοῦ etc. L | τοῦ σιδήρου A: τὸ σιδήρω W, τὸν σῖδηρον B 4 προσ-
παῦσαι LQW: οὐ προσένημαι I, οὐ προσπαύσω μεν H, post προς spatio
puro VI litt. relicto ad marg. sin. man. prim. scr. πάντ < ἢ πρὸς ταῦτα P,
quod Fl τραυτὸν εἰπὸς ταῦτα legit | ἔφη μοι L (μιν) H: καὶ λέγει μοι P,
λέγει Q, ἔφη ὁ δαίμων W, ὁ δέμων ἔφη V, ἔφη δὲ ὁ ὀρνίας I | σου: σοι W
| * L f. 9^v1 5 με: μοι W, — L | ἐν ἀνερ. IL: ἔναν ἐσοι H, ἄνετον BC |
εἶναι: ἦν αα H, + μοι L, + με B | ἀναγαγῶ IP: ἀνανάγω in ἀνάγω corr. H,
ἀγαγῶ C, ἄγω L, εὐαγγέλω Q | πάντα τὰ δαιμόνια BC 6 § 7. μὴ . . .
μοι: καὶ μὴ θέλοντα (-τες W) ὑποταγῆναι cum δαιμόνια conjuncta C ·| θέ-
λων A | αὐτοῦ: αὐτοὺς HL, αὐτός I | ὑπὸταγόν μοι L | ἠϋξαμ. . . βοηθ.:
ἠϋξαμ.: pr. ἐγὼ δὲ C, εὐξάμενος B, εἴξαμ- V | ἠϋξαμ. . . βοηθ.: ἠϋξάμην
τὸν θεὸν καὶ κατελθὼν τὸν ἀρχάγγελον οὐρου ἐλ ὑποταγῆν μοι· εἰς βοή-
θειαν L | τὸ ἀρχάγγελον V, τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου B 7 οὐρου ἐλ IW | ἐλθεῖν:
pr. τοῦ C, συνελθεῖν B | μοι HLQ: με P, — IC | * P f. 3^r 8 τ. ἀρχ.
Οὐρ.: αὐτὸν C | οὐρου ἐλ IC, οὐρου ἐλ L | τῶν οὐρανῶν B | ἐρχόμενον C
| πρὸς με — L 9 § 8. (12) ἐκελ. LB: ἐκέλευσα C, ἐκάλεσεν HI, + ὁ ἄγ-
γελος B | ἀνελθ. (καὶ ἦλθον L) . . . κήτη A: κήτη (κῆτον W) θαλάσσης ἐλ-
θεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου BC | καὶ . . . μέριδα A: — BC | ἐξήρανε H

αὐτῶν τὴν μερίδα ἔκλειψεν αὐτοῦ τὴν μοῖραν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, κακείνως καὶ οὕτως ὑπέταξε τὸν δαίμονα τὸν Ὁρνίαν τὸν μέγαν τοῦ κόπτειν λίθους καὶ συντελεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ ναοῦ ὃν ᾠκοδόμουν ἐγὼ Σολομῶν. 9. καὶ πάλιν ἐδόξασα τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκέλευσα περιέναι τὸν Ὁρνίαν εἰς τὴν μοῖραν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτῷ τὴν σφραγίδα λέγων· ἄπελθε καὶ ἄγαγέ μοι ὥδε τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν δαιμονίων.»

III. Ὁ δὲ Ὁρνίας λαβὼν τὸ δακτυλίδιον ἀπῆλθε πρὸς τὸν Βεελ*ζεβουὺλ καὶ ἔφη αὐτῷ· δεῦρο καλεῖ σε ὁ Σολομῶν. 2. ὁ δὲ Βεελζεβουὺλ λέγει αὐτῷ· λέγε μοι, * τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ Σολομῶν ὃν σὺ λέγεις; 3. ὁ δὲ Ὁρνίας ἔρριψε τὸ δακτυλίδιον εἰς τὸ στήθος τοῦ Βεελζεβουὺλ λέγων· καλεῖ σε Σολομῶν ὁ βασι-

MSS HILPQVW = Recc. ABC. 1 αὐτὸν L | μερίδαν H, μεριπα L | καὶ ... μοῖραν B: — A | ἔρριπεν αὐτὸν C | τὴν μοῖραν ... συντελεῖν (l. 3) — C 2 κακείνως κ. οὕτως ego: κακείνως κ. οὕτως H, κακείνως κ. οὕτως L καὶ οὕτως L, καὶ Q, κακείνῃ et postea spatium purum VII litt. habet P, »καὶ οὕτως scheint Glossen« Diels | ὑπέταξε: ὑπέταξα I, ἐκέλευσεν Q, + τὸ δαίμονιον τὸ μέγα καὶ ἐκέλευσεν P | τ. Ὁρ. τ. μεγ. HL: tr. I, τὸν μέγαν καὶ θρασὺν (θρασὺ Q) τ. Ὁρ. B 3 τοῦ — L | τοὺς λίθους P | καὶ ... Σολ.: πρὸς τὸν ναόν B | συντελῶν L | εἰς LV 4 ὃν A: ἦν C | Σολ.: pr. βασιλεὺς(ς) H, βασιλεύς V | § 9. καὶ πάλιν ... γῆς — C | πάλιν: οὕτως ἐγὼ Σολ. B | ἐδόξασαν L 5 τῆς — Q | γῆς: + ποιήτην B | ἐκέλευσα ... δαιμονίων (l. 7): ἐκέλευσα τὸν ὄρνιν συνπαρῆναι μοι τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν δαιμονίων καὶ δέδοκα αὐτὸν, τὴν σφραγίδα W | ἐκέλευσεν P | περιέναι (περιεῖναι L) ... τὴν (— L) μοι. αὐτ. (αὐτὸν I, αὐτῶν H) A: τὸν Ὁ. παρῆναι μὴ σὺν τῇ μύρᾳ αὐτοῦ V, ἐλθεῖν τὸν Ὁ. σὺν τῇ μοίρᾳ αὐτοῦ B 6 ἔδωκεν H, δέδωκα CL | αὐτῷ: αὐτὸν C, αὐτοῦ LB | τὸ σφραγίδιον B | λέγων: φήσαν αὐτὸν V, καὶ εἶπον I 7 καὶ — L | ἀναγαγέ I | ὥδε: ὦ I | τ δαιμ.: pr. πάντων I, + πάντων P, λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας μου Q

C. III. MSS HILPVW = Recc. ABC. (I3) c. III—XX 9 Ὁ δὲ ... γε νέσθαι om. Q 8 δακτύλιον C 9 constanter scr. βελζεβουήλ H, βελζεβονέλ L | βελζεβουήλ in βελζεβουὺλ corr. V | * H f. 5^r | Βεελζ.: + τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπὶ τῶν δαιμόνων P, δὲ ἦν ἑξαρχος τῶν δαιμονίων C add. insuper ἔχων το τὸ βασιλεῖ ἂν τω V | καὶ — P | ἔφη αὐτῷ IPC λέγει HL, + αὐτὸν H, + ὁ (— V) ὄρνις C | ὁ (I^o) HI: — LPC § 2. 10 λέγει αὐτῷ (— αὐτ. H) A: ἀκούσας ἔφη αὐτῷ P, ἀκούσας εἶπεν (| λέγε IPC: εἶπέ H, ἀνήγγελέ L | * L f. 9^{v2} | τίς: τί H, pr. τί ἐστὶν L οὗτος AP: αὐτός C | ὃν: ὢν I | σὺ: + μοι C 11 λέγεις: φῆς μοι P § 3. τὸ δακτύλιον V, τῷ δακτυλίῳ W | εἰς AP: ἐπὶ C 12 τῷ στήθει W | βελζεβουὺλ W, βελζεβουήλ V | λέγων: λέγει αὐτὸν H + αὐτῷ I | λέγων ... βασιλ. — L | δεῦρο καλεῖ HI | καλεῖς (— σε) | Σολ. ὁ βασ. PV (pr. ὁ) I: βασ. σολ. H (pr. ὁ) W

λεύς. 4. * καὶ ἀνέκραξεν ὁ Βεελζεβούλ ὡς ἀπὸ πυρὸς φλογὸς καιομένης μεγάλης καὶ ἀναστὰς ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ μετὰ βίας καὶ ἦλθε πρὸς με. 5. καὶ ὡς εἶδον ἐγὼ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν δαιμονίων ἐρχόμενον, ἐδόξασα τὸν θεὸν καὶ εἶπον. * «εὐλογητὸς εἶ, κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντακράτωρ ὁ δὸς τῷ παιδί σου Σολομῶντι τὴν τῶν σῶν θρόνων πάρεδρον σοφίαν καὶ ὑποτάξας εἰς ἐμὲ πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν δαιμόνων δύναμιν.» 6. καὶ ἐπηρώτησα αὐτὸν καὶ * εἶπον. «λέγε μοι, τίς εἶ σύ;» ὁ δαίμων * ἔφη. «ἐγὼ εἰμι Βεελζεβούλ τῶν δαιμονίων ὁ ἑξαρχος.» 7. ἀπήτουν δὲ τοῦτον ἀδιαλείπτως ἐγγύθεν μοι προσεδρεύειν καὶ ἐμφανίζειν μοι τὴν κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων φαντασίαν. αὐτὸς δέ μοι ἐπηγγείλατο πάντα

MSS HILPVW = Recc. ABC. 1 § 4. * V f. 438^r | κ. ἀνεκ. HI: εἶτα κράξας L, ἀνεκ. δὲ PC | ὁ Βεελζ.: τὸ δαιμόνιον φωνὴν μεγάλην L, + φωνῇ μεγάλῃ P | ὡς . . . μεγαλ. L (— μεγαλ.) H: καὶ ἔρριψε φλόγα πυρὸς καιομένην μεγάλην P, λέγων ταῦτα. ὡς ἀπὸ πυρὸς φλογὸς καιομένης μοι μεγάλης C, ὡς ἀπὸ φλογὸς καιόμενος I, add. rubricam: ἡ ἔλενσις βεελζεβονήλ πρὸς σολομῶντα H 2 ἠκολ. αὐτῷ I (αὐτὸν) H: ἠκολουθ < αὐτῷ L, ἠκολούθει τῷ ὀρίῳ PC | μετὰ βίας — P 3 καὶ . . . με — C | καὶ — L | ἦλθε IP: ἀπῆλθεν HL | με I: τὸν σολομῶντα HL, σολομῶνα P | § 5. (14) κ. ὡς εἶδον H (— ὡς) I: ὡς δὲ εἶδον P, καὶ (+ ὡς V) ἰδὸν δὲ C, ἰδὼν δὲ L | ἐγὼ HIC: — P, ὁ σολ. L, + σολ. HI 4 ἐρχομ.: — P, + πρὸς με HI, + τὸν βεελζεβούλ C, + καὶ I | ἐδόξασε L | κύριον τ. θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ποιήτην P | εἶπεν L | * P f. 3^v 5 εἶ, κύριε: κύριος IL | θεός: + τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς L | δὸς . . . σοφ. καὶ — I | σου — C 6 τῶν σ. θρόνων HW: τὸν σὸν θρόνον L, τὸ σὸν θρον- V, τῶν σοφῶν P 7 πᾶσαν — H | τ. δαιμ. A: τοῦ διαβόλου PC | τ. δυν. τ. διαβ. P | § 6. (15) κ. ἐπηρωτ. HI (ex -ωτητα corr.) P^c: ἐπηρωτ. δὲ C, κ. ἐπηρώτησεν H | * I f. 81^r | αὐτῶν H, αὐτὴν V 8 κ. εἶπον PC (— καὶ) H: — I, λέγων L | * W f. 268^r | λέγε μοι — L | μοι — P | τίς εἶ σύ: τίς εἰσὶν L | σύ — PW | ὁ δαίμων: καὶ H | * H f. 5^v | ἔφη. «ἐγὼ: λέγει. ἐγὼ I, λέγω H 9 Βεελζ.: pr. ὁ IL, + ὁ PV | δαιμ.: δαιμόνων HI, + πάντων W | ὁ — LPW | ἑξαρχος: ἄρχων V, ἀρχή W | § 7. ἀπητ. . . προσεδ. ego: ἀπητ. . . ἀδιαλυπ. (-λήπτως Is, -λειπτως Kurz) ἐγγυθέν μοι προσεδρεύειν I, ἀπήτην . . . ἀδιαλήπτως ἐγκυθέν μοι προσεδρέβειν H, ἀπήντουν δὲ οὗτον ἀδιαλήπτως προσεδρεύειν ἐγγυθέν μοι L, ἀπάντ(ων) δὲ τούτ(ων) οὐ διαλιπο < ἐγκηθέν μοι προσεδρέβειν V, (ἀπητ. . . ἀδιαλ. — W) ἐγγυσιτά μου προσεδρεύειν (β forte in δ corr.) W, ἅπαντες δὲ οἱ δαίμονες ἐγγυσιτέν μου προσεδρεύουσι P 10 ἐμφανίζει LW, ἐφανίζει V, ἐμφανίζω P | μοι — IP | τ. κατὰ (μετὰ L) τ. δαιμ. φαντ. A: ἐκάστον δαίμονος τ. φαντ. P, ἐνὸς ἐκάστον δαίμονος φαντασίας C 11 αὐτ. . . ἐπηγγ. (ἐπειγγεῖλε L) . . . πνευμ. AP: ἐπηγγ. μοι δὲ αὐτ. παντ. τ. δαιμόνια C

τὰ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς με δέσμια. καὶ ἐγὼ πάλιν ἐδόξασα * τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς εὐχαριστῶν αὐτῷ πάντοτε.

IV. Ἐπυθόμην δὲ τοῦ δαίμονος εἰ ἔστι δαιμόνων θήλεια. 5 τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος εἶναι ἐβουλόμην εἰδέναι. 2. καὶ ἀπελθὼν ὁ Βεελζεβοὺλ ἔδειξέ μοι τὴν Ὀνοσκελίδα μορφὴν ἔχουσαν περικαλλῆ, καὶ δέμας γυναικὸς εὐχρώτου, κνήμας δὲ ἡμιόνου.¹ 3. ἐλθούσης δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς με εἶπον * αὐτῇ· »λέγε μοι σὺ τίς εἶ.« 4. ἡ δὲ ἔφη· »ἐγὼ Ὀνοσκελὶς καλοῦμαι, πνεῦμα σεσωματοποιημένον * 10 φωλεῦον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· ἐν σπηλαίοις μὲν ἔχω τὴν κατοίκησιν,

MSS HILPVW = Recc. ABC. 1 ἀγαγὼν L | πρὸς με: μαι W | δεσμ. ἀγ. με V | δεσμ. LPV: δισμοια H (δέσμια conj. James), δεδεμένα I, — W | ἐγὼ PC: — A 2 * L f. 10^{r1} | τοῦ . . . γῆς: τὸν παντοκράτορα σαβαὼθ L | εὐχ. αὐτ. παντ. H (παντα <) V: καὶ εὐχαριστῶ αὐτ. παντ. P, — ILW

C. IV. MSS HILPVWT^vW^oGlm = Recc. ABCC^o; cf. infra Rec. C XI 1—6, supra Intro., IV 1d), 2c), pp. 31—33. 1. 4 (16) Ἐπυθ. δὲ: pr. εἶτα L, + ἐγὼ C | δὲ — P | τοῦ δαιμ.: pr. παρὰ P, pr. καὶ ῥώπησα τὸν δαίμονα βεελζεβοὺλ I | δαιμ. — H | ἐπυθ. δὲ τ. δαιμ.: ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ ὁ βεελζεβοὺλ (ἐπερώτησα δὲ ἐγὼ τὸν β. W^o) ὃς ἐντζανφιέλ (ἐλτζιανφηέλ V^o) καλεῖται παρ' ἐμοῦ (ὃς . . . ἐμοῦ: ὁ καὶ τζιανφιέλ T^o) C^o | εἰ εἰσιν V^o | εἰ — T^o | δαιμ. θηλ. ego: δαιμ. θυλια ἔγγιος I, θύλιαν H, θήλεια ἔγγιος ἡμῖν L, ἐν αὐτοῖς θήλειαι P, καὶ θήλεια (θήλεια T^o) δαιμόνια C^o (— καὶ) CGlm 5 τοῦ: τούτου LT^o | δὲ: + μοι PCW^o | ἐβουλόμην: pr. καγὼ W, καγὼ εἶπον· ἤθελον P | εἰδέναι AP: ἰδεῖν CC^oGlm | § 2. ὁ — PV | ὁ Βεελζ. AC: ὁ τοιοῦτος W^o, ὅτι οὗτος V^o, ὅτι οὕτως T^o, — Glm, + ταχὺ P 6 ἔδειξ. μοι A: ἠνεγκέ μοι T^o, ἠνεγκε πρὸς με P, ἠνεγκε ἔμπροσθέν μου CV^oW^oGlm | Ὀνοσκ. AP: ὀνοσκελοῦν WC^oGlm (-λοῦ V), + καλουμένην T^oW^o (-ενη) V^o | ἔχουσα HLT^oVV^o | περικαλλῆ Kurz: περικαλῆ HIPIs, -αλὴν WW^oGlm (sic), περιπερικαλῆ L 7 καὶ . . . ἡμιον. — A, add. rubric. ἔλευσις τῆς ὀνοσκελίδος πρὸς σολομῶντα H | δέμας ego: δέμαν V, δέρμα W James, δεσμαῖ P, σῶμαν C^o | κνήμ. δὲ ἡιον. W^o (μίωνου) W (ἡμιῶν) VV^o: μνήμος δὲ ἡμίονος T^o, καὶ κερατίζουσα τὴν κεφαλὴν P | κνήμην Glm | § 3. (17) Glm deest 8 δὲ — T^o | πρὸς με IL (μεν) H: καὶ ἰδὼν W, — PVC^o | εἶπον AW: ἔφην PC^o, ἔφι V | * Mg 1321 | αὐτὴν LWC^o | λέγε μοι: λέγων V^oW^o | σὺ — P | τίς εἶ σὺ H | § 4. ἡ δὲ ἔφη: ἐκείνη εἶπεν L 9 ἔφη: pr. μοι PC, + μοι V^oW^o, ἔφην W | ἐγὼ: ἐ I, ἐγὼ Is. | Ὀνοσκ. P: ὀνοσκελὴς V^o, -λ(ῆς) V, ὀνοσκελίδα A, ὀνοσκελοῦ T^oWW^o | σεσωματωπ. W^o, σεσῶματοποιημένω V^o, σεσωματωπεποιημένον P, σεσωματωμένον πεποιημένον HL, σεσωματωμένον IT^o, πεποιημένον W (-μένω) V, σεβωματο(?) πεποι. Fl | * H f. 6^r 10 φωλεῦον P: φολεύων HW^o, φολεύω LCT^oV^o, φολέον I, + δὲ T^oV^o | ἐν σπηλαίοις ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς L | ἐν . . . κατοικ. I (ἔχον) H: σπήλαιον οἰκῶ (οἶκον V) (ἐν σπηλαίοις T^o) ἔνθα χρυσίον κεῖται CC^o, σπήλαιον μοι χρύσιον ἔνθα κεῖμαι P | μὲν — L

ἔχω δὲ πολυποίκιλον τρόπον. 5. ποτὲ μὲν ἄνθρωπον * πνίγω, ποτὲ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως σχολιάζω αὐτούς. * τὰ δὲ πλείστα ἐστὶ μοι οἰκητήρια κρημνοὶ σπήλαια φάραγγες. 6. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ συγγίνομαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὡς γυναῖκα εἶναι με νομίζοντες, πρὸ πάντων δὲ τοῖς μελιχρόοις ὅτι οὗτοι συναστροὶ μού εἰσιν, καὶ γὰρ * τὸ ἄστρον μου οὗτοι λάθρα ** καὶ φανερώς προσκυνῶσι καὶ οὐκ οἶδασιν ὅτι ἑαυτοὺς βλάπτουσι καὶ πλείον με κακοῦργον εἶναι ἐρεθίζουσιν. 7. θέλουσι γὰρ διὰ τῆς μνήμης χρυσίον πορίζειν. ἐγὼ δὲ παρέχω ὀλίγον τοῖς καλῶς με προσκυνῶσιν.»

MSS HILPVWT°V°W° = Recc. ABCC°. 1 ἔχω: ἔχων H | πολυπ. τροπ., APC°: καὶ πολυποίκιλα τρόπαια (forte ex τρόπα corr.) C | § 5. μὲν HIPT°: δὲ LCV°W° | ἀνθρώπους PCC° | δι' ἀγχόνης πνίγω ἀνθρώπους C | * P f. 4^r | πνίγω: + δι' ἀγχόνης P, + ὡς δι' ἀγχόνης V°W° 2 αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ T° | τῆς — H | φύσεως: — W, + εἰς ἀγκώνας P, ἐπὶ ἐγκών(ων) CT°, (-όνων) W°, ἐπὶ ἐγκώνω V° | σχολιάζω LT°: σκελιάζω HIIs, σκολιάζω V°, σχολιάζων V, σχολιάζων WW°, σκολήκια (ad marg.), φωλεύω (in textu P) | αὐτούς — P | * T° f. 7^{r2} | τὰ δὲ HP: — ICC°, τοὺς δὲ L | πλείστ. . . οἰκητ.: πλ. ἵσταμαι οἰκητήριον H, πλείστους ἔτεσιν οἰκητήρια L, πλείστα μοι οἰκητήρια εἰσι P (— εἰσι) T°, πλείστα δὲ ἐστὶν μοι οἰκητήρια κεκρυμμένα VW. πλείστα μοι δὲ ἔσται οἰκητήρια W°, πλ. ἔσται (in ἐσθη corr.?) μὴ οἰκητήρια V°, πολλάκις δὲ οἰκῶ I 3 κρημν. σπηλ. φαράγγ. P: κρύμνοις σπήλαιον φάραγγες H, ἔχω κρήμνους καὶ σπηλαιοὺς φαράγγες L, ἐν κρυμνοῖς ἐν σπηλαιοῖς ἐν φαράγγοις I, σπήλαια καὶ κρήμνους καὶ φάραγγας C, — C° 4 § 6. καὶ — HL | γύνῃ P | εἶναι με νομ. (I. νομίζουσι?) H: νομ. με εἶναι I, ἦμαι νομ. L, με εἶναι CC°, δοκοῦσα εἶναι P 5 πρὸ παντ. ILPC: πρὸς πάντα H, πρὸ (πρὸς T°W°) δὲ τῶν ἄλλων C° | τοῖς μελιχ. P: τοὺς μελιχρόους CV°W°, τοὺς μελαχρόους HT°, τοὺς μελανοχρόους L (ex μελαχρ. corr.) I, τοὺς μελαντοχρόους (in textu, μελιχρόους ad marg.) Is | ὅτι — L | ὅτι οὗτοι HI: οὗτοι γὰρ PCC°, + καὶ CW°, + μου καὶ V° | συναστ. μού εἰσιν ILT°W°: εἰσιν συν. μου H | μου: μοι P, — CV° 6 καὶ . . . ἄστρ.: κ. τὸ ἄστρον T° | γὰρ — L | * I f. 81^v | προσκ. λαθ. κ. ἐναργέως (φανερὸς V) CW° | λαθ. προσκ. οὗτοι T° | ** L f. 10^{r2} | φανερᾷ HL 7 καὶ οὐκ . . . προσκυν. (I. 9f): — C° | οὐκ οἶδ. ὅτι — I | ὅτι — L | ἐαντῶς C, αὐτοὺς P | βλαπτ. AP: ἀπατῶνται C | καὶ πλείον . . . προσκυν. (I. 9s.): — I | πλείον. . . ἐρεθ.: πλ. . . ῥεθίζουσιν H, πλείων μεν κακούργος εἶναι ρεθίζουσιν L, πλείον με κακούργειν ἐρεθίζουσι P, πλημελῶς κακούργους ἐρεθίζουσα C 8 § 7. θελ. PV: θέλουσα W, θέλοντες HL | γὰρ — L | διὰ . . . χρυσίον: αὐτοὺς μνήμην τοῦ χρυσίου L 9 πορίζ. HLP: πορίζεσθαι C | ἐγὼ . . . προσκ. HP: ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέχων ὀλ. τοῖς καλεῖς· μὲν προσκ. L, τοὺς τε παρέχειν ὀλίγοις, τοῖς καὶ καλονμένοις, προσκ. W, τῆς τε δὲ παρέχιν ὀλήγης τῆς κεκαλουμένης προσκυνῶσιν V

8. Επηρώτησα δὲ αὐτὴν πόθεν γεννᾶται. ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· ἀπὸ
 φωνῆς ἀκαίρου τῆς καλουμένης ἤχον οὐρανοῦ ἠμολύβδον φωνὴν
 ἀφέντος¹ ἐν ὕλῃ ἐγεννήθη. 9. εἶπον δὲ αὐτῇ· ἐν ποίῳ ἄστρῳ
 διέροχη; ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· ἐν πανσελήνῳ, διότι καὶ ἐν σελήνῃ τὰ
 5 πλείονα ὀδεύω. 10. ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπον· ποῖος ἄγγελός ἐστιν ὁ κα-
 ταργῶν σε; ἡ δὲ ἔφη· ὁ καὶ ἐν σοί, βασιλεῦ. 11. καὶ γὰρ εἰς
 χλεύην αὐτὰ λογιζάμενος ἐκέλευσα στρατιώτην κροῦσαι αὐτήν.
 ἡ δὲ ἀνακράξασα εἶπεν· λέγω σοι, βασιλεῦ, ἐγώ, ὑπὸ τῆς δε-
 δομένης σοι σοφίας τοῦ θεοῦ. 12. καὶ εἶπον τὸ ὄνομα τοι
 10 Ἁγίου Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐκέλευσα αὐτήν νῆθαι τὴν κάρναβιν * εἰς τὰ

MSS HILPVWT°V°W° = Recc. ABCC°. § 8. (18) 1 ἐπερώτων L | δὲ
 — H | αὐτήν: αὐτοὺς C, + ἐγὼ (καὶ γὰρ P) Σολομῶν PCC° | γεννᾶται A:
 γεννάσε T°, γεναστ < V°, γενᾶσται V, γενᾶσθαι WW°, γεννᾶσα (σα transversa
 linea del.) P | εἶπεν AT°: μοι ἔφη P (ἔφησε) C, ἔφη μοι V°, ἔφη W°
 2 ἀκαίρου . . . οὐραν.: ἀκαίρ. τ. καλ. ἐγχοανῆς C, ἀκροατῆς καλουμένης (-με-
 νου L) ἤχον οὐ(ρα)νοῦ A, ἀκαίρου τοῦ καλουμένου ἤχον ἀν(θρώπ)ου P, βηρ-
 σαβεὲλ (βειρσαβεὲ V°, βηρωβεὲ T°) ἱππικῆς (+ καὶ V°W°) χρηματικῆς C,
 explicit narratio parallela codd. mss. T°V°W° | μολύβδον: μολύγδον H, βολβίτον
 conj. Cr, μολίβδον Bncn | φωνῆς HL | ἀφέντος P: ἀφέντες C, ἀφιέντες A
 3 ἐν ὕλῃ: ἐκήνῃ V, ἐκείνοι W | § 9 (19) εἶπον HI: ἔφησα C, ἔφη LP |
 δὲ: δ' ἐγὼ P, + ἐγὼ C | αὐτήν W, αὐτῶ L | ἐν — PC | ἐν π. ἀστρ.: ἐκ
 τῶν ἄστρων L 4 δὲ: + μοι P | ἐν (1°): — PC | πανσελ. ILP: πάντι
 σελήνῳ H, π(ανσελήν)ος C, + ἄστρῳ P | διό I | διότι . . . σελήνῃ — C
 per homoeoteleuton | ἐν σελήνῃ I: ἐν σελήνῳ HL, ἡ σελήνῃ P 5 πλείω I
 ὀδεύω W: ὀδέβω V, ὀδεύων H, ὀδεύει P, ποιῶ καὶ ὀδεύω L | § 10. ἐγὼ δὲ
 — W | εἶπον HIW: λέγω PL, + δὲ W, + αὐτήν LW, + πρὸς αὐτήν P |
 ἔφη δὲ ἐγὼ αὐτήν V | καὶ ποῖος ἐστὶν ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ P | ποῖος: pr. καὶ L
 | ἐστὶν: δ' ἐς H, — C | ὁ — H | καταργῶ V 6 ἡ δὲ HIPW: ὁ δὲ L,
 καὶ V | ἔφη HLV: εἶπε PW, λέγει I, + μοι P | ὁ καὶ . . . καὶ γὰρ — L |
 ὁ — H | καὶ — PC | βασιλ. W: βασιλεὺς V, βασιλεύση I, βασιλεύειν H,
 βασιλεύων P § 11. 7 χλεύην ILPW: χλέβην H, χλέβη V | αὐτὰ IL:
 αὐτῶν II, — PC | στρατιώτας C 8 λέγω: ἐγὼ P | βασιλεὺς V, βασιλεὺς
 σολομῶν L | ἐγὼ I: καὶ γὰρ HL, — PC | ὑπὸ: ἀπὸ C | ὑπὸ τῆς: ἀπάτης L
 9 σοι: ἡς V, — L | τοῦ: ἐκ C | § 12. κ. εἶπον ego: κ. ὑπὸ P, εἶπον HIC,
 ἡ L, ὑπὸ (in textu, εἶπον ad marg.) Is | τὸ ὄνομα — P 10 ἁγίου
 Ἰσραὴλ A: ἀγγέλου Ἰωήλ PC, ἁγίου Ἰωήλ Is | (20) καὶ C: ἐγὼ δὲ P,
 διό A | ἐκέλευσα: ἐκάλεσα C | νῆθαι: νῆθη V, + κλώθειν W, ἡδυνῆ-
 θειν H | τὴν κάρναβιν Bncn: τ. κάρναβιν LP, τ. κανάβην IW, τ(ὴν) κανάβην V,
 ἐν τῇ κανάβῃ H | * L f. 10^v1 | εἰς . . . κάρναβιν (p. 21, l. 3): εἰτα λαβῶν
 σχοινίον δῆσας τοῦ ὀχλουμένου ἀσφαλῶς L, — W | τὰ σχοινία HV: τασχ-
 νί(αν) I, τὰς σχοινίας Is, τὰς σχοίνους P

σχοινία τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ οὕτως σφραγισθὲν καὶ δεθὲν κατηργήθη ὥστε ἰστάναι νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν νήθειν τὴν κάρναβιν.

V. Καὶ ἐκέλευσα * ἀχθῆναί μοι ἕτερον δαίμονα· καὶ ἤγαγέ μοι Ἀσμοδαῖον τὸν πονηρὸν δαίμονα δεδεμένον. 2. καὶ ἐπηρώτησα αὐτόν· »σὺ τίς εἶ;« ὁ δὲ ἀπειλητικὸν βλέμμα ῥίψας λέγει· »σὺ δὲ τίς εἶ;« 3. καὶ εἶπον αὐτῶ· »οὕτως τετιμωρημένος ἀποκρινῇ;« ὁ δὲ τῶ αὐτῶ βλέμματι προσχὼν εἶπέ μοι· »πῶς ἔχω σοι ἀποκριθῆναι; σὺ μὲν υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου εἶ, καὶ γὰρ ἀγγέλου, καὶ διὰ θυγατρὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐγεννήθην, * ὥστε οὐδὲν ὑπερήφανον ῥῆμα οὐρανίου γένους πρὸς γηγενῆ. 4. τὸ ἄστρον μου

MSS HILPVW = Recc. ABC. 1 τ. ἐργ. τ. ν.: ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ κτίσματος P | τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἔργων V | οὕτως P Is: οὗτος HI | σφραγ. H: σφραγισ(εν) V, σφραγίσας IP 2 καὶ δεθὲν ego: κ. δοθὲν V, κ. διωθὲν H, κ. δήσας αὐτὴν P, — I | κατηργ. HIV: ἐκατηργ. P, + τὸ δαιμόνιον V | ἰστάναι V, ἰστασθαι in ἰστάναι corr. P | νύκτα κ. ἡμ. ν. τ. κανάβειν IV, νυκτὸς κ. ἡμέρας ν. τ. καναβ. P, νήθην τ. κανάβειν ἡμέραν κ. νύκταν H 3 κάρναβιν FIMg

C. V. MSS HILPVW = Recc. ABC. 4 (21) Καὶ (1°): τότε L | * H f. 7^r, P f. 4^v | ἐτ. δαιμ. HW: pr. καὶ W, ἐτ. δαιμόνιον PVI, ἕτερα δαιμόνια IL, add. rubric. ἔλενσις ἀσμοδίου πρὸς σολομῶν(τα) H | κ. ἡγ. μοι — L | ἤγαγε . . . δεδεμ. HI (— ἡγ. μοι) L: ἐθῶς μοι προῆλθεν ὁ δαίμων ἀσμόδιος (ex -αιος corr.) δεδεμένος P, ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα C 5 § 2. ἐπηρώτων C 6 δὲ — H | ἀπειλ. βλ. ρίψ. ego: ἀπολυτικὸν βλέμα ῥίψας H (ῥίψ.: προσεπιστρέψας πρὸς με) L, ἀπηλικὸν δμ(μ)α ῥίψας C, βλοσυρὸν βλέμα βλέψας IBIs (βλέμμα Kurz), μετὰ θυμοῦ καὶ ὀργῆς ἐμβλέψας με P 7 λέγει HI: ἔφη PC, — L | σὺ . . . αὐτῶ — A | δὲ — C | § 3. αὐτόν C | οὕτως PW: οἶτος V, καὶ οὗτος A | τετιμ. P: τετιμωρημένα C, τετηρημένος IL. (-ωμενος) H 8 ἀποκρ. APV: ἀπεκριθὲν W, + μοι P, + λέγ < L | δὲ + πάλιν H | τῶ . . . προσχ.: τῶ αὐτῶ βλέμμα προσχ. I, τὸ αὐτὸ βλέμματι H, τὸ (— V) αὐτοῦ βλέμματι προσχῶν W (προδασχήν) V, μετ' ὀργῆς P | εἶπε HI: ἔφη C, λέγει P | μοι — C | πῶς: pr. ἀλλὰ PC 9 ἔχω — P | ἀποκριθὼ P | μὲν: γὰρ P, + γὰρ C | ἀνθρ. υἱὸς P | εἶ — LC | καὶ γὰρ A: ἐγὼ δὲ PC | ἀγγέλου G: ἀγγέλου σπορά P, ἄγγελός εἰμι (ἡμην H) A 10 καὶ IL: — HP | καὶ . . . γηγενῆ (l. 11) — C | θυγ. ἀνθρ. IP; θυγατέρων ἀνθρώπων HL | ἐγενν. LP: ἐγεννήθης I (pr. σὺ) H | * I f. 82^v | ὥστε ILP: ὅτε H | οὐδὲν — L 11 γηγενῆ L: γηγενήν I, γαγενάν l. Is errore, γηγενουν vel -ους H, γηγενεῖς P (in textu) Is | § 4. τὸ: pr. διὸ καὶ P, pr. τὸν δὲ C

ἐν οὐρανῷ φωλεύει καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι με καλοῦσιν ἄμαξαν, οἱ δὲ
τὸν δρακοντόποδα· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μικρότερα ἄστρα συμπάρεισι
τῷ ἐμῷ ἄστρῳ, καὶ γὰρ τοῦ πατρός μου τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ ὁ θρό-
νος μέχρι σήμερον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐστίν. 5. πολλὰ δὲ μή με
5 ἐρώτα, Σολομῶν, καὶ * γὰρ τὸ βασιλεῖόν σου διαρραγήσεται ἐν
καιρῷ καὶ αὕτη σου ἡ δόξα προσκαιρός ἐστὶ καὶ ὀλίγον * χρόνον
βασανίσαι ἡμᾶς ἔχεις, καὶ πάλιν νομῆν ἔχωμεν * ἐπ' ἀνθρωπό-
τητα ὥστε σέβεσθαι ἡμᾶς ὡς θεούς, μὴ γινωσκόντων τῶν ἀν-
θρώπων τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν καθ' ἡμῶν τεταγμένων ἀγγέλλων.
10 6. Ἐγὼ δὲ Σολομῶν ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐπιμελέστερον αὐτὸν
δεσμεύσας ἐκέλευσα ῥαβδίζεσθαι καὶ ἀπολογηθῆναι τίς καλεῖται
καὶ τίς ἡ ἐργασία αὐτοῦ. 7. ὁ δαίμων εἶπεν· »ἐγὼ Ἀσμοδαῖος

MSS HILPVW = Recc. ABC. 1 φωλεύει IPC: φολεύειν H, πολυτεύει L,
φωτεύει FHs | φολεύῃ ἐν τῷ οὐ(ρα)νῷ C | καὶ HIV: δ W, + αὐτὸ P |
οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ πᾶς ἀν(θρῳ)πος με L | οἱ (1^ο) — P | με A: — PW, ἐλμ(ε) V
| καλοῦσιν: λέγουσιν P | ἄμαξα V | τὸν — IW 2 δρακοντ. HIC: δρα-
κοντόπαιδα LP | διὰ ... ἄστρῳ: πλησιάζομαι σὺν τῷ ἄστρῳ αὐτοῦ P |
συμπάρεισι IL: συμπάρην H, παρίστανται C 3 τ. ἐ. ἀστ. C: τὸ ἐμὸν
ἄστρον A | καὶ γὰρ ... ἐστίν: — P, καὶ ὁ τοῦ πατρός θρόνος ἐστίν τὸ
ἀξίωμα ἐν οὐρανῷ C | γὰρ IL: — H | μου HL: — I | θρόνον H, + μου L
4 μέχρι: + τῇ H | μεχ. σημ. — I | τῷ — I | ἐστίν: δὲ H | § 5. πολ.
δὲ: καὶ πολ. P | μή με I: μὴ μεμε L, μοι μὴ P, μοι H, μὴ C 5 ἐρώτα
PC: ἐπερώτας (-ωτάς L) A | Σολ. A: — PC | γ. γὰρ A: ἦτι καὶ P | * H
f. 7^v | γὰρ — C | σου τ. βασ. PC | διαρ. ἐν καιρ. ILC: ἐν καιρ. διαραγ. H,
πρὸς χρόνους μικροὺς διαρῆγγνται (διαρρ. P^c) P 6 αὕτη ... δόξα ILC:
ἡ δόξα σου αὕτη H | προσκ. ἐστίν ἡ δόξα σου P | προσκ. ἐστι: πρὸς και-
ρὸν εἰσὶν L, προσκ. δὲ H, ἀποχωρίσει C | ὀλ. χρ. ὀλίγα P | * L f. 10^{v2}
7 βασ. ἡμ. ἔχεις C: ἡμ. τυραννήσεις P, βασ. με ἔχεις A | νομᾶν V | ἔχω-
μεν HL: ἔχομεν (post ἀνθρῳπ.) I, ἔξομεν P, εὐρομεν V, εὐρωμεν W | * V
f. 438^v | ἐπ' A: εἰς P, πρὸς C, + τὴν PC 8 θεοὺς: + ὄντας PV, ὄν-
τες W | γινώσκοντα H, -οντες W, -οντος V | τῶν: τὸν H, — L 9 τίς
— L | καθ' ἡμῶν HIV: καθεμένων L, μεθ' ἡμῶν W, καθ' ἡμᾶς P

§ 6. MSS HILP = Recc. AB. (22) c. V, 6—VI, 10 ἐγὼ δὲ ... τοῦ ἡλλου
om. C (= VW) per homoeoarcton 10 ταῦτα ἄκ. P | αὐτ. δεσμ. IIL: αὐτ.
ἐδέσμευσεν καὶ I, δεσμ. αὐτ. P, + καὶ πάλιν περίσφι(γ)ξον αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὀχλου-
μένου τὰς χεῖρας· καὶ ἐξόρκισον αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐξελεῖν· καὶ τύψας τὴν κεφαλὴν
τοῦ ὀχλουμένου μετὰ κάλαμον· καὶ μετὰ ἀρτίκον λέγει ἐξελεῖθαι πονηρὸν δαι-
μόνιον ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ· καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς σολομῶντος· καὶ L 11 ῥαβδ.:
αὐτὸν ρανδίζ. H, αὐτὸν ὀργίζεσθαι L, μαστίζεσθαι βοννεύροις P | ἀπολο-
γεῖσθαι P | τίς: πῶς I | καλεῖ σε (l. καλεῖσαι) H 12 αὐτοῦ — H
§ 7. ὁ δὲ ἔφη μοι P

καλοῦμαι [περικλυτός· οἰδαίνομαι] κακουργίαν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ὅλῳ
 τῷ κόσμῳ. νεονύμφων ἐπίβουλος εἰμι· παρθένων κάλλος ἀφα-
 νίσω καὶ καρδίας ἀλλοιωῶ. 8. ἔφην δὲ αὐτῷ· * »μόνη αὕτη σου
 ἡ ἐργασία;» * ὁ δὲ πάλιν λέγει· »διὰ τῶν ἀστρῶν [στρώνω
 5 θηλυμανίας καὶ ἔπειτα εἰς τρικυμίας] καὶ ἕως ἐπὶ τὰ ἐφόνευσα.·
 * 9. καὶ οὕτως ὥρμισα αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου Σαβαώθ· »φοβή-
 θητι, Ἀσμοδαῖε, τὸν θεὸν καὶ εἰπέ μοι ἐν ποίῳ ἀγγέλω καταρ-
 γῆσαι.· ὁ δαίμων λέγει· »Ραφαὴλ ὁ παρεστὸς ἐνώπιον τοῦ
 θεοῦ· διώκει δέ με καὶ ἦπαρ μετὰ χολῆς ἰχθύος ἐπὶ κροκίνων
 10 ἀνθρώκων καπνιζόμενον.· 10. ἐπηρώτησα πάλιν αὐτὸν λέγων·
 »μὴ κρύψῃς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ῥῆμα, ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι Σολομῶν υἱὸς Δανεῖδ,

MSS HILP = Recc. AB. 1 καλοῦ I | περικλυτός ego: περίκλυτος I,
 περύκλυτος H, περικρίτην L, παρὰ βροτοῖς P, l. forte περικριτός (i. q. περὶ
 et κριτός), excellentissimus? | οἰδαν. . . κόσμῳ: — P | οἰδαίνομαι ego: εἰ
 δαι νε μαι H, εἰδένεμαι καὶ L ἡδύνομαι I | κακουργίας I | ἐν . . κόσμῳ
 ante περικλυτός ponit I 2 νεονυμφ. . . παρθ.: καὶ ἡ ἐργασία μου ἐστὶ τὸ
 τοῦς νεονύμφους ἐπιβουλεύειν μὴ συμμιγῆναι, καὶ παντελῶς ἀποχωρῶ διὰ
 3 πολλῶν (f. 5^r) συμφορῶν, καὶ γυναικῶν παρθ. P | ἐπίβολος I | παρθ.:
 παρνα, θ supra π et ο supra α (2^o) scr. H | κάλλος P: κάλος HI, καλῶς L
 | καὶ — I | 3 § 8. (23) ἔφην H | δέ: δ' ἐγὼ P | ἔφην δὲ αὐτῷ: καὶ πάλιν
 εἶπον L | * hic explicite pagina non omnino scripta cod. ms. I

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. 3 καὶ μόνη L μόνων H | αὕτη . . ἐργ.: σου
 ἡ ἐργ. ἔστιν αὕτη P 4 L f. 11^r1 | πάλιν — P | λέγει P: λέγων H,
 ἔφη L, + μοι P | διὰ τῶν . . ἐφόνευσα: περιφέρω ἀνθρώπους εἰς λύσσαν
 (Mg 1324) καὶ εἰς ὄρεξιν, ἔχον(τες) τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν πάλιν εἰς ἐτέρας ἐτέ-
 ρων ἀπέρχεσθαι ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ, ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ εἰς
 φόνους ἐμπλακῆσεσθαι P | στρώνω ego: ἴστρον L, — H, cf. Dieterich, *Unters.*
 p. 220, 230f., l. fortasse οἰστῶ? 5 θηλυμανίας L, — H 6 * H f. 8^r |
 § 9. (24) καὶ . . . αὐτὸν: ὀρκισα δὲ αὐτῷ P | τῷ ὀνόματι L | φοβηθ.: λέγων
 pr. P, add. L 7 τ. θεὸν ἀσμοδαῖε P | ἐν — P | ἐκ ποίου ἀγγέλου L |
 καταργῇ σύ P 8 ὁ δαίμ. λεγ.: ὁ δὲ ἔφη P | λέγων H | διὰ ῥαφαὴλ τοῦ
 ἀρχαγγέλου τοῦ παρεστῶτος ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ P | παρεστικός L
 9 με δὲ H | καὶ — P | ἰχθύος ἦπαρ καὶ χολή P | ἦπαρ — L | (με)τὰ
 χολῆς L: σὺν χολῇ H | ἐπὶ κροκίνων ἀνθρ. καπν. H, καπνιζόμενος ἐπὶ
 κροκίνον ἀνθρ. L, ἐπὶ μυρικίνῳ ἄνθρακι ἐπικαπνιζόμενα P, + καὶ λαβῶν καὶ
 λαβῶν (sic) ὁ ἀναγινώσκων τὴν ἁγίαν διαθήκην ταύτην· ἰχθύος χολὴν καπνί-
 σας (III litt. perierunt, fortasse ὑπὸ vel τὸν) δαχλούμενον λέγ(ων)· διώκει σε
 ῥαφαὴλ ὁ παρεστικός ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ· λέγ(ε) τοῦτο τρεῖς καὶ ἄρξον L
 10 § 10. ἐπερώτων δὲ αὐτὸν L | πάλιν ἐγὼ P | λέγειν H: λέγω L, — P
 11 ὅτι . . . Δανεῖδ: ὅτι ἐγὼ ἔλαβα ἐξέσιναν τοῦ χειρῶσαι πάντας τοὺς δαίμο-
 νας L, + βασιλέως Ἰ(σρα)ήλ P

καὶ εἰπέ μοι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἰχθύος οὗ σὺ σέβῃ. ὁ δὲ λέγει· »τὸ ὄνομα κέκληται γλάνις· ἐν τοῖς ποταμοῖς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων εὐρίσκειται· μόνος γὰρ ἐκεῖ γεννᾶται, ὅτι καὶ γὼ ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐκείνοις εὐρίσκομαι.« 11. καὶ λέγω αὐτῷ· »οὐδὲν ἕτερον παρὰ σου, Ἀσμοδαῖε;« καὶ εἶπέ μοι· »ἐπίσταται ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ σφραγίδος δεσμεύσαντός με ἀλύτοις δεσμοῖς ὅτι ἄπερ σοι εἶπον ἀληθῆ εἰσιν. ἀξιῶ δέ σε, βασιλεῦ Σολομῶν, μὴ με κατακρίνης εἰς ὕδωρ.« 12. ἐγὼ δὲ μειδιάσας εἶπον· »ζῆ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων μου * σίδηρα ἔχεις φορέσαι καὶ πηλὸν ποιήσεις εἰς ὅλην τὴν σκευὴν τοῦ ναοῦ ἀνατρίβων τὴν χορηγίαν τῆς κόμης.« καὶ ἐκέλευσα γενέσθαι ὕδριας δέκα καὶ περιχώννυσθαι αὐτόν.

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. 1 οὗ σὺ σέβῃ: οὗ σὺ σεύει H, οὗ σέβης L, ᾧ σὺ σέβῃ | ὁ δὲ λέγει H; ὁ δὲ ἔφη P, — L | τ. ὄν. κεκλ. γλάνις: τὸ ὄν. καίκτητε-γλάνος H, ὀνόματι γλάνος P, λέγεται ὁ ἰχθύς· γλαῦκος L 2 γλάνις vel γλανίς conj. Bncn | εὐρισκ. ἐν τ. ποτ. ἀσσυρίας P | τοῖς — H | τῶν — H | * L f. 11^{r2} 3 μόνος . . γενν. H: μόνους ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι ἐκείνοις γενᾶται L, — P | ὅτι καὶ γὼ H: ὅτι ἐγὼ L, διότι καὶ P | ἐν τ. μερ. ἐκ.: ἐν ταῖς μέρεσιν ἐκείναις H, ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις L, εἰς ἐκεῖνα τὰ μέρη P 4 εὐρισκ. HL: καταπεριπολεύω P | § 11. (25) κ. λέγω αὐτῷ (αὐτό) H: ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω πρὸς αὐτόν P, ὁ δὲ σολομῶν L | ἕτερον HP: ἕτερον L, ἑταῖρον vel ἔνυμον conj. Bncn | σου HL: σοι P 5 Ἀσμοδ. HLBncn: ἀσμοδίω P | κ. εἶπε HL: ὁ δὲ ἔφη P | μοι — L | ἐπίσταμαι L, ἐπίστασαι H | τοῦ διὰ . . . δεσμ. H: διὰ τ. σφρ. αὐτοῦ δεσμ. L, τοῦ διὰ τῆς ἐκείνου σφρ. δεσμεύσας P, ἢ διὰ . . . δεσμεύσασα Ctr 6 με — H | * H f. 8^v 7 σοι P James: συ HL | εἶπω H | εἶπον σοι P | εἶσιν P: εἶναι HL | ἀξιῶ δέ σε H: ἀξιῶ σε δὲ L, δέομαί σου P | σολ. βασ. L 8 § 12. μειδιάσας HP: θαναμάσας L ζῆ . . . φορέσαι: κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατ. μου ποιήσον σίδηρον ὥσπερ μανιάκην καὶ βαλὼν τοῦ ὀχλουμένου εἰς τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναγινώσκων τὴν ἄνω (l. ἄνω) ταύτην διαθήκην· εἰτα λέγει ὁ ἀναγινώσκων· ὅτι σίδηρα ἔχεις φορέσει (l. -σαι) L 9 * P f. 5^v | ἔχεις φορ. H: φορέσω σε P | καί: pr. ἀλλὰ P | supra τὸν πῆλόν adscr. ποιήσεις P 10 εἰς: ἐφ' H | κατασκευὴν P | ἀνατρίβων L | τ. χορ. τ. κόμ. H: τ. χορ. τοῦ ναοῦ L, τοῖς ποσὶ σου P, l. fortasse τ. χορ. ταῖς κόμαις? 11 κ. ἐκελ.: ἐκελ. δὲ L | γενέσθαι H: ἀχθῆναι L, δοθῆναι αὐτῷ P | δέκα ὕδρ. φέρειν ὕδωρ P | καὶ . . . αὐτόν — P | περιχωναισθαι H | αὐτόν: + καὶ λαβῶν ὁ ἀναγινώσκων ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων γονιῶν τοῦ ναοῦ· τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ χωριγῆν (f. 11^{v1}) ἐκ τῆς ἐπικειμένης ὕλης καὶ τύχους (l. τείχους) καὶ τριψας αὐτόν καὶ ποιήσας ψηλόν· εἰτα λαβῶν ὕδριας δέκα γεμᾶται ἐπὶ τὴν χορηγίαν καὶ σταλάξας ἀπὸ ἐκάστης ὕδριας καὶ πηλὸν χρίσας ἐπὶ τὸ μέτοπον τοῦ ὀχλουμένου καὶ τὸν πόγωνα καὶ τῶν δύο ὀτίων· εἰτα ἀπογυμνῶσας τὸν ὀχλουμένον καὶ ἀνατρίψας αὐτοῦ ὅλον τῷ σώμα μετὰ τῆς χωριγίας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀμφαλοῦ καὶ ἄνω εἰτα ὁ ἀναγινώσκων πάλιν τὴν ἄνω ταύτην διαθήκην I.

καὶ δεινῶς στενάξας ὁ δαίμων τὰ κελευσθέντα αὐτὸν κατειράζετο. τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίησε διότι καὶ τὸ προγινωστικὸν εἶχεν ὁ Ἀσμοδαῖος. 13. καὶ ἐδόξασα τὸν θεὸν ἐγὼ Σολομῶν τὸν δόντα μοι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην· τὸ δὲ ἦπαρ τοῦ ἰχθύος καὶ τὴν χολὴν μετὰ κλάσματος Ἰστύρακος λευκοῦ ὑπέκαιον τὸν Ἀσμοδαῖον διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν δυνατὸν, καὶ κατηργεῖτο αὐτοῦ ἡ φωνὴ καὶ τλήρης ὁδὸς πικρίας.¹

VI. Καὶ ἐκέλευσα πάλιν παραστῆναι ἔμπροσθέν μου τὸν Βεελζεβούλ καὶ προσκαθίσας ἔδοξέ μοι ἐπερωτῆσαι αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ εἶπε μοι· ὁ μόνος ἄρχων τῶν δαιμόνων; 2. ὁ δὲ λέγει μοι· ὁ μόνος με ὑπολειφθῆναι τῶν οὐρανίων ἀγγέλων. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤμην ἐν πρώτοις οὐράνιος ἄγγελος ὁ προσαγορευόμενος Βεελζεβούλ. 3. καὶ μετ' ἐμοῦ δεύτερος ἄθεος ὃν ἐπέταμε ὁ θεός, καὶ νῦν κατακλειςθεὶς ὥδε κρατεῖ τὸ ἐν Ταρτάρῳ τῷ δεσμῷ ἐμοῦ

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. 1 δεινῶς: πικρῶς H | αὐτὸν L: μοι P, — H | κατειργ. LP: κατηρτίζετο H 2 δὲ — L | ἐποίησε HLBn: ἐποίησα P | ὅτι: ὅτι L | καὶ — H | τὸ προγν. εἶχεν H: προγινώσκων· εἶχεν L, τὰ ἐλλόντα ἤδει προγινωστικός ὢν, τὸ χαλεπὸν δαιμόνιον P | ὁ — H 3 § 13. καὶ — L | ἐγὼ σολ. ἐδοξ. τ. θ. τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κ. τῆς γῆς H | ὁ σολ. L: ἔξουσ. ταντ. HL: σοφίαν τοῦ δούλου αὐτοῦ P. + ἵνα ὑπογνώσι ἡμῖν οἱ αἵμονες L | χολὴν αὐτοῦ P 5 μετὰ ... ὑπέκαιον: μ. κλασ. σωρακλώλου vel συρακ.) εἶπεν καὶ H, μ. κλάστομα· συρωκλωκοῦ καὶ εἶπον L, μ. καλαίον Ἰστύρακος λύων ὑπέκαιον P | λευκοῦ ego: l. forte λωτοῦ | τῷ Ἰσμοῶ H 6 καὶ P: — HL | κατηργεῖται P, κατήργηται H, κατήργετον L ἡ ... πικρίας (— καὶ) H: ἡ φ. κ. πλήρης ὁδοῦ πικ. L, ἡ φόρῃν ὅς πικρία P, ἡ ἀφορητος πικρία P^c (ad marg.)

C. VI. MSS HLP = Recc. AB. (26) 8 παραστῆσαι H | ἔμπρ. μου: μοι μπρ. P 9 Βεελζ.: + τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν δαιμονίων P | προσκ. ... αὐτόν IL: ἐπικαθήσας ἐπὶ βήματος ἐνδοξοτέρου ἔφην αὐτῷ P, + καὶ εἶπον αὐτόν H 10 ἄρχων: ἄρχης H | § 2. λέγει HL: ἔφη P 11 τὸ: τὸν L | πελήφθην H, ὑπέληφθα L | ἀγγελ.: + τῶν κατελθόντων P 12 ἤμην P: μὴν H, εἰμὶ L | ἐν πρωτ.: ἐν πρώτης HL, ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ οὐρανῷ P | οὐράνιος H: οὐρανοῦ L, πρώτος P | ἄγγελος HP: μὴ L

§ 3. MS P textum alium praebebat hunc: καὶ νῦν κρατῶ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ ταρτάρῳ δεσμῶν (δεσμένων Fl, δεδεμένων Mg). ἔχω δὲ καὶ γόνον καὶ εριπολενεὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ ὡς ἰδίον τινα καιρὸν ἐπανέρχεται ρός με ὑποτασσόμενος, καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργα πρὸς με ἀνακαλύπτει, καὶ στηλῶ αὐτόν ἐγώ.

MSS HL = Rec. A. 1. 13, § 3. ἄθεος ὃν ἐπέταμε ego: ἀθάε ἐπὶ τομῇ H, θαε, ἐπὶ τῷ μῇ L | ὁ — L 14 κατὰ κλειθεὶς L | κρατεῖ τὸ ego: κρατεῖτε H, κρατῶ τε L; l. forte κρατῶ τὸ? | ἐν τῷ ταρτάρῳ δεσμῷ L

γένος· καὶ τρέφεται ἐν τῇ Ἑρυνθῳ θαλάσῃ· ὃς ἐν καιρῷ ἰδίῳ
 ἐλεύσεται εἰς θρίαμβον.» 4. καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· »τίνες εἰσὶν αἱ
 πράξεις σου;» καὶ εἶπέ μοι· »κἀγὼ καθαιρῶ διὰ τυράννων καὶ
 τὰ δαιμόνια ποιῶ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις σέβεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ
 5 τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς ἱερεῖς εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἐγείρω. * * καὶ φθόνους ἐν
 πόλεσι καὶ φόνους ἀποτελῶ καὶ πολέμους ἐπάγω.» 5. καὶ εἶπα
 αὐτῷ· »προσένεγκέ μοι τὸν ἐν τῇ Ἑρυνθῳ θαλάσῃ ὃν εἶπας
 τρεφόμενον.» ὁ δὲ λέγει· »οὐκ ἀνενέγκω πρὸς σε οὐδένα. ἐλεύ-
 σεται δέ τις ὀνόματι Ἐφίππᾶς ὃς ἐκεῖνον δεσμεύσει καὶ ἀναγάγει
 10 ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ.» 6. καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· »λέγε μοι πῶς ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν
 ἐν τῷ βυθῷ τῆς Ἑρυνθῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τί τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ.»
 ὁ δὲ ἔφη· »μή με ἐρωτᾷς· οὐ δύνασαι παρ' ἐμοῦ μαθεῖν, αὐτὸς
 γὰρ ἐλεύσεται πρὸς σε διὰ καὶ ἐμὲ πρὸς σε εἶναι.»

MSS HL = Rec. A. 1 γένους L | Ἑρυνθ. — H | ὃς: ὡς HL

§ 4. MS P. (27) ἐγὼ σολομῶν ἔφην πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγων· βεελζεβούλ, τίς
 (f. 6^r) ἐστὶν ἡ πρᾶξις σου; ὁ δὲ λέγει· ἐγὼ βασιλεὺς ἀπολῶ· συμμαχῶ μετὰ
 ἁλλοφύλων τυράννων· καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς δαίμονας ἐπιβάλλω πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώ-
 πους ἵνα εἰς αὐτοὺς πιστεύωσι καὶ ἀπόλλονται· καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς δούλους
 τοῦ θεοῦ, ἢ ἱερεῖς καὶ πρίστους ἀνθρώπους εἰς ἐπιθυμίας ἁμαρτιῶν πονηρῶν
 καὶ αἰρέσεων κακῶν καὶ ἔργων παρανόμων διεγείρω, καὶ ὑπακούουσίν μοι, καὶ
 εἰς ἀπόλειαν φέρω αὐτούς. καὶ φθόνους καὶ φόνους καὶ πολέμους καὶ ἀρε-
 νοβατίας καὶ ἕτερα κακὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐνεργῶ, καὶ ἀπολῶ τὸν κόσμον.
 § 5. (28) εἶπον οὖν αὐτῷ· προσάγαγέ μοι τὸν σὸν γόνον ὅνπερ λέγεις ὅτι
 ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ τῇ Ἑρυνθῳ. ὁ δὲ λέγει· ἐγὼ αὐτὸν οὐ φέρω πρὸς σέ·
 ἐλεύσεται δὲ πρὸς με ἕτερος δαίμων ὀνόματι Ἐφίππᾶς, (Mg 1325) αὐτὸν
 δεσμεύσω καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἀναγάγει πρὸς με. § 6. ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω πρὸς
 αὐτόν· πῶς ἔστιν ὁ υἱός σου ἐν τῷ βυθῷ τῆς (FIMg, τοῖς MS) θαλάσσης καὶ
 τί τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ; ὁ δὲ ἔφη· μή με ἐπερωτᾷς, οὐ γὰρ δυνήσῃ παρ' ἐμοῦ μα-
 θεῖν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐλεύσεται πρὸς σέ δι' ἐμοῦ κελεύσματος καὶ εἴποι σοι φανερώς.

MSS HL = Rec. A. 1. 2, § 4. αὐτῷ: αὐτόν H 3 καθαιρῶ ego: κα-
 θαίρω HL | τύραννον H 4 τὰ δαιμόνια H, τοὺς δαίμονας L | σεβ. π.
 ἀνθρ. L 5 * H f. 9^v | ἐγύρω L, ἔγειρον H | ** L f. 12^r 6 φόνον ἐν πολ.
 κ. φθόνους L | ἀποτελῶν κ. πολ. ἐπάγω H, ἀποστελῶ ἐν πολέμοις· ἐπάγω
 καὶ πόρους καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· οὐδὲν καλὸν οὐ (1. 8) δύναμαι
 ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ L | § 5. κ. εἶπα αὐτῷ H: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς λέγει L 7 τὸν
 ... τρεφομαι: τὸν ... ὡς εἶπας τρεφομένης H, ὃν εἶπας γένους τὸ ἐν τῇ ἐρ.
 θαλ. τρεφομένου L 8 οὐκ (ἀνέγκω) ... οὐδ. H: ἐγὼ αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀνενέγκω
 πρὸς σέ L 9 Ἐφίππᾶς (cf. P): Ἐφίππος H, ἔφηπτας L | ὃς ἐκεῖνον ego:
 ὡς ἐκεῖνος HL | δεσμ. καὶ H: δεσμεύσας L | ἀνάγει L 10 § 6. αὐτόν H
 11 τῷ ... θαλ. L: τῇ Ἑρυνθῳ θαλάσῃ H | τί — I. 12 παρ' H: περὶ L
 13 τὸ ego: τοῦτο HL

7. Εἶπον δὲ αὐτῷ· »λέγε μοι ἐν ποίῳ ἄστροφῳ προσοικεῖσαι.« ὁ δὲ λέγει· »τὸ καλούμενον παρὰ ἀνθρώποις Ἑσπερία.« 8. ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω· »φράσον μοι ὑπὸ ποίου ἀγγέλου καταργεῖσαι.« ὁ δὲ * ἔφη· * »ὑπὸ τοῦ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ· καλεῖται δὲ παρ' Ἑβραίοις Πατικῆ, ὁ ἄφ' ὧνους κατελθὼν· ἔστι δὲ τῶν Ἑλληνιστῶν Ἐμμανουήλ, οὗ δέδοικα τρέμων. ἐάν τις με ὀρκίσῃ τὸ Ἐλωῖ, μέγα ὄνομα τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, ἀφανὴς γίνομαι.« 9. ἐγὼ δὲ Σολομῶν ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐκέλευσα αὐτὸν Θηβαῖα μάρμαρα πρίξειν. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἄρξασθαι πρίξειν αὐτὸν ἡλάλαζον ὅλα τὰ δαιμόνια μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ διὰ τὸν βασιλέα Βεελζεβούλ. 10. ἐγὼ δὲ Σολομῶν ἐπηρώτων αὐτὸν λέγων· »εἰ βούλει ἄφεςιν λαβεῖν, διήγησαί μοι περὶ τῶν ἐπουρανίων.« ἔφη δὲ ὁ Βεελζεβούλ· »ἄκουσον, βασιλεῦ· ἐὰν θυμιάσης στακτὴν καὶ λίβανον καὶ βοιβοῦς θαλάσ-

§ 7. sectionem hanc om. ms. P. § 8. (29) MS P: ἐγὼ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγω· λέγε μοι ὑπὸ ποίου ἀγγέλου καταργῇ σύ. ὁ δὲ ἔφη· ὑπὸ ἀγίου καὶ τιμίου ὀνόματος τοῦ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ, τῷ καλουμένῳ παρ' Ἑβραίοις πενστικῷ, οὗ ἡ ψῆφος χυδ'· παρὰ δὲ Ἕλλησι ἔμμανουήλ· καὶ ἐάν τις τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὀρκίσῃ με τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τῆς δυνάμεως ἐλεῇθ ἀφανὴς (f. 6^v) γίνομαι. § 9. (30) ἐγὼ σολομῶν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐξεπλάγην καὶ ἐκέλευσα αὐτὸν πρίξειν μάρμαρα θηβαῖα. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἄρξασθαι αὐτὸν πρίξιν τὰ μάρμαρα οἱ ἕτεροι δαίμονες ἀνεκραύγασαν φωνὴν μεγάλην, ἀλαλάζοντες διὰ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν βεελζεβούλ. § 10. textum similiorem habent cod. mss. HLP.

MSS HL = Rec. A. 1 § 7. προσοικεῖσαι L: καλεῖσαι H 2 ὁ δὲ ... Ἑσπερ. H: — L | § 8: ἐγὼ ego: ὁ HL 3 φράσον ego: σφρασον H, φράσω L | ποίῳ ἀγγέλου H | * H f. 10^r 4 * L f. 12^{r2} | τοῦ L: — H | καλεῖται ego: καλοῦμαι HL 5 πατικῆ H, πατηκεῖ L | ὁ (James, οὐ ms.) ... Ἐμμαν. H: παρὰ δὲ Ἑλληνας ἔμμανουήλ καὶ ἄφ' ὧνους κατελθεῖν L 6 οὗ δέδοικα τρεμ. H, οὐδὲ διατρέμον L | τις με: τοῖς μοι H | τις ὀρκ. με L | τῷ ἐλωῖθ H, ἐν τῷ ἐλωῖ L 7 γένομαι L, ἐγένομαι H | § 9. Σολ. — L 8 αὐτὸν H: τοῦτον L | Θηβαῖα H: βριβεία L 9 ἐν ... αὐτὸν (αὐτός) H: εἰτα ὁ ἀναγινώσκων· ἐγγίσας τοῦ ὀχλουμένου ἐπὶ τοῦ στηθους λέγων ἐκ τρίτου μεγαλοφώνος L | ἡλάλαζαν H | ὅλα — L 10 φωνῇ· λέγων L

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. 1. 10 §. 10 (31) ἐγὼ δὲ HP: ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ L 11 ἐπηρώτησα P | αὐτ. πάλιν λεγ. L | βούλει HL: θέλεις P | ἄφ. λαβ.: ἄφεςιν λαβῶν L, ἄφ. ἐχρῶν (l. ἔχειν) H, λαβεῖν ἄνεσιν P | διήγησόν L 12 περὶ P: τὴν A | ἔφη ... Βεελζ.: ἔφη ὁ βασιλεὺς H, ἐφοβήθη δὲ ὁ βεελζ. καὶ εἶπεν L, λέγει δὲ βεελζ. P | ἄκουσον, βασ. P: — H, ἀκ. βασιλεὺς καὶ λαβῶν ὁ ἀναγινώσκων· νάρσιν· καὶ κρόκον· καὶ καπνίσας τὸν (f. 12^{v1}) ὀχλούμενον· καὶ λέγει ὁ βεελζεβουὲλ L 13 βοιβ. θαλ.: β. θαλασσίους P, βόλους θαλ. A

σης, νάρκον τε καὶ κρόκον, καὶ λύχνους ἄψης ἐπὶ τὰ ἐν σεισμῶ, οἰκίαν ἐρείσεις. ἐὰν δὲ * καθαρὸς ὢν ἄψης ὄρθρου ἐν ἡλίῳ ἡμέρας, ὅψεις τοὺς δράκοντας τοὺς ἐπουρανίους πῶς εἰλοῦνται καὶ σύρουσι τὰ ἄρμα τοῦ ἡλίου.» 11. ἐγὼ δὲ Σολομῶν ἀκούσας
5 ταῦτα ἐπετίμησα αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπον· «σιώπῃσαι καὶ πρίξε τὰ μάρμαρα καθὼς προσέταξά σοι.»

VII. Καὶ εὐλογήσας τὸν θεὸν ἐγὼ Σολομῶν ἐκέλευσα παρ-
εἶναι μοι ἕτερον δαίμονα· καὶ ἦλθε πρὸ προσώπου μου. καὶ ἦν
τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπιφέρων ἐν τῷ ἄερι ἄνω ὑψηλὸν καὶ τὸ ὑπόλει-
10 πον τοῦ σώματος εἰλούμενον ὥσει κοχλίας. 2. καὶ ἔρρηξε στρα-
τιώτας οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ ἠγειρε * καὶ λάβρον κονιορτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς
γῆς καὶ ἀνέφερεν ἄνω καὶ πολλὰ ἔρριπτεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐμὲ θαμβεῖσθαι,
καὶ εἶπον· «τίνα ἔχω ἐρωτῆσαι;» ἕως ἐπὶ πολὺ. 3. καὶ ἀναστάν-

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. 1 νάρκιν L | ἀνάψης L | ἐν σεισμῶ: — H, ἐν εἰσμῶ conj. dubitanter Cr 2 οἰκ. ἐρείς. P: οὔν καὶ ἄν ὠρίσης H, οὐ-
κείαν ὀρώσεις L | δὲ — L | * H f. 10^v | καθ. ὢν P: καθαρὸν A | ἀνά-
ψης L 3 ἡμέρας ego: ἐνημέραν H, ἡμέρα L, ἡμ (compendia mihi inenodabi-
lia), i. fortasse ἡμέρα vel ἡμερῶν P, ἡμμένον (ἡμετέρον, ἡμετέρω?) Fl | pro
ἐν ἡλ. ἡμ. l. ἐν ὕλῃ ἐνήμενος(?), cf. Test. XII Patr., Levi XVIII 3 | ὅσοι P
| τοὺς (1^o): τότε P | δράκοντας HP: διακόνους L | οὐρανίους P 4 σύ-
ρουσι HP: ἐσύρουσι L | ἡλίου LP: θεοῦ H, forte recte

MSS HLPVW = Recc. ABC. § 11. (32) 4 ἐγὼ HPC: ὁ L | ἐγὼ . . . ἀκουσ.
bis scr. V 5 ταῦτα ἀκουσ. P | ταῦτα . . . σοι — C | ἐπετίμησεν L, ἐπε-
τίμουν H | κ. εἶπον· «σιωπ. καὶ ego: κ. ἐσώπα καὶ ἐλάλουν αὐτόν H, σιω-
πῆσαι καὶ L, κ. εἶπον, σιώπα μοι ἕως τούτου καὶ P 6 καθὼς προσετ. σοι:
καλὸς προέταξά σοι· λέγε ὁ σολομῶν L, ὡς προσετ. σοι P, κατὰ τὸ ὀρι-
σθὲν σοι H

C. VII. MSS HLPVW = Recc. ABC. 7 Καὶ: εἶτα L | Καὶ . . . θεόν:
bis scr. V, + τοῦ οὐρανοῦ B | ἐγὼ Σολ.: — L, + καὶ H | τότε ἐκέλευσεν L
| παρῆναι: περὶνε L 8 ἕτερα δαιμόνια· καὶ ἦλθον ἕτερον δαιμόνιον ἐπὶ
προσώπον L | κ. ἦν . . . ἐπιφερ. A: ὅς ἦν ἐπιφ. τ. προσ. P, ὅπερ ἦν (— V)
ἡμπρόσωπον C 9 ἐν . . . ὑψηλὸν P (— ἄνω) C: ἐν τῷ ἀρενόψει H, τὸ
ἄρενω· ὕψιν L | τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα. L | ὑπόλοιπον P: ὑπόλειπον HC 10 σώ-
ματος H: πνεύματος PC | ὥσει κοχ. P: ὡς εἰ κόχλον H, ὡς κοχλῦος L, ὡς
κοχλίας C | § 2. ἔρρηξε . . . ὀλιγ. A: ὀλίγους διέβῃξεν PC 11 κ. ἠγειρε
κ. λαβ. κον. ego: κ. εἰγειρεν κ. λαῦρον οὐκ ὀνιορτὸν H, κ. ἔγειρεν δὲ καὶ
λαύραν καὶ (— V) κον. C, ἠγείρε δὲ καὶ φοβερόν κον. P | ἀπὸ HC: ἐπὶ LP
| πολλὰ A: πάλιν PC 12 ἐν τῷ θαυμάσθαι με L, ἐν τῷ ἐμὲ θαμβηθῆ-
ναι C | ἐμὲ: ἡμᾶς P | θαμβῆσαι P 13 καὶ . . . ἐρωτῆσαι — C | κ. εἶ-
πον H: κ. εἶπεν P, — L | ἐρωτίσω H | ἕως . . . μου ego: καὶ δὴ ὅς ἐπει
πολὴ ἀνείσταντά με V, κ. δὴ ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀναστάντος μοι W, ἐφῶ· ἐπὶ πολὺ
καὶ ἄν. μου H, ἕως ἐπὶ πολλῇ· καὶ ἄν. μου L, ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ, καὶ ἀναστάντα
με [in textu, κ(αὶ) ἀναστὰς ad marg.] P

τος μου ἔπτυσα¹ χαμαὶ * κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν τόπον καὶ ἐσφράγισα
 τῷ δακτυλιδίῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ οὕτως ἔστη ἡ αὔρα. τότε ἠρώ-
 τησα αὐτὸν λέγων· »σὺ τίς εἶ;« καὶ οὕτως κονιορτὸν τινάξας
 ἀπεκρίθη μοι· »τί θέλεις, βασιλεῦ Σολομῶν;« 4. ἀπεκρίθη δὲ
 αὐτῷ· »εἰπέ μοι τί λέγεις κἀγὼ σε ἐρωτᾶν θέλω.« οὕτως δὲ εὐ-
 χαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ τῷ σοφίσαντί με πρὸς τὰς βουλὰς αὐτῶν ἀπο-
 κρίνεσθαι. ἔφη δέ μοι ὁ δαίμων· »ἐγὼ καλοῦμαι Λιξ Τέτραξ.«
 5. εἶπον δὲ αὐτῷ· »τίς ἡ πρᾶξις σου;« ἔφη δέ· »ἀνθρώπους
 σκορπίζω καὶ στρόφους ποιῶ καὶ πῦρ ἄπτω καὶ ἀγροὺς ἐμπυρίζω
 καὶ οἴκους καταργῶ. ἐπὶ πλείστον δὲ ἔχω τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐν θέρει.
 ἐὰν δὲ καιρὸν εὕρω, ὑποδύνω εἰς γωνίας τοίχων νύκτα καὶ ἡμέ-
 ραν· ἥδη γὰρ γόνος εἰμι τοῦ μεγάλου.« 6. εἶπον * δὲ αὐτῷ·

MSS HLPVW = Recc. ABC. 1 § 3. ἔπτυσα C (ad marg.) P: πύσας A,
 πύσαι P (in textu) | * H f. 11^r | κατ' . . . θεοῦ H: καὶ κατ' . . . τὸ
 δακτυλίδιον τ. θ. L, κατ' ἐκείνου τοῦ τόπου καὶ . . . θεοῦ (in textu) P (— τοῦ
 θεοῦ) V, χαμαὶ κατ' ἐκείνου τοῦ τ(ό)π(ου) καὶ) ε' P (ad marg.), καὶ ἐσφρ. τ.
 δακτ. κατ' ἐκείνου τοῦ τόπου W 2 οὕτως PC: οὕτος A | ἔστη C: ἔστιν (ex
 ἔστιν corr.) P, ἐστὶν L, ἔσται H | αὔρα LP: λαύρα C, λαύρα τοῦ δαίμονος
 σιωπῶν H, + ἐκείνη LC | τότε κἀγὼ H | ἐπηρώτησα C 3 τίς εἶ σύ H |
 κ. οὕτως L: κ. οὕτος H, κ. τούτω (τούτο V) πάλιν C, ἄρα (αὔρα conj. FI)
 οὕτω πάλιν P | τινάξας AP: τὴν ἄξαν V, ῥήρας W 4 μοι: + ὁ δαίμων
 καὶ εἶπεν L | τί με. θέλεις ἐπερωτᾶν C | βασ. Σολ.: — L, add. rubric.
 ἀπόκρισις τοῦ δαίμονος ἡλξ πρὸς σολομ(ῶν) H | § 4. ἀπεκρίθη . . . ἀπο-
 κρίνεσθαι — H | ἀπεκριθ. . . οὕτως δέ: ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπον L | ἀπεκρ. δὲ αὐτ.
 (— δὲ) P (+ λέγων) V: καὶ εἶπον W 5 τί ἂν λέγῃς C | δέ: τ(οὺς) C
 6 τοῦ θεοῦ W | τὸ σοφίσαντος V, τοῦ φήσαντος W | αὐτῶν P: αὐτοῦ C,
 ἡμῶν L | ἀποκρίνεσθαι P: ἄς ἀποκρ. μοι L, τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι μοι C
 7 (33) δέ LPC; — H | μοι LP: — HC | ὁ δαίμ. A: τὸ πνεῦμα C, — P |
 καλοῦμαι AC: εἰμι P | Λιξ Τέτραξ (nomina duo celeberrimarum literarum
 Ephesiarum) ego: ἡ λιξ τέφρας H, εἰς λῆξ· τεφράσθαι (cum sequentibus —
 ἀνθρώπων — conjunctum) L, θλιξ τέφρας C, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς τέφρας (τέφραν
 falso FI) PFI Mgr Ctrtr 8 § 5. εἶπον δὲ . . . ἔφη δέ — A | εἶπον δὲ αὐτῷ
 PV: καὶ ἐπηρώτησα αὐτόν W | ἔφη δέ C: ἡ δὲ ἔφη P | ἀν(θρώπ)ων L
 9 σκορπίζω C: σκοτίζω AP | καὶ στροφ. . . ἄπτω: — P, + ἀπιστίω (I.
 ἀπίστως) C | ἀγροὺς: + πυρὶ A 10 καταργῶ PC: κατάργω A | ἐπὶ
 πλείστον P: κατὰ πλίστην H, κατὰ πληθὴν L, τὰ πλείστα C | δὲ PW:
 — AV | θέρην L 11 ἐὰν AC: ὅταν P | καιρὸν: κερῶ V | ὑποδύνω
 HC: ὑποδύνομαι P, τόπον (f. 13^r) παιδινὸν L, τοίχων HC: τυχῶν L, τριχῶν P,
 τειχῶν FI | νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας PV, ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς W 12 ἥδη . . .
 μέγαν PC: καὶ γὰρ συγγενῆς εἰμι τοῦ (— L) μεγάλου δαίμονος A |
 § 6. * W f. 268^v | καὶ εἶπον αὐτόν A | δὲ C: οὖν P | αὐτῶν V

»ἐν ποίῳ ἄστρον κεῖσθαι;« ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· »εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ
 κέρατος τῆς σελήνης τὸ ἐν τῷ νότῳ εὐρισκόμενον ἐκεῖ μου τὸ
 ἄστρον. διότι τὰ σφάλματα τοῦ ἡμιτριταίου προσετάχθην ἀνι-
 μᾶσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο ἰδόντες πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐχονται εἰς
 5 τὸν ἡμιτριταῖον ἐν τοῖς τρισὶν ὀνόμασι τούτοις· >βουλταλά·
 θαλλάλ· μελχάλ· καὶ ἰῶμαι αὐτούς.« 7. εἶπον δὲ αὐτῷ ἐγὼ
 Σολομῶν· »ὅτε οὖν θέλεις κακουργεῖν, ἐν τίνι καταργεῖσθαι;
 ὁ δὲ ἔφη· »ἐν τῷ ἀγγέλῳ ᾧ καὶ ὁ ἡμιτριταῖος * παύεται·
 ἐπηρώτησα δὲ αὐτόν· »ἐν ποίῳ ὀνόματι καταργεῖσθαι;« ὁ δὲ εἶπεν·
 10 »ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Ἀζαήλ.« 8. καὶ ἐπεσφράγισα

MSS HLPVW = Recc. ABC. 1 ἐν — P | σὺ κεῖσθαι H, συνοικῆσαι L
 | εἶπεν LW: ἔφη PV, λέγει H | εἰς ... σελ. τὸ scr. posteaque supra εἰς scr.
 ἐν et in αὐτῷ τῷ ἄκρῳ τ. κ. τ. σ. τῷ corr. P^c | αὐτὸ HP: — LC 2 κέρα-
 τος τ. σελ. PC: καιράτου τῆς γῆς H, κέρου τῆς Δ (= γῆς) L | τὸ ... εὐ-
 ρικ. ego: τῷ ἐν τ. ν. εὐρισκόμενῳ BC, τὸν ἐν τὸ τόπῳ εὐρισκόμενον H, ἐν
 τόπῳ εὐρισκόμενος L | ἐκεῖ μου: ἐκείνου L | μου HC: μοι ἐστὶ P 3 τὰ
 σφαλμ. τ. ἡμ. προσετ. P (— τὰ) V: σφαλ. τ. ἡμ. εἰμι ἐγὼ καὶ προσετάχην W,
 τὰ ἡμετέρα τριταῖα (ἡμέτερα τριταῖα L) σφαλ. προστάτης (-την H) A |
 σφαλμ.: σπάσματα conj. Cr 4 ἰδόντες ... ἡμιτριταῖον PC: εἶδον πολλοὺς
 τῶν ἐθνῶν ἔχοντα πρὸς με τριταῖον (-αίων H) A 5 * Mg 1328 | ἐν ...
 τούτοις P: ἐν τούτοις τῆς τρισὶν H, ἐν τούτοις τρισὶν ὀνόμασιν L, ἐν τοῖς δυ-
 σὶν ὀνόμασιν τούτοις ἢ καὶ τρισὶν ἅτινα εἰσὶν ταῦτα W, (— ἅτινα εἰσὶν) V |
 βουλ. ... μελχάλ P: βούλ· τὰλ· θαλάλ· H, βούλ· ταγίθαμαν· μελχαγ· rubric.
 scr. W, βούλ· ταγίθαμάν· μελχαγί· V, καὶ κράτει τοὺς δύο δατύλους τοῦ
 ὀχλουμένου καὶ εἰπὲ οὕτως εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν ὦπλον ἐπτάκις· βουσταί. θαλάλ· L
 | in cod. ms. Vindobon. phil.-graec. no. 108, f. 167^v (S) scriptum est incanta-
 mentum hoc: ὁ μιτριτεος (l. ἡμιτριταῖος) (κατά)ργηται ἐν τὸ ὀνόματι (το)ῦ
 (ἀ)ρχαγγέλου ἀζαζήλ· τὸν βούλ· τὸν τὰγίθαμαν· τὸν μελχαγί (literae in
 uncis fractis inclusae compendiis cryptographicis scriptae sunt) 6 αὐτούς AP:
 τούτους C | § 7. εἶπον APW: ἔφη K | δὲ: οὖν H | αὐτῷ PC: — A
 7 Σολ. πρὸς αὐτόν H | ὅτε HP: ὅταν LC | οὖν — L | θέλεις HP:
 θέλει L, ἔλθης C | κακουργεῖν ... καταργεῖσθαι ego: κακουργεῖν, ἐν τίνι
 κακουργεῖς PC, καταργῇ πῶς καταργῆσαι ἢ καὶ τοῦ μητριταίου παύεται H,
 τίς καταργήσοις· καὶ τὸν τριταῖον· ἐν ποίῳ ἀγγέλῳ καταργῆσαι θέλει με L
 8 ὁ δὲ ... καταργεῖσθαι (l. 9): — A | δέ μοι P | ᾧ P: ὁ C | ἡμιτριταῖος
 W: μιτριτεός V, τριταῖος P | * P f. 7^v | ἐπαναπαύεται P 9 αὐτόν:
 αὐτῷ V, + καὶ εἶπον P | ποίῳ δέ P | καταργ. — P | ὁ δὲ εἶπεν C: καὶ
 εἶπεν μοι A, ὁ δὲ ἔφη P 10 ἐν τῷ ὀνομ. C: — P | ἐν τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ A
 | Ἀζαήλ AP: ἀζαζήλ C, ἀζαζήλ S (v. supra) | § 8. κ. ἐπεσφράγ.: κ. ἐπι-
 σφραγίσασα H, εἰτα ἐσφράγησα L, κ. ἐσφράγισα C, κ. ἐπεκαλεσάμην τὸν ἀρ-
 χάγγελον ἀζαήλ, καὶ ἐπεσφράγ. P

τὸν δαίμονα καὶ ἐκέλευσα αὐτὸν λίθους ἀρπάζειν καὶ εἰς τὰ ὑψηλὰ τοῦ ναοῦ ἀκοντίζειν * τοῖς τεχνίταις· καὶ ἀναγκαζόμενον τὸ δαιμόνιον τὰ προστεταγμένα αὐτῷ ἔποιει.

VIII. Καγὼ δὲ πάλιν ἐδόξασα τὸ θεὸν τὸν δόντα μοι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην καὶ ἐκέλευσα ἄλλον δαίμονα παρεῖναι μοι. * καὶ ἦλθον πνεύματα ἑπτὰ συνδεδεμένα καὶ συμπεπλεγμένα, εὐμορφα τῷ εἶδει καὶ εὐσχημα. 2. ἐγὼ δὲ Σολομῶν ἰδὼν αὐτὰ ἐθαύμασα καὶ ἐπηρώτησα αὐτά· »τίνες ἔστε;« οἱ δὲ εἶπον· »ἡμεῖς ἔσμεν στοιχεῖα κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκοτόντος.« 3. καὶ φησιν ὁ πρῶτος· »ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ Ἀπάτη.« ὁ δεύτερος· »ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ Ἔρις.«

MSS HLPVW = Recc. ABC. 1 τ. δαίμονα C: τὸ δαιμόνων H, αὐτῷ L, τὸν ἄγγελον scr. P, mox ἄγγελον transversa linea deleto δαίμονα scr. prim. man. | ἐκελ. αὐτόν: προσέταξε τοῦτο L | λίθους μεγάλους PC | ἀπάζειν H | ἀρπάζειν λίθους καὶ εἰς τὰ ὑψηλὰ μέρη τοῦ τείχους ἀκοντίζει L 2 τ. ναοῦ — C | * L f. 13^{r2} | τ. τεχν. P: τοὺς τεχνίτας AC, + κελεύσας τὸν δαίμονα ἐπιτιθεῖναι· ἐν τῷ ὅμῳ αὐτοῦ λίθους μέγας: εἶτα ὁ ἀναγινώσκων ἐπί-θες αὐτῷ φέρειν· ἔνδω τοῦ ναοῦ· ἀπ' ἔξωθεν L | ἀναγκαζόμενος ὁ δαίμων A 3 προστεταγ. P: προσταγμένα L, προσταχθέντα C | αὐτῷ HC: — LP | ἔποιει HP: ἐνεργεῖν L, ἐπάγει C

C. VIII. MSS HLPVW = Recc. ABC. (34) 4 καγὼ δὲ HP: καγὼ σολομῶν L, καὶ ἐγὼ C | πάλιν — L | θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ H | μοι τὴν — C 5 καὶ ἐκέλευσα . . . σκοτόντος (l. 9) textum ex ms. W exscr. Gaulminius (Glm) in notis ad Psellum, *de oper. daem.*, Migne PG 122, 824D, n. 11 | ἄλλον . . . μοι A: παρεῖναι μοι ἕτερον δαίμονα C (δαιμόνιον) P, add. rubric. περὶ τὸν ἑπτὰ δαιμόνων H 6 * f. 12^r H | ἑπτὰ πν(εύ)ματα H | πν. ἐπ. θηλυκὰ P | συνδεδ. LPG: συνδεδόμεθα H, + ἀλλήλων L | κ. συμπεπλ. P: κ. ἐμπεριπλεγμ(εν)α H, — LC 7 εὐμ. τ. εἶδει HC: εὐμ. τὸ εἶδος P, εὐμορφα τὰ εἶδη L | κ. εὐσχ. P: κ. ἔσχημα A, — C | § 2. ἐγὼ δὲ HP: καγὼ C, καγὼ δὲ L | ἰδὼν αὐτά: εἶδον αὐτὰ καὶ H, ἰδόντα τούτα L, ἰδὼν ταῦτα C | ἰδὼν — Glm | αὐτά — P 8 ἐθανμ. κ.: — P, ἐθανμ. τὰς ἐναλλαγὰς αὐτῶν καὶ L | ἐπερώ-τον L | αὐτά PC: αὐτόν H, αὐτοὺς L, pr. καὶ W, — Glm, + λέγω V, + λέγων W | τίνες: τίνος L, pr. ὑμεῖς P, pr. καὶ ὑμεῖς C | οἱ δὲ εἶπον H: καὶ εἶπον μοι L, αἱ δὲ ὁμοθυμαδὸν μιᾷ φωνῇ ἔφησαν P, εἰ δὲ μοθημαδῶν φων(ῇ) ἔφησαν μιᾷ V, οἱ δὲ ὁμοθυμαδ(ὼν) ἔφησαν μιᾷ φωνῇ καὶ εἶπον W | ἡμεῖς ἔσμεν — L 9 στοιχ. κοσμ. c. σκοτ. H: τὰ λεγόμενα στοιχεῖα οἱ κοσμ. τ. σκοτ. τούτου C, ἐκ τῶν τριάκοιτα τριῶν στοιχείων τοῦ κοσμοκρά-τορος τοῦ σκοτ. P, στοιχεῖα τοῦ κοσμοκράτορος τὸ ὄργανον τοῦ θη (l. θεοῦ?) L, sequitur in textu character magicus luna similis radios habens septem parallelos alio melius depicto in marg. rect. | add. nomina daemonum haec Gaulminius: Ἀπάτη, Ἔρις, Κλώθων, Ζάλη, Πλάνη, Δύναμις 9 § 3. καὶ . . . πρωτ. HV: κ. ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἔφη W, ἔφησε δὲ ἡ πρώτη P | § 3. om. L 10 ὁ δευτ. HC: ἡ δευτέρα P, — H, + εἶπεν C | ἡ Ἔρις PC: ὁ ἄλλος H

ὁ τρίτος· »ἐγὼ εἰμι ἢ Κλωθώ.« ὁ τέταρτος· ἐγὼ εἰμι ἢ Ζάλη.«
 ὁ πέμπτος· »ἐγὼ εἰμι ἢ Πλάνη.« ὁ ἕκτος· »ἐγὼ εἰμι ἢ Δύναμις.«
 ὁ ἑβδομος· »ἐγὼ εἰμι ἢ Κακίστη. 4. καὶ τὰ ἄστροι * ἡμῶν ἐν
 οὐρανῷ * φαίνονται μικρὰ καὶ ὥς θεοὶ καλούμεθα· ὁμοῦ ἄλλασ-
 5 σόμεθα καὶ ὁμοῦ οἰκοῦμεν ποτὲ μὲν τὴν Λυδίαν, ποτὲ δὲ τὸν
 Ὀλυμπον, ποτὲ δὲ τὸ μέγα ὄρος.« 5. ἐπηρώτων δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ
 Σολομῶν, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου· »λέγε μοι τίς σου ἡ ἐργασία.«
 καὶ λέγει· »ἐγὼ Ἀπάτη· ἀπάτην πλέξω καὶ κακίστας αἰρέσεις ἐν-
 θυνίζω. ἀλλ' ἔχω τὸν καταργοῦντά με ἄγγελον Λαμεχιήλ.« 6. ὁ
 10 δεύτερος λέγει· »ἐγὼ εἰμι ἢ Ἐρις· ἐρίζω φέρων ξύλα λίθους ξίφη
 τὰ ὅπλα μου τοῦ τόπου. ἀλλ' ἔχω ἄγγελον τὸν καταργοῦντά

MSS HLPVW = Recc. ABC. 1 ὁ τριτ. HC: ἡ τρίτη P, + υπ < (1. εἰ-
 πεν) V | ἡ Κλωθώ ego: ὁ κλωθῶ H, κλωθοῦ ὃ ἐσσι μάχη P, ὁ κλώθον V,
 ὁ κλώθον W | ὁ (τέταρτ)ος HC: ἡ τετάρτη P, + ὑπε V | Ζάλη P: μάχη H,
 supra δύναμις primum scriptum et postea deletum scr. ζάλη W, δύναμις V
 2 ὁ (πέμπτ)ος HC: ἡ πέμπτη P, + ὑπ(εν) V | ἡ Πλάνη C: ζὰ· H, ἡ δύνα-
 μις P, cf. infra § 9 | ὁ (ἕκτ)ος HC: ἡ ἕκτη P, pr. καὶ V, + εἶπεν C | ἡ
 Δύναμις C: ἡ πλάνη HP 3 ὁ (ἑβδομ)ος HC: ἡ ἑβδόμη P, pr. καὶ V, + εἶπεν C
 ἡ Κακίστη P (-ην) H: ὁ κάκιστος πάντων C | § 4. καὶ — C | * V f. 439^r |
 ἡμῶν εἰσιν C | ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ C 4 * P f. 8^r | φαίν. μικρὰ A: εἰσιν,
 ἐπὶ ἄστροι μικροφανῇ ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ P, ἐπὶ ἄστροι (— W) μικροφανῇ C |
 καὶ .. καλουμ. A: κ. ὥς θεὰς καλ. P, — C | ὁμοῦ PC: — A | ἄλλασσ.:
 ἄλασσώμ. W, ἄλασσώμ. V, ἄλλεσώμ. L, ἄλλασσοῦμ. P, — H 5 οἰκοῦμενα C
 | ποτὲ μὲν C: ποτὲ P, παρὰ A | Λυδίαν: λύδαν H, λυδα L | δὲ HC:
 — LP | τ. Ὀλυμπ. P: τ. Ὀλυπον H, τὴν ὄλ. C, τοῦ ἔμπον L 6 ποτὲ δὲ
 HPC: καὶ ποτὲ L, + καὶ C | τὸ — PV | § 5. (35) ἐπηρώτησα P | ἐπ.
 ... Σολ.: — C | αὐτοὺς L: αὐτὰς P, αὐτὸν H 7 ἀρξ. ... πρώτου L: ἀρξ.
 ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης H, ἀρξ. δὲ ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ (πρώτ)ου εἶπον W, ἀρξ. δὲ ἐγὼ ἀπὸ
 τὸν (πρώτ)ον λεγὼ V, μιᾶ ἐκάστη, ἡρξάμην δὲ ἀπὸ πρώτης ἕως τῆς ἑβδό-
 μης P | * L f. 13^{v1} | λέγε ... ἐργασ. — P | μοι AV: — W | σου HC:
 — L 8 κ. λέγει A: ἡ πρώτη ἔφη P, ὁ (πρώτ)ος λεγ. V, κ. ὁ μὲν ποῶτος
 εἶπ(εν) W | Ἀπάτη: pr. ἡ W, + εἰμι P | ἀπάτην ego: ἀπατῶ PC, om. per
 haplographiam A | * H f. 12^v | καὶ ... ἐνθνυμ. H: αἰρέσεως κακίστις ἐνθνυμ. L,
 ὡδε (ὡ in ras.) κἀκεῖ· αἰρέσεις ἐρεθίζω P, πλεκολογῶ (πλοκ- V) τὸ δὲ καὶ
 ἐρεθίζω C 9 τὸν ... ἄγγελον LPC: ἄγγ. τὸν κατ. με H | Λαμεχιήλ C:
 γλαμεχιήλ H, χλαμεήλ L, λαμεχαλαλ P | § 6. (36) ὁ δευτ. λέγει H: καὶ ὁ
 δ. ἔφη C, ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ δευτέρα ἔφη P | sectionem om. L 10 εἰμι — W
 | εἰμι ἢ Ἐρις PC: ἡμίρρης H | ἐρίζω ... ξίφη C: ἔρις ἐρίδων (ad marg.
 καὶ ἔρις τῶν)· φέρω ξύλα λίθους, ξίφει P, ἐρρίδων ξύλα φαίρων· λίθους δὲ
 ξίφη H 11 μου PC: — H | τοῦ τόπου HP; τοιαῦτα C | ἀλλ' ἔχω:
 ἔχω δὲ H

με Βαρουχίηλ. 7. ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ τρίτος ἔφη· »ἐγὼ Κλωθῶ·
κνκλίσκομαι καὶ πάντα ποιῶ μάχεσθαι καὶ μὴ εἰρηνεύειν εὐσχη-
μόνως περιέξουσιν. [καὶ τί πολλὰ λέγω;] ἔχω ἄγγελον τὸν καταρ-
γοῦντά με Μαρμαρώθ. 8. καὶ ὁ τέταρτος ἔφη· »ἐγὼ ποιῶ ἀνθρο-
πους μὴ σωφρονεῖν· μερίζω· χωρίζω· παρακολουθούσης μοι καὶ
τῆς Ἑριδος ἀποχωρίζω [ἀδελφούς καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ὅμοια τούτοις
ποιῶ.] [καὶ τί πολλὰ λέγω;] ἀλλ' ἔχω ἄγγελον τὸν καταργοῦντά
με τὸν μέγαν Βαλθιούλ. 9. ὁ πέμπτος ἔφη· »ἐγὼ Πλάνη εἰμί,
βασιλεῦ * Σολομών, καὶ σὲ πλανῶ καὶ ἐπλάνησά σε * καὶ ἐποίησα
ἀποκτῆναι τοὺς ἀδελφούς. ἐγὼ πλανῶ ὑμᾶς τάφους ἐρευνᾶν

MSS HLPVW = Recc. ABC. 1 Βαρουχίηλ C: βαρουχιαήλ H, βαρουχια-
χίλ P | § 7. (37) ὁμ. καὶ HP: — LC | ὁ τριτ. LC: ἡ τρίτη P, ἡ τρίτων H
| ἐγὼ εἰμι C | Κλωθῶ ego; κλοθῶ H, κλώθω L, κλωθοῦ (supra ω scr. ο) P,
ὁ κλώθων W, ὁ κλοθ < V 2 κνκλίσκομαι (i. q. κνκλίζω) LC: καὶ ἀλλίσκο-
μαι H, καλοῦμαι P, l. fortasse κικλήσκομαι | καὶ .. μάχεσθ.: ὅ ἐστι μάχη P
| πάντα HC: πάντας L | κ. μὴ εἰρην.: — P | εἰρην. C: ἔρην. H, — L |
εὐσχημ. περιεξ. ego: εὐσχημ. πῆζουσιν H, εὐχη μόνος περιέξουσα L, εὐσχη-
μόνους χύσαι (vel χόσαι) καὶ περισχηθῆναι (supra η — ι° — scr. ε) ποιῶ P, οὐ
σχημόνους (falso) περισχεθῆναι ποιῶ Fl, — C 3 κ. τί πολ. λεγ. PC: — A
| ἔχω: pr. καὶ A, pr. εἰ μὴ V, pr. ἀλλ' W | τ. κατ. με ἀγγ. L 4 Μαρ-
μαρώθ V: μαρμαροῦθ W, μαρμαράθ P, μαρτυρώθ H, μετύρον L | § 8. (38)
κ. ὁ τετ. C (— καὶ) L: ἡ δὲ τετάρτη H, ὁμοίως καὶ τετάρτη P | ἔφη: εἰ-
πεν H | ἐγὼ ἡ ζάλη· C | τοὺς ἀνθρ. P 5 μὴ σωφρ. PC: μισοκακεῖν A
| μερίζω A: μετρίζω P, — C | χωρίζω: + ἀπομερίζω P, + ἀποχωρίζω C
| παρακολ. μοι PC: παρακολουθοῦσιν H, — L | κ. τ. Ἐρ. — L 6 ἀπο-
χωρ. ... ποιῶ (— ἀποχωρ.) L: ἀποσχίζω (ad marg. χωρὶ scr. P, i. q. ἀπο-
χωρίζω) ἄνδρα ἀπὸ τῆς συγκαίτου αὐτοῦ καὶ τέκνα ἀπὸ γονέων καὶ ἀδελφούς
ἀπὸ ἀδελφῶν P, ἀποσχίζω ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τοὺς συγγενοῖς (l. συγγενεῖς, σονγκητ <
V, l. συγκαίτ(ους)) αὐτῶν (αὐτοῦ V) καὶ γονεῖς ἀπὸ τέκνων καὶ ἀδελφούς
ἀπὸ ἀδελφάς C 7 καὶ .. λέγω PC: — A, + κατ' ἐμοῦ P | ἀλλ' HW:
καὶ L, — PV | τὸν scr. bis L 8 τ. μέγα HP: τ. μέγα L, — C | Βαλ-
θιούλ P: μαχθιούμ C, μελχοῦ H, μελχονήλ L | § 9. (39) περιπτ. LC: ἡ
πέμπτη HP, pr. ὁμοίως καὶ P, pr. καὶ C | ἔφη — W | Δύναμις operaque
illius (§ 10) pro quinto, at Πλάνη operaque huius pro sexto habet P | Πλάνη
PC: πλάνα H, πλάνος L, pr. ἡ W, pr. εἰμι P | εἰμί AV: — PW 9 * P
f. 8^v | Σολ.: + εἰμι C | σε: — L, + δὲ P | σὲ ἐπλάνησά scriptis et post
σὲ signo omissionis posito super ἐπλάνησά ad marg. sup. δὲ πλανῶ, ὡς καὶ
adscr. P^o | πλανῶ AP: πλανήσω C | κ. ἐπλαν. σε — L | κ. ἐπλαν. ...
ἀδελφ.: ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς ζωῆς σου C | * H f. 13¹ | ἐποίησά
σε L 10 τὸν ἀδελφὸν σου P | ὑμᾶς L: ἡμᾶς HP, πάντας C | τάφους
... εὐσεβείας — A | ταφ. ἐρευν. P: καὶ τοὺς ταφ. ἐρευνῶ (— να V) C

καὶ διορυκτὰς διδάσκω, καὶ ἀποπλανῶ ψυχὰς ἀπὸ πάσης εὐσεβείας, καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ φαῦλα * ποιῶ. ἔχω δὲ τὸν καταργοῦντά με ἄγγελον Οὐρήλ.» 10. ὁμοίως δὲ ὁ ἔκτος ἔφη· »ἐγὼ Δύναμις τυράννους ἀνιστῶ, βασιλεῖς καθαιρῶ, * καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις
 5 παρέχω δύναμιν. ἔχω ἄγγελον τὸν καταργοῦντά με Ἀστεραῶθ.» 11. ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ἑβδομος ἔφη· »ἐγὼ εἰμι Κακίστη, καὶ σέ, βασιλεῦ, κακώσω ὅτε κελυσθῶ Ἀρτέμιδος δεσμοῖς· ἰδιὰ ταῦτα γάρ σε διαπραῖξαι ἔχεις τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ὡς φίλτατος, ἐμοὶ δὲ κατ' ἐμαντὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τὴν σοφίαν.¹ ἔὰν γάρ τις σοφός, οὐκ ἐπι
 10 στρέψει ἵχνος πρὸς μέ.» 12. καὶ γὰρ δὲ Σολομῶν ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐσφράγισα αὐτοὺς τῷ δακτυλιδίῳ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐκέλευσα αὐτοὺς ὀρύσσειν τοὺς θεμελίους τοῦ ναοῦ· * καὶ ἐτάξατο τὸ μὲν μῆκος

MSS HLPVW = Recc. ABC. 1 κ. διορύκτας διδ. P: κ. ριορείκτα διδάσκων V, — W 2 ἐτ. ποιῶ φαυλ. πολ. H | πολλὰ.— L | φαῦλα AP: φαντάσματα C | * Mg 1329 | ποιῶ: ἐν ἐμοὶ P | ἔχω δὲ LPV: ἔχων δὲ H, ἀλλ' ἔχω W | ἄγγ. τ. κατ. με C 3 Οὐρήλ P: οὐρονήλ A, οὐρικά C | § 10. (40) ὁμοίως δὲ HP: καὶ C, — L, + καὶ H | ὁ ἔκτος LC: ἡ ἔκτη HP | de inversione sectionum 9 et 10 in ms. P v. supra | ἐγὼ: + δὲ H,^o + δὲν L, + εἰμι P, + ἡ C | Δυν. ... ἀνιστῶ ego: δύναμαι (— H) τυρ. ἀνιστάναι A, δύναμις· δυνάμει τυρ. ἀνιστῶ P, δύναμις· ὁμοῦ τυρ. ἀνιστῶ C 4 καθαιρῶ P: καθαιρεῖν L, — HC | * L f. 13^v2 | κ. πᾶσι ... ἄγγ. τὸν — H | πᾶσι LP: — C | τοὺς ὑπεναντίους W 5 παρέχων W | ἔχω δὲ C | τὸν κατ. με ἄγγ. L | καταργοῦντα μαι ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου H | Ἀστεραῶθ W(?)P (-αἶθ) V: ἀσταραῶθ(?) P, περαῶθ H, περεῶθ L 6 § 11. (41) ὁμοί. καὶ HPV: καὶ W, — L | ὁ ἑβδ. LC: ἡ ἑβδόμη P, ζ H | εἰμι LP: ἡ H, + βασιλεὺς L | εἰμι . . . πρὸς μέ (l. 10): ἡ (καλοῦμαι V) ζάλη· ζαλλίζω· σκοτίζω πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀπὸ τῆς εὐθείας ὁδοῦ, καὶ ἑτέρας (ἔχω καὶ ἑτέρας ἐνεργείας καὶ W) κακουργίας ἔχω οὐκ ὀλίγας. ἔχω δὲ τὸν ἄγγελον τὰν (— W) καταργοῦντά με, μέγαν κανωνήλ (καννονήλ W) C | βασ. H: βασιλεὺς L, αὐτὸν P 7 κακώσω A: κακῶ P | ὅτε ... δεσμοῖς A: ὅτι κελυσθῶ Ἀρτέμιδος δεσμούς, ἡ δὲ ἄκρις με λύσει P (cf. XXVI 4ff.) | κελυσθῶ conj. FlCr | διὰ ... φίλτατος: δι' αὐτῆς γὰρ σε δεῖ πραῖξαι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν P 8 διαπραῖξαι (aor. inf. act.) ego: διὰ πράξαι H, διὰ πράξας L | ἔχεις L: ἔχων H | ἐμοὶ ... τῆς σοφίας H, ἐμοὶ ... ἐπιθυμῶμην τὴν σοφίαν L, ἐμὴ δὲ κατ' ἐμαντῆς τὴν σοφίαν P 9 σοφός τις H | ἐπιστρέφει P, ἐπιστρέ L 10 ἵχνος αὐτῆς A | § 12. (42) καὶ γὰρ A: ἐγὼ P | καὶ γὰρ . . . ταῦτα: καὶ C | ταῦτα A: καὶ θανμάσας P 11 ἐσφραγ. AP: σφραγίσας C | αὐτοὺς HC: αὐτὰς LP | τῷ: — L, pr. ἐν P | τοῦ θεοῦ A: — PC | καὶ HP: — LC, + ἐπειδὴ σύντομαι ἦσαν P | αὐτοῖς L, αὐτὰς P 12 ὀρύσσειν PW: ὀρύσσαν H, ὀρεῖση V, ὀρύην L | τὸ θεμέλιον L, ἐν τοῖς θεμελίοις H | ι. ναοῦ: καὶ ὀρύσσαν W, κ. ὀρεῖσον V, + τοῦ θεοῦ P | * H f. 13^v | καὶ ἐτ. τ. μὲν μηκ. H (— τὸ) L: τὸ μὲν γὰρ μηκ. C | κ. ἐτ. ... πεντ.: ἐπεὶ διακ. πεντ. πηχ. ἦν τ. μηκ. P.

πήγεις διακοσίους πεντήκοντα· καὶ πάντα τὰ κελευσθέντα αὐτοῖς κατηργάζοντο.

IX. Καὶ πάλιν ἤτησα περιελθεῖν ἕτερα δαιμόνια, καὶ προσ-
ενέχθη μοι δαιμόνιον, ἄνθρωπος μὲν πάντα τὰ μέλη αὐτοῦ,
ἀκέφαλος δέ. 2. καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· »λέγε μοι σὺ τίς εἶ, καὶ πῶς
καλεῖσαι.« ὁ δὲ δαίμων ἔφη· »Φόνος καλοῦμαι· ἐγὼ γὰρ κεφαλὰς
κατεσθίω, θέλων * ἔμαντῶ κεφαλὴν ποιήσασθαι, καὶ οὐ χορτά-
ζομαι· * ἐπιθυμῶ κεφαλὴν ποιῆσαι οἶαν ὥς καὶ σὺ, βασιλεῦ.«
3. ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐγὼ ἐσφράγισα αὐτὸν ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρά μου
κατὰ τοῦ στήθους αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἀνεπήδησεν ὁ δαίμων καὶ ἔρρηξεν
ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐγόγγυσεν εἰπών· »οἷμοι· ποῦ ἐπέτυχον προδότην
Ὀρνίαν; οὐ βλέπω.« 4. καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον αὐτῷ· »καὶ πόθ' ἔν βλέπεις;«

MSS HLPVW = Recc. ABC. 1 πήγεις διακοσίας πεντ. H, πήξας σν L, πηχῶν ν C | κ. παντ. . . . κατηργ.: ἔφησα δὲ αὐτὰς ἐντόνους εἶναι, καὶ κοι-
μούς γογγύσασθαι τελέσαι τὰ κελευσθέντα αὐταῖς κατηργάζοντο P | κελευ-
σθέντα A, κελεστέντα V | αὐτοῖς A: αὐτοῦ V, — W 2 κατηργ.: ἐποιοῦν W
C. IX. (43) 3 K. πάλιν H: καὶ L, ἐγὼ δὲ σολομῶν δοξάσας τὸν θεὸν
(+ πάλιν C) CP, add. super θεὸν prim. man. κ(ύριο)ν P | ἤτησα ego: αἶτησα L,
ἠτισάμην W, ἐτίσαμ. V, ἔταξα H, ἐκέλευσα P | περιελθεῖν H: τοῦ ἐλθεῖν
καὶ L, παρεῖναι μοι P, παραστήναι μοι καὶ C | ἐτ. δαιμ. A: ἕτερον δαιμό-
νιον P, ἕτερον δαιμον < V, ἕτερος δαίμων W 4 δαιμόνιον P: δαιμόνια L,
— HC | μὲν A: ἔχων P, — C | πάντα τὰ H: ὅλα τὰ L, τὰ πάντα PC
| αὐτοῦ — P 5 ἀκεφ. δὲ C | § 2. καὶ: καὶ γὰρ P | εἶπον αὐτῷ H (pr. ἰδὼν)
P: ἰδὼν αὐτὸν εἶπον W, ἰδὼν αὐτῷ εἶπα V, λέγει τούτον L | λέγε μοι — L
| σὺ — H | κ. πῶς καλ. A: κ. π. καλεῖ C, — P 6 δὲ — H | δαίμων
— PC | ἔφη LW: εἶπεν PV, λέγει L, + δαιμόνιον εἰμι PC, add. adhuc εἶπον
οὖν αὐτῷ· τίς. ὁ δὲ ἔφη P | Φόνος δὲ C | ἐγὼ καλοῦμαι φθόνος P |
γὰρ LP: δὲ H, — C | κεφαλ.: + ἡδέως PC 7 θέλων HP: θέλον L, θέλω C
| * L f. 14^r | ἔμαντῶ HP: ἔμαντοῦ L, ἔμαντὸν W, ἔμαντῶν V | ποιή-
σασθαι HC: ποιήσθαι L, περιποιήσασθαι P | χορτάζω P 8 * P f. 9^r |
ἐπιθυμῶ: pr. ὥς L, + δὲ PC | ποιῆσαι A: περιποιήσασθαι C, τοιαύτην
ἔχειν P, + μοι L | οἶαν ὥς: ἰὰν ὥς H, ἵνα ὥς L, οἶαν P, ἦνπερ C | καὶ
σὺ: καὶ ἐσὺ L | βασιλεῦ A: — PC 9 § 3. ταῦτα δὲ H | ἐγὼ σολομῶν
PC | ἐσφραγ.: ἐσφάλησα L | τ. χεῖρ.: τὰς χεῖρας H 10 κατὰ: ἐκ H |
καὶ (1^o) — H | ἔρρηξεν H: ρήξας L, διέρρηξεν C, ἔρριπεν P 11 ἑαυτὸν P:
αὐτὸν vel αὐτὸν HC, αὐτὴν L | ἐγόγγ. P: γόγγυσαν H, ἐκό[κ]κυσεν αὐτῷ C,
— L | εἰπών PC: εἶπον H, εἶπεν L, pr. αὐτῷ C | οἷμοι PL: εἶμι C, ἡμῖν
H | ἐπέτυχον pr. Ὀρν. L: ἐνέτυχον pr. Ὀρν. H, πάρειμι, ᾧ προδότα Ὀρ-
νία PC 12 οὐ — L | § 4. κ. εἶπον αὐτῷ H: (βλέπω) καγὼ καὶ εἶπον
αὐτὸν L, ἔφην δὲ αὐτῷ ἐγὼ σολομῶν P, εἶπον δὲ ἐγὼ σολ. C | καὶ A: λέγε
μοι C (+ γὰρ) P | * H f. 14^r

ὁ δὲ ἔφη· »διὰ τῶν μαστῶν μου.« * 5. καὶ γὰρ δὲ Σολομῶν τὴν
 ἡδονὴν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούσας καὶ θέλων μαθεῖν ἐπηρώτησα
 αὐτόν· »πόθεν λαλεῖς;« ὁ δὲ ἔφη· »ἡ ἐμὴ φωνὴ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων
 φωνὰς ἐκκληρονόμησεν· ὅσοι γὰρ ἐν ἀνθρώποις βωβοὶ καλοῦνται,
 5 [τούτων ἐγὼ κατέκλεισα τὰς κεφαλὰς.] ὅτε παιδία γίνονται δέκα
 ἡμερῶν, τότε τῆς νυκτὸς κλαίοντος τοῦ παιδίου γίνομαι πνεῦμα
 καὶ διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ἐπεισέρχομαι. 6. ἐν ἁωρίαις δὲ πλεῖον τὸ
 συνάντημά μου βλαβερόν ἐστιν. * ἡ δὲ δύναμις μου ἐν ταῖς
 χερσὶ μου τυγχάνει καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ ξύλου λαβὼν ταῖς χερσὶ μου κε-
 10 φαλὰς ἀποτέμνω καὶ προστίθημι ἑμαντῶ, καὶ οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ
 πυρὸς τοῦ ὄντος ἐν ἐμοὶ διὰ τοῦ τραχήλου καταδαπανῶ. ἐγὼ
 εἰμι ὁ πυρῶν τὰ μέλη καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐπιπέμπω καὶ ἔλκη ἐμποιῶ.

MSS HLPVW = Recc. ABC. 1 μαστῶν LC: μασθῶν V, παθῶν P

* W f. 269^r | § 5. καὶ γὰρ AP: ἐγὼ C | δὲ: οὖν P, γοῦν V | Σολ. — C
 2 ἀκούσας ante τὴν ἡδ. ponit C | ἡδονὴν A: ἄνοδον P, ἐδοδὴν (l. ἐδωδὴν?
 sic) C, l. fortasse αὐδὴν | αὐτοῦ PC: τούτου L, — H, + ἀκούην V | κ.
 θέλων P: καὶ (— V) θέλω C, ἡθέλον H, ἡθέλα L | μαθεῖν: pr. αὐτόν H,
 εὐδηλότερον P | ἐπηρ. αὐτόν A: ἐπηρ. (+ δὲ W) αὐτ. λέγων C, — L
 3 λαλεῖ L | ὁ δὲ ἔφη H: ἔφη δέ μοι PC, καὶ λέγει μοι | ἡ ἐμὴ φωνὴ H
 (ἐμοὶ) L: ἐγὼ, σολομῶν, ἡμεῖς φωνὴν C, ἐγὼ βασιλεῦ σολομῶν ὕλως φωνὴ
 εἰμι P | πολλῶν . . ἐκκληρον. H (-ησα) L: ἡ πολλὰς φωνὰς κληρονομήσασα C,
 πολλῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς κατεκληρονόμησα P 4 ἐν ἀνθρώπ. AC:
 ἀν(θρώπ)οι P | καλ. βωβοὶ C, καλ. κωφοὶ P 5 τούτων . . ἡμερῶν C:
 — A | τὰς κεφαλὰς κατεκλ. P | γιν. δ. ἡμ. C: γεννῶνται, καὶ ἡμερῶν ὀκτὼ
 φθάσωσι P 6 τότε PC: τό(τε?) L, οὔτος H, + ἐγὼ A | τῆς A: — PC |
 νυκτὸς post παιδίον ponit P | παιδὸς L | γένομαι A | φωνῆς αὐτοῦ P
 7 ὑπεισέρχομαι C | § 6. ἁωρίαις: ἁορίαις H, ὀρίαις P, ad marg. ἐν
 ἁωρι < P^c, ἁορία L, ἁορίας C | δὲ: καὶ P | πλεῖον A: πᾶν PC,
 = διακονῶ καὶ P 8 ἐστίν: δὲ H | * L f. 14^{r2} | ἡ δὲ . . τυγχάνει C
 (— τυγχ.) A: om. P per homoeoarcton, καὶ enim scr. in fine lineae (ἐστίν
 καὶ) et rursus in initio lineae alterae (καὶ εὐθέως λαβὼν) | δὲ — L 9 τυγ-
 χάνει . . . χερσὶ μου C: om. A per homoeoteleuton | ὥς . . . μου C:
 εὐθέως λαβὼν ταῖς χερσὶ μου ὥς ἐπὶ ξύρῳ P | τὴν κεφαλὴν P 10 προσ-
 τίθημι (-ημοι) L: πρὸς τέθημος H, προστιθῶ PC | ἑμαντῶ PV: ἑμαν-
 τὸν W, ἐν αὐτῶ A | τοῦ — P 11 ὄντος — C | καταδαπανῶ L: δα-
 πανῶ L, καταδαπανᾶται PC 12 ὁ πυρ. . . ἐπιπέμπω A: ὁ τὰς πυρῶ-
 σεις τὰς μεγάλας καὶ (τοὺς V, τὰς W) ἀθεραπεύτους ἐν τ. ποσὶν ἐπιπέμπω
 P (ἐπιπέμπω) C | κ. ἔλκη ἐμπ. HP: κ. ἔγκαι ἐπιῶ V, κ. ἔλκη ἐνεμπιῶ
 L, — W

1. καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐμπύρου ἀστραπῆς καταργοῦμαι. 8. καὶ γὰρ ἐκέλευσα αὐτὸν εἶναι μετὰ τοῦ Βεελζεβούλ μέχρι καὶ τούτου φίλος παραγένηται.

X. Καὶ ἐκέλευσα παρεῖναι μοι ἕτερον δαιμόνιον. καὶ ἦλθε πρὸ προσώπου μου ἔχων τὸ σχῆμα * ὡς κύων μέγας, καὶ ἐλάλησέ μοι φωνὴν μεγάλην· »χαῖρε, ὦ βασιλεῦ Σολομῶν.« 2. καὶ ἐκκλητικὸς ἐγενόμην καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· »τίς εἰ σύ, κύων;« ὁ δὲ λέγει· »κύων δοκεῖς εἶναι με· πρὸ γὰρ σοῦ, βασιλεῦ, ἤμην ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος. κατηγορασάμην δὲ ἐν τῷ * κόσμῳ ἔργα πολλὰ ἄθεσμα καὶ καθ' ὑπεροχὴν ἰσχύσα καὶ ἄστρα οὐρανῶν κατασχεῖν, καὶ

MSS HL = Rec. A. § 7. cum mss. HL textus legitur 1 ἐμπυρ. H: ἱπείρου L

MS P interpolationem maiorem praebebat pro § 7 hanc: καὶ γὰρ σολομῶν ἀκούσας ταῦτα, εἶπον αὐτῷ· λέγε μοι οὖν πῶς ἐπαφίης τὸ πῦρ, ἀφ' ὧν ἀποπέμεις ἐξ αὐτῶν. ἔφη δέ μοι τὸ πνεῦμα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς· ὥδε γὰρ οὕτω supra τ scr. π ut in οὐπω corr.) εὐρέθη κάκεινος ἐλβουρίων ὡς ἐπεύχων τὸ αὐτὸ· καὶ λυχνανί(ας) (-ίαν Fl falso)-αὐτῷ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐπιτελοῦσι, κάκεινον δὲ ὄνομα ἐπικαλοῦνται (* f. 9^v) οἱ ἐπτά δαίμονες ἐνώπιόν μου κάκεινος θεραπεύει αὐτούς· εἶπον δὲ αὐτῷ εἰπέ μοι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἔφη οὐ δύναμαι σοι εἰπεῖν· ἐὰν γὰρ εἴπω αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ἀθεράπευτον ἐμαντὸν τοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ αὐτὸ (α ex τ corr.) τὸ ὄνομα. καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐγὼ σολομῶν εἶπον αὐτῷ εἰπέ μοι οὖν ὑπὸ ποίου ἀγγέλου καταργῇ σὺ. ἡ δὲ διὰ τῆς ἐμπύρου ἀστραπῆς ἔφη.

MSS VW (Rec. C) textum praebent hunc: καὶ γὰρ σολομῶν ἀκούσας ταῦτα, εἶπον (εἶπα αὐτῷ V) λέγε μοι, οὖν, ἐν ποίῳ ἀγγέλῳ (ἐπὶ ποίου ἀγγέλου V) καταργεῖσαι. ὁ δὲ ἔφη· διὰ τοῦ ἐμπύρου ἀγγέλου.

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. 1 § 8. hoc a loco mss. codd. VW (i. q. recensio C) extum diversum habet, cf. infra, pp. 76*—87*. καὶ γὰρ H: καὶ ἐγὼ L, καὶ προσανήσας ἐγὼ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ P 2 εἶναι μετὰ τ. Βεελ. H: ἐν τηρήσει εἶναι ὑπὸ τοῦ βεελ. P, διὰ τοῦ βεελζεβουὺλ ἐπιεῖναι L | μέχρι κ. τ. ριλ. A: μέχρις οὗτον Ἰαξ P 3 παραγ. P: ἐπιγίνεται L, παραγέγονεν H

C. X. (47) 4 ἐκέλευσα (l. -σε) L | ἕτερα δαιμόνια L 5 μου: — L, + δαίμων L | ἔχων . . . μέγας: κύων· τὸ σχῆμα ἔχων (* Mg 1332) μέγα P τὸ — H | σχῆμα: + αὐτοῦ L | μοι — P 6 φωνῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ εἶπεν P | χαίροις L | ὦ L: ὁ H, κύριε P | § 2. κ. ἐκπ. ἐγ. κ.: κ. ἐκκλητικὸς ἐγ. κ. H, καὶ ἀκούσας ἐγὼ ἐκκλητικὸς ἐγ. κ. L, ἐκκλητικὸς δὲ γεγονώς ἐγὼ σολομῶν P 7 σύ — P | κύων P | ὁ δὲ λέγει H: καὶ εἶπεν μοι L, ἡ δὲ μοι ἔφη P 8 κύων . . . με H (μοι) L: καὶ κύων σοι δοκῶ εἶναι P | πρὸ LP: πρὸς H | βασιλεὺς A, βασιλεῦ σολομῶν P | ἐγὼ ἄνθρ. ἤμην P 9 κατηγογ. . . ἰσχύσα A: κατεργασάμενος ἀθέμιτα ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πολλὰ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν φιλολογήσας ὑπερίσχύσα P 10 οὐρανῶ L | κατασχῶν A

πλείονα κακὰ ἔργα κατασκευάσω. 3. ἐγὼ οὖν βλάπτω ἀνθρώπους τοὺς τῷ ἐμῷ ἄστρον παρακολουθοῦντας καὶ εἰς ἐξηχίαν τρέπω, καὶ τὰς * φρένας τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τοῦ λάρυγγος κρατῶ καὶ οὕτως ἀναιρῶ. 4. καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· »τί σου τὸ ὄνομα;« ὁ δὲ
5 ἔφη· »Ράβδος.«

5. Καὶ γὰρ εἶπον αὐτῷ· »τίς σου ἡ ἐργασία καὶ τί μοι δοκεῖς κατορθῶσαι;« ὁ δαίμων ἔφη· »δός μοι ἀνθρώπον σὸν καὶ ἀπαγάγω αὐτὸν ἐν τόπῳ ὄρους καὶ ἐπιδείξω αὐτῷ λίθον πράσινον μετασαλευόμενον ἐν ᾧ * κοσμήσεις τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.« 6. καὶ γὰρ
10 δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐπέταξα [πορευθῆναι] τὸν οἰκέτην μου ἅμα αὐτῷ ἔχοντα τὸ δακτυλίδιον τῆς σφραγίδος τοῦ θεοῦ * μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· »ἀπελθε μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ δ' ἂν ἐπιδείξει σοι τὸν λίθον τὸν πράσινον, σφράγισον αὐτὸν τῷ δακτυλίδιῳ κατασκόπευσον τὸν τόπον ἀκριβῶς, καὶ ἄγαγέ μοι τὸ δακτυλι-
15 διον!«. 7. ὁ δὲ ἀπελθὼν ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ τὸν λίθον τὸν πράσινον, καὶ ἐσφράγισεν αὐτὸν τῷ δακτυλίδι τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἤγαγον τὸν λίθον τὸν πράσινον πρὸς μέ. 8. καὶ ἔκρινα περισφραγίδας τὰ

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. 1 πλείονα θεῶν ἔργα κατασκευάσα P | § 3. οὖν A: γὰρ P 2 τὸ ἐμὸν ἄστρον L | εἰς ἐξηχίαν τρ. LP, ἐξηχίαν πρέπω H 3 τὰς ... ἀνθρ. A: τοὺς φρενητιῶντας ἀνθρώπους P | * H f. 15^r 4 οὕτως H: οὕτος H | ἀναιρῶ αὐτὸν H | § 4. (48) κ. εἶπον αὐτ. L: ἔφη δὲ αὐτῷ ἐγὼ σολομῶν P 6 § 5. καὶ γὰρ: καὶ P | αὐτῷ — P | τίς: καὶ τί P | καὶ — L | μοι (με L) δοκεῖς A: δύνασαι P 7 δαίμων A: δὲ P 8 ὄρους — H | δείξω P | αὐτῷ P: αὐτὸν H, — L 9 * P f. 10^r | κοσμεῖ H | ναὸν: + κυρίον P | § 6. (49) καὶ γὰρ P ἐγὼ P 10 δὲ: — H, + σολομῶν P | ἐπέταξα H: ὑποπροεταξα L, ὑπέταξα P | πορευθῆναι P: — A | ἅμα αὐτῷ HP: ἅματο L 11 ἔχοντα P: ἔχοντι H, κραττοῦντα L | τὸ δακτ. A: δακτύλιον P | * L f. 14^v 2 — μετ' αὐτ. P: μετὰ τούτ(ον) L, — H 12 κ. εἶπον αὐτ. — L | ἀπελ. ... καὶ — P | ἀπελθε H: ἀπέλθατε L | μετ' αὐτοῦ ego: μετ' αὐτῶν H, μετὰ τούτου L | οὐ δ' ἂν ego: οὐδ' ἂν H, δ δ' ἂν P, — L | ἐπιδείξει σοι P (σου) H: ἀποδεί ημιν vel ἀποδείκμιν L 13 τὸν (1^o et 2^o) — L | αὐτὸν HP: τούτου L | τῷ δακτ. A: μετὰ τοῦ δακτυλίδιου τούτου P 14 τὸν τόπον ... αὐτὸν (l. 16) — H | ἀκριβ. τ. τοπ. P | τὸ δακτ. L: τὸν δαίμονα ἐνθάδε P fortasse recte 15 § 7. ὁ δὲ ἀπ. L: καὶ P | αὐτῶν P: αὐτοῖς L | τὸν πρ. α. λιθ. P 16 αὐτὸν P: αὐτῷ L | τ. δακτυλ. τ. θ. A: — P | κ. ἤγαγον ... με H (—πρὸς μέ) L: κ. ἤναγκε τὸ δαίμονισιν πρὸς με P 17 § 8. ἔκρινα: + αὐτὸν A, + ἐγὼ σολομῶν P | περισφραγῆσαι L | * H f. 15^v

MS P pro textu τὰ δύο ... τεχνίταις (l. 17 ss.) praebet haec: τοὺς δύο τῇ δεξιᾷ τὸν ἀκέφαλον, ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν κύνα προσδεδέσθαι ἐκείνον τὸν μέγαν, καὶ τὸν μὲν κύνα τηρεῖν τὸν διάπυρον πνεῦμα ὡς λαμπάδας νεκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας διὰ τοῦ λαίμοῦ παραπλήττειν τοῖς ἔργ. τεχνίταις

δύο δαιμόνια τὸν ἀκέφαλον καὶ τὸν κύνα δεθῆναι καὶ τὸν λίθον ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ὥσπερ λαμπάδα περιφέρειν τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις τεχνίταις. 9. Καὶ ἦρα ἐγὼ ἐκ τοῦ μετοικισμοῦ ἐκείνου τοῦ λίθου διακοσίους σίκλους ἐν τοῖς ἀναφορεῦσι τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου· ἦν δὲ ὁ λίθος ὡσεὶ πράσου τὸ εἶδος ὁμοιος. 10. ἀγὼ δὲ Σολομῶν δοξάσας κύριον τὸν θεὸν καὶ περικλείσας τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦ λίθου ἐκέλευσα * τοὺς δαίμονας μάρμαρα κόπτειν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ ναοῦ. 11. καὶ ἐπηρώτησα αὐτὸν τὸν κύνα· »διὰ ποῖον ἀγγέλου καταργεῖσαι;« ὁ δὲ ἔφη· »διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Βριαθοῦ.«

XI. Καὶ ἐκέλευσα πάλιν παρελθεῖν ἐμοὶ ἕτερα δαιμόνια· καὶ ἦλθε βουχόμενος ὡς λέων ὀρθὸς καὶ σταθεὶς ἀπεκρίθη μοι λόγῳ· * »βασίλεῦ Σολομῶν, ἐγὼ καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ἔχω ** τούτου, πνεῦμα δυνάμενον μηδόλως δεθῆναι. 2. ἐγὼ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοῖς

MSS HL § 8 l. 1 δύο — H | τὸν κύνα τε καὶ ἀκεφ. L 2 νύκταν κ. ἡμέραν L | ὥσπερ ... τεχνίταις H: κρατοῦντες τὸν λίθον ἵνα τοῖς ἐργ. τεχν. λάμπη ὡς λαμπάδα L

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. 3 § 9. ἦρα ... ἀναφορεῦσι cum dubio ego: 1. fortasse εἶαρ ἐκ τ. μετ. ἐκ. τ. λιθ. ἔτρεχεν ἐν τοῖς ἀναφεροῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσ. ? | ἐγὼ σολομῶν P | μετοικ. A: μετάλλου P | τ. λιθ. ἐκ. L 4 διακ. σικλ. P: ἔτρεχον A | ἀναφορ. P: ἀνωφέρεσιν H, ἀναφέρεσιν L | ἦν ... πράσου — P 5 πράσου ego: κερασίου A | ὁμοιος A: ὁμοιούμενον P | § 10. καὶ ἐγὼ H 7 λίθου ἐκείνου P | κελεύσας L | * L f. 15^r | ἐκέλευσα δὲ πάλιν P | εἰς τ. οἶκ. L: ἐν τοῖς οἰκοδομοῖς H, εἰς τὰς οἰκοδομὰς P 8 τ. ναοῦ A: τῶν ἔργων τοῦ θεοῦ P | § 11. καὶ εὐξάμενος τῷ κυρίῳ ἐγὼ σολομῶν ἐπηρ. P | αὐτὸν — P | διὰ π. ἀγγ. καταργ. L: διὰ ποῖον ἀγγε- λον κατ. H, ποίῳ ἀγγέλῳ καταργῇ σν P 9 ὁ δὲ ἔφη — H | δὲ: + δαί- μων P | διὰ τ. μεγ. Βριαθοῦ (l. Βριαρίου?) H: διὰ τ. μεγ. βριαθαουηλ L, τῷ μεγάλῳ βριεώ P, Βριαρίῳ coniecit Bn

C. XI. (51) 10 καὶ εὐλογήσας κύρι(ον) τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκελ. P | πάλιν — P | παρελθεῖν ἐμοὶ ego: παρελθῆναι μοι H, ἀνελ- θεῖναι μοι L, παρεῖναι μοι P | ἕτερον δαίμονα P 11 βουχ. .. ὀρθὸς H: δαιμόνιον τὸ σχῆμα αὐτοῦ λέοντος ὀρθοβουχόμενος L, πρὸ προσώπου μου λέοντος σχῆμα βουχόμενος P | λόγῳ A: λέγων P 12 * H f. 16^r | Σολ. — P | ἐγὼ ... τούτου H: ἐγὼ δὲ τούτου τοῦ σχήματος (ad marg. sin. Marc. 5. 4 scr. man. rec.) L, τὸ μὲν σχῆμα τούτο δ' ἔχω P | ** P f. 10^v | πνεῦμα ... δεθῆναι ego: καὶ πνεῦμα δυνάμεως μηδόλως σθῆναι (l. στήναι?) H, οὐδ' ὧλος δυνάμενος δεθῆναι L, πνεῦμα εἰμὶ μηδόλως δυνάμενον νοηθῆναι P 13 § 2. καὶ λέγει ἐγὼ L | πᾶσιν P, πάσῃ H, πάσης L | τοῖς (1^o) H: — PL | τοῖς (2^o) ... κατακειμ. H: τ. ἐν νοσήμασι P, κατακ. ἐν νοσή- ματι L

ἐν νοσήματι κατακειμένοις ἐφορμῶμαι παρεισερχόμενον, καὶ ἀνέν-
δοτον ποιῶ τὸν ἀνθρωπον ὡς μὴ δυνηθῆναι ἰαθῆναι αὐτοῦ τὴν
αἰτίαν. 3. ἔχω καὶ ἕτεραν πρᾶξιν· ἐμβάλλω τοὺς δαίμονας τοὺς
ὑποτεταγμένους μοι λεγεῶνας, δυτικὸν γὰρ εἰμι τοῖς τόποις,
5 ὄνομα δὲ πᾶσι δαίμοσι τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμὲ * ὃν λεγεῶνες. 4. καὶ ἐπη-
ρώτησα αὐτόν· »τί σου τὸ ὄνομα;« ὁ δὲ ἔφη· »Λεοντοφόρον,
Ἄραψ τῷ γένει.« 5. καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· »πῶς καταργεῖσαι μετὰ
τοῦ λεγεωνός σου, ἢ ποῖον ἄγγελον ἔχεις;« * ὁ δαίμων εἶπεν·
»ἐὰν εἴπω σοι τὸ ὄνομα οὐκ ἐμavτὸν δεσμεύω μόνον ἀλλὰ * καὶ
10 τὸν ὑπ' ἐμὲ λεγεῶνα τῶν δαιμόνων.« 6. ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπον αὐτῷ·
»ἐγὼ ὀρκίζω σε τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου· ἐν
ποίῳ ὀνόματι καταργεῖσαι μετὰ τοῦ λεγεωνός σου;« ὁ δαίμων
εἶπεν· »ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ μετὰ πολλὰ παθεῖν ὑπομείναντος

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. 1 ἐφορμ. P: ἀφορμόμενος L, ἐμορφόμενος H |
παρεισερχόμενον P: περιερχόμε(νο) < H, παρεισερχόμενος L | ἀνενδ. A:
ἀνενδότερον P 2 δυνηθῆ H | ἰαθῆναι ego: ἰασθῆναι L, — HP | αὐτ. τ.
αἰτίαν A: αὐτῷ τὴν δίαίταν P, + ταύτην L 3 § 3. καὶ: pr. δὲ P | πρᾶ-
ξιν A: δόξαν ἐγὼ βασιλεῦ, P | εἰσβάλλω L | ἐμβ. τ. δαιμ.: δαίμονας ἐμ-
βάλλω (ἐκβάλλω Fl). ἔχω δὲ P 4 δυτικὸν A: δεκτικὸν P | γὰρ supplevi:
— AP | εἰμι: add. inter εἰμι et τοῖς signum omissionis at super lineam com-
pendium mihi inodabile, fortasse 1. καὶ vel δὲ vel γὰρ P | τ. τοπ. P: τοὺς
τόπους A, cf. Cr, p. 28 5 ὄνομα A: ἄμα P | τοῖς πᾶσι P | τοῖς: super
lineam adscr. τ(ῶν) P | * L f. 15^r2 | ὃν λεγεῶνες ego: ὢν λεγεωνάς H,
λεγεωνων P, οὐ λέγω L | § 4. κ. ἐπηρ. αὐτ. A: + λέγω L, ἐγὼ δὲ σολο-
μὼν ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐπηρ. αὐτ. P 6 τι . . ὃν. HP: τὸ σὸν ὃν. πῶς καλεῖ-
ται L | ἔφη μοι H | Λεοντοφόρον P: λεοντόφορον A, 1. fortasse Λεγεωνο-
φόρον, sed cf. supra § 1 7 Ἄραψ A: ῥάθ P, ῥαδινός conl. Bn | τῷ γένει P:
ῶ γένει L, τὸ γένος H | § 5. κ. εἶπον A: εἶπον δὲ P | καταργῇ σὺ P
8 τοῦ A: τῆς P | ἢ HP: καὶ εἰς L | ἔχεις H: — L, τὸν καταργοῦντα
σε P | * Mg 1333 | ὁ δ. εἶπεν H: ἔφη δὲ μοι P, — L 9 ἐὰν δὲ L |
εἴπω σοι ego: εἴπωσι P, ὑποσοι H, εἴποσοι L | ὄνομά μου A | ἐμavτῷ L
| δεσμεύεις H, forte recte | * H f. 16^v 10 ὑπ' A: ἐπ' P | § 6. ἐγὼ δ.
εἶπ. A: ἔφην δὲ P 11 ἐγὼ . . ὃν.: ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ L | μεγ. . . ὑψί-
στου H: θεοῦ του (+ compendium = τῶν?) ὧντος τοῦ ὑψίστου L, θεοῦ
σαβαώθ P | ἐν A: τοῦ εἰπεῖν σε P 12 ὄνομα L | καταργῇ σὺ P | τοῦ
λεγ. A: τῆς δυνάμεώς P | ὁ δ. εἶπεν A: εἶπε δέ μοι τὸ πνεῦμα P 13 ἐν
. . . Ἐμμανουήλ (p. 41^r, l. 1) H: ὁ μεγάλους (μέγας ἐν Crtr) ἀνθρώποις ἔχων
πολλαπαθεῖν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων οὗ τὸ ὄνομα ψῆφος χυδ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐμμανουήλ P |
ὑπομείν. — L

§ 3. Mk. V 13; Mt. VIII 32; Lk. VIII 31f.

§ 6. Mk. IV 35—V 20; Mt. VIII 23—34; Lk. VIII 22—39.

ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὗ τὸ ὄνομα Ἐμμανουήλ, ὃς καὶ νῦν ἐδέ-
σμευσεν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐλεύσεται κατὰ τοῦ ὕδατος κρημνῶ βασανίσαι
ἡμᾶς· ἐν δὲ τρισὶ χαρακτῆρσι κατὰγεται περιηγούμενος.» 7. καὶ γὰρ
δὲ κατέκρινε αὐτοῦ τὸν λεγεῶνα φέρειν ἀπὸ τοῦ δρυμοῦ ξύλον,
τὸν δὲ Λεοντοφόρον καταπρίζειν αὐτὰ * λεπτὰ τοῖς ὄνυξι καὶ
ὑποκάτω τῆς καμίνου τῆς ἀσβέστου ῥίπτειν.

XII. Καὶ γὰρ προσκυνήσας τὸν θεὸν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐκέλευσα προ-
ελθεῖν ἕτερον * δαίμονα. καὶ ἦλθε πρὸ προσώπου μου δράκων
τρικέφαλος φοβερόχροος. 2. καὶ ἐπηρώτησα αὐτόν· »σὺ τίς
εἶ;» ὁ δὲ ἔφη· »πνεῦμα τρίβολον ἐν τρισὶ κατεργαζόμενον ἐγὼ
ἔργοις· ἐν κοιλίαις γυναικῶν τυφλῶ τὰ παιδιά καὶ ὧτα ἐπιδιδῶ
καὶ ποιῶ αὐτὰ βωβὰ καὶ κωφά, καὶ τύπτω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
κατὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ποιῶ καταπίπτειν καὶ ἀφρίζειν καὶ τρί-

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. 1 οὗ ἐστὶν τὸ ὄν. αὐτοῦ ἔμμαν. L | νῦν — P
2 κ. ἐλυσ. A: ὃς καὶ τότε ἐλευσόμενος P | κρημ. βασαν. L: κρημνῶ βασ. H,
κρημνοβατίσει (l. -ήσει) P, κρημνοβαπτίσει Fl 3 δὲ P: — A | τοῖς τρισὶ P
καταγ. περιηγ. H: κατὰγονσαι (-ούσαις) Cr) περιηγούμενον P, εἰσὶν καταρ-
γούμεθα περιηγούμενος L | § 7. καὶ γὰρ δὲ H: ἐγὼ δὲ L, καὶ γὰρ σολομῶν
ἀκούσας ταῦτα καὶ δοξάσας τὸν θεὸν P 4 * P f. 11^r | αὐτοῦ τ. λεγεῶνα
P: αὐτόν A | φέρειν .. ξύλον A: ξυλοφορεῖν ἀπὸ δρυμοῦ P 5 τ. δὲ
Λεοντ. ego: τὸν δὲ λεοντόφορον H (-τόφρων) L, αὐτόν δὲ τὸν λεοντόμορ-
φον κατέκρινε P | καταπρ. HP: κύπηξει L | αὐτὰ — P | * L f. 15^v1 |
ὄνυξι L: ἄνυξι H, ὁδοῦσιν P | κ. ὑποκ. A: εἰς ὑπόκαυσιν P 6 ῥίπτειν A:
εἰς τὸν ναὸν κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ P

C. XII. (54) 1. 7 καὶ γὰρ A: καὶ P | προσκυν. HP: παρεκάλεσα L, + κύ-
ριον P | τοῦ — L | καὶ ἐκέλευσα L | προελθ. H: παρῆναι μοι P, ἵνα
καὶ ἕτερα δαιμόνια ἐλθεῖν ἐν ἡμῖν L 8 * H f. 17^r | μου — P | δρακ.
τρικεφ. P: δράκων τὸ κέφαλος L, δράκον τὸ κέφαλον H 9 φοβεροχ. LP:
— H | § 2. δὲ: δαίμων L, + μοι P 10 τρίβολον ego: τριόβολον A, τρι-
βόλαιον εἰμὶ P, τριβόλαιον (τρι et βολαῖος) conj. Bncn | ἐν HP: — L |
κατεργ. ἐγὼ ἔργοις: κατεργαζόμενος ἐγὼ ἔργοις H (— ἔργοις) L: πράξεις
κατεργαζόμενον· ἐγὼ δὲ P 11 ἐν LP: — H | κοιλίαις A: κοιλίᾳ P,
+ τῶν L | τυφλῶν A | παιδιά LP: νύπια H | ἐπιδένω A 12 αὐτὰ
— P | βωβὰ P: ὁδοδὴ H (-δεῖ) L, λωβὰ conj. Fū | κωφά: + καὶ ἐμοὶ
γ(ὰρ) πάλιν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ μοι κεφαλῇ ὑπόδυνα P 13 κατὰ: + τὸ εἰκῶδες P,
ἀκῶδός in textu, »εἰκῶδός — εἰκῶδες« ad marg. Fl, conj. ἀκηδές (unbewachten
Teilen) Fū, ἄκωλος (limbless part) Cr, l. fortasse τὸν εἰκόνα? | καὶ φρίζει καὶ
τρίζει L | κ. τριζ. — H

ζειν τοὺς ὀδόντας. 3. ἔχω δὲ τρόπον ἐν ᾧ καταργοῦμαι ὑπὸ τοῦ
σημειομένου τόπου ἐγκεφάλου, ἐκεῖ γὰρ προώρισεν ἄγγελος τῆς
μεγάλης βουλῆς με παθεῖν, καὶ νῦν φανερώς ἐπὶ ξύλου οἰκῆσαι.
ἐκεῖνός με καταργήσει ἐν οἷς καὶ ὧν ὑποτέταγμα. 4. ἐν δὲ τῷ
5 τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ ἤρθη, βασιλεῦ Σολομῶν, στήσει κίονα πορφυροῦν
* ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος δῶρα μεμορφούμενον Ἐφιππᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑρ-
θραῆς θαλάσσης ἀγαγὼν ἀπὸ τῆς ἔσω Ἀραβίας. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀρχῇ
τοῦ ναοῦ ὅνπερ ἤρξω κτίζειν, βασιλεῦ Σολομῶν, ἀπόκειται χρυ-
σίον πολὺ, ὅπερ ὀρύξας ἄρον. 5. καὶ γὰρ Σολομῶν ἀποστεί-
10 λας τὸν παιδά μου εὗρον καθὼς εἶπέ μοι τὸ δαιμόνιον καὶ
σφραγίσας τὸ δακτυλίδιον ἤνεσα τὸν θεὸν. 6. εἶπον οὖν
αὐτῷ· «λέγε μοι πῶς καλεῖσαι.» καὶ ὁ δαίμων ἔφη· «κορυφὴ
δρακόντων.» καὶ ἐκέλευσα αὐτὸν πλινθουργεῖν εἰς τὸν ναὸν
τοῦ θεοῦ.

MSS HLP = Rec. AB. 1 ὀδοντ. LP: ὀδυν. H | § 3. ἐν ᾧ HP: ὡς L
| καταργοῦν H | τοῦ ... τόπον L (— τοῦ) H: σημειουμένης τῆς (ἐερυν-
σα)λήμ, εἰς τὸν λεγόμενον τόπον P 2 ἐγκεφάλου H: ἐν κεφάλῳ L, κεφά-
λαιον P | προόρισεν L, προόρισόν H, προώριστο P | ὁ ἀγγελ. P |
ἄγγελον H 3 με παθεῖν — P | φανερόν L | τ' ἐπὶ P | οἰκῆσαι:
ἡμῖσι L 4 καταργήσει L: καταργήσε H, καταργεῖ P | ἐν οἷς καὶ ὧν L:
ἐν εἰς ὃν καὶ H, ἐν ᾧ P | ὑποτέταμαι H | § 4. (55) δὲ: ὦ L 5 ἤρθη:
καθέξει P | βασ. Σολ.: ὁ βασιλεὺς L | στήση H, στήκει P, στήσης L |
κίονα ... μεμορφ.: κίων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος πορφυροδανόμενος P | πορφυροῦν L:
πορφύριον H | * H f. 17^v 6 * L f. 15^v2 | μεμορφούμενον ego: μεμορ-
φομένον L, μαμορφομένον H | ὁ δαίμων ὁ λεγόμενος ἐφιππᾶς P | ἐφοί-
ποις H, ἐφιππος L 7 ἀγαγὼ L, ἀναγών H, ἀναγαγὼν P | Ἀραβίας:
+ ὅστις καὶ εἰς ἀσκὸν κατακλεισθεὶς, κομισθήσεται ἔμπροσθέν σου P | δὲ
— A 8 ὅνπερ P: οὐ περ L, περ H | ἀπόκειται ... Σολ. — L | * P
f. 11^v | χρυσίον .. ὅπερ P: χρόνον πολλὴν ὅνπερ H 9 ἄρον P: φαίρον H
§ 5. καὶ γὰρ δὲ H | ἀποστείλας ... δαιμ. καὶ — H 10 τὸ παιδίον L |
καὶ εὗρον L | εἶπε P: ἤρθηκε L | τὸ δαιμ. P: ὁ δαίμων L | τὸ δακτ. A:
τῷ (forte ex τὸ corr.) δακτυλίδιῳ P 11 ἤνεσα P: καὶ ἔνεσα H, καὶ ὕνησα L
§ 6. (56) εἶπον . . αὐτ: P: δὲ (vel καὶ, l. καὶ) εἶπον αὐτ. H, ἔπειτα δὲ εἶπον
πρὸς τὸν δαίμον(α) L 12 λέγε . . καλ: H: τί σὺ λέγεις P, σὺ τίς εἰ L
| κ. ὁ δ. ἔφη L (— καὶ) P: ὁ δὲ ἔφη H | κορ. δρακ. P (κορυφῇ) H:
κορυφὴν δρακόντος L, + εἶμι P 13 πλινθ. (ex πλιθ. corr.) P: λειτουρ-
γεῖν H, λεπτουργεῖν L | εἰς A: ἐν P 14 τ. θεοῦ A: εἶχεν χειρὰς ἀν-
(θρώπων) P

XIII. Καὶ ἐκέλευσα παρῆναι μοι ἕτερον δαίμονα. καὶ ἦλθε πρὸ προσώπου μου γύνῃ μὲν τὸ εἶδος, τὴν δὲ μορφὴν κατέχουσα ἅμα τοῖς μέλεσιν αὐτῆς λυσίτριχος¹ ταῖς θριξίν. 2. καὶ εἶπον πρὸς αὐτήν· »σὺ τίς εἶ;« ἡ δὲ ἔφη· »καὶ τίς σύ, ἣ τίνα χρεῖαν ἔχεις μαθεῖν τὰ κατ' ἐμοῦ πράγματα ποῖά εἰσιν ὄντα; * ἀλλ' εἰ θέλεις μαθεῖν, πορεύθητι ἐν τοῖς ταμείδις τοῖς βασιλικοῖς καὶ ὑπάρμενος τὰς χεῖράς σου πάλιν καθέσθῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου σου καὶ ἐρώτησαί με, καὶ τότε μαθεῖς, βασιλεῦ, τίς εἰμι ἐγώ.« 3. καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας ἐγὼ Σολομῶν καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου μου ἠρώτησα αὐτήν καὶ εἶπον· »τίς εἶ σύ;« ἡ δὲ ἔφη· * »Ὁβυζούθ, ἥτις ἐν νυκτὶ οὐ καθεύδω, ἀλλὰ περιέρχομαι πάντα τὸν κόσμον ἐπὶ ταῖς γυναιξί, καὶ ἱστοχαζομένη τὴν ὥραν μαστεύω¹ καὶ

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. c. XIII. (57) 14 Καὶ προσκνήσας κύριον τὸν θεὸν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐκελ. P | δαιμόνιον L 2 γύνῃ . . εἶδος ego: βοὺς μὲν τῷ εἶδει H, βοὺς με τὸ ἴδος L, πνεῦμα γυναικοειδὲς P | τὴν δὲ . . . λυσίτριχος ego: τῆς δὲ μορφῆς καταπέμπουσιν ἅπαν τοῖς μέλεσιν λίαν τριχῶν H, τὴν δὲν μορφὴν. καταπέμπουσιν ἅπ(αν) τοῖς μέλεσιν αὐτοῦ· λυσιν τριχῶν L, τὴν κορυφὴν κατέχουσα ἀπὸ παντὸς μέλους· καὶ τὰς λυσίτριχας P 3 § 2. εἶπον A: ἔφη P 4 αὐτήν P: αὐτὸν A | λέγε μοι σὺ P | εἶ LP: εἰσεῖ H | ἡ δὲ . . . χρεῖαν P: — A | καὶ τίς σύ P^o ad marg. lat., in textu καὶ σὺ τίς εἶ prim. man. scri. subter σὺ τίς εἶ linea fracta ducta 5 καὶ ἔχεις A | μαθεῖν A: ἀκοῦσαι P | τὰ — L | πραγ. π. εἰσιν ὄντα L: πραγ. πεισηνόντα H, — P | * H f. 18^r | εἰ — L 6 μαθεῖν: + στήκω γὰρ δεδεμ(έν)η πρὸ προσώπου σου P | πορεύου L | * L f. 16^r1 | ταμίαις σου L 7 σου — P | καὶ πάλιν H | καθέσθ. A: καθήσας P, ad marg. scr. σεις quod forte pro σας in καθήσας legendum est | ἐπὶ τ. θρον. A: πρὸ τοῦ βήματος P 8 καὶ ἐρώτησαί με ego: κ. ἐρώτησε ἡμῖν L, τότε ἐρωτήσεις με P, — H | τότε — P | μαθεῖς H: μαθεῖν L, μαθήσῃ P | βασιλεὺς σολομῶν L | τί τίς H § 3. (58) 9 Σολομῶν: — L, + καθὼς συντάξέ μοι, ἡνεσχόμην δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐνοῦσαν μοι σοφίαν, ἵνα δυνήθῃ ἀκοῦσαι τὰς πράξεις αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐλέγξαι αὐτάς, καὶ φανερώσαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις P | καθήσας LP | ἐπὶ . . . εἶπον: ἔφησα πρὸς τὸν δαίμονα P 10 ἠρώτησα ego: ἐρώτησα L, ἐρωτίσαι H | αὐτήν ego: αὐτὸν H, ἐγὼ L | λέγε μοι τίς H | σύ — P | ἡ δὲ ἔφη H (δ) L: καὶ εἶπεν P | Ὁβυζούθ: ἄβυζούθ L, ἡ βυζούθ καὶ ἰδιονούθ H, ἐγὼ (* Mg 1336) λέγομαι παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ὀβυζούθ P, l. Ἄβυζοῦ? cf. *Intro* pp. 78 et 82 11 ἥτις . . . καθεύδω ego; ἥτις ἐὰν ἐκτῆσω καθεύδω H, καὶ τῆς ἐνυκτί οὐ καθ. L, ἥτις νυκτὸς οὐ καθ. P | περιερχόμενος H | τὸν — H 12 ἐπὶ HP: ἐν L | τ. τικτούσαις γυν. P | στοχαζ. . . μαστεύω ego: μαστίζομ(έν)η τὴν ὥραν μαστίζω H, στομαχίζομην τὴν ὥραν· μαστίζω L, τὴν μὲν ὥραν στοχαζομένη σταματίζω (in marg. ἴσταμαι) P

πνίγω τὰ βρέφη, * καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην νύκτα ἄπρακτος οὐκ ἐξέρχομαι. σὺ δὲ οὐ δύνασαι με διατάξαι. καὶ εἰς τὰ δυσηκῇ μέρη περιέρομαι. 4 καὶ οὐκ ἔστι μου τὸ ἔργον εἰ μὴ βρέφων ἀναιρέσεις καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀδικία καὶ στομάτων καταδίκη καὶ φρενῶν ἀπόλεια
 5 καὶ σωματῶν ἄλγησις.» 5. καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐγὼ Σολομῶν ἐθαύμασα, καὶ τὸ εἶδος αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐθεώρουν ἀλλὰ σκότος τὸ σῶμα
 * αὐτῆς ὑπῆρχε καὶ αἱ τρίχες αὐτῆς ἡγριωμέναι. 6. καὶ γὰρ δὲ Σολομῶν λέγω αὐτήν· «λέγε μοι, πονηρὸν πνεῦμα, ὑπὸ ποίου ἀγγέλου καταργεῖσαι.» ἡ δὲ εἶπέ μοι· «ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου Ῥαφαήλ·
 10 καὶ ὅτε γεννηῶσιν αἱ γυναῖκες, γράψαι τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐν χαρτί· καὶ ἐγὼ φεύξομαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖσε. 7. καὶ γὰρ ἀκούσας ταῦτα προσέταξε δεσμευθῆναι αὐτήν ταῖς θριξὶ καὶ κορμασθῆναι ἐμπροσθεν

MS P 1 pro πνίγω . . . περιέρομαι (l. 2) praebet haec: ἐὰν ἐπιτύχω ἔπνιξα. εἰ δὲ μὴ γε (* f. 12^r) ἀναχωρῶ εἰς ἕτερον τόπον· μίαν γὰρ νύκτα ἀποχωρῆσαι ἄπρακτος οὐ δύναμαι· πνεῦμα γὰρ χαλεπὸν εἰμι, μυριώννυμον καὶ πολύμορφον, καὶ νῦν μὲν ὧδε, καὶ νῦν με εἶναι (l. νῦν ἐκεῖ με εἶναι) (νῦν ἐκεῖ [νεῦμα (sic) νῦν ἐκεῖ?] εἶναι FlMg, ponit πνεῦμα pro νεῦμα Mg)· καὶ εἰς τὰ δυτικά (δατικά Fl) μέρη περιέρομαι. ἀλλ' ὥς ἐστὶ νῦν περισφραγίσας με τῷ δακτυλιδίῳ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἐποίησας, οὐ παρέστηκά σοι ἐγὼ οὐδὲν με διατάξαι δυνήσῃ

MSS HL = Rec. A. 1 ἐξερχόμενος H 2 με H: μὴ L | διατάξαι H: ὑποτάξαι L | δυσηκῇ ego: δισηκὰ H, δυσιὰ L, (westering Crtr, assignatas Mgr)

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. 3 § 4. καὶ . . . ἔργον A: οὐδὲν μου γὰρ ἔστιν ἔργον P | ἀναιρέσεις καὶ ὥτων κωφότης καὶ P | καὶ — H 4 ἀδικίας L | ~ H f. 18^v | καταδίκη A: χαλινόδεσμα P 5 § 5. (59) καὶ — P 6 καὶ omisso, τὸ εἶδος cum ἐθαύμασα coniunxerunt LP | αὐτῆς H: αὐτοῦ LP | οὐκ A: — P | ἐθεωρ. . . ὑπῆρχε H (αὐτῆς: αὐτοῦ) L: ἐθεώρουν ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς σκοτία· ἡ δὲ ὄψις αὐτῆς ὕλη λαμπρὰ διάχλωρος P 7 * L f. 16^r 2 | καὶ — P | ἡγριωμέναι: + ὡς δράκοντος, καὶ τὰ σύμπαντα μέλη αὐτῆς, ἀόρατα. Καὶ ἡ φωνὴ αὐτῆς κατάδηλος, ἤρχετο πρὸς με P | § 6. δὲ . . . αὐτήν A: κατασοφισάμενος εἶπον P 8 πν(εῦ)μα πον. P | ὑπὸ (bis) H: διὰ L, — P | ποίῳ ἀγγέλῳ P 9 καταργῇ συ P | ὁ δὲ L | εἶπε μοι A: μοι ἔφη P

MS P = Rec. B. 9 pro ὑπὸ . . . ἐκεῖσε praebet P haec: τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ καλουμένῳ ἀφαρώφ, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται ραφαήλ, ὃ καὶ νῦν καταργοῦμαι εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα (ἀ super lineam adscr. P^c, ἅπαντα Fl) χρόνον. οὐ τὸ ὄνομα ἐὰν τις τῶν ἀν(θρώ)πων ἐπίσταται καὶ ἐπὶ γεννώσῃ γυναικὶ γράψῃ, τότε οὐ δυνήσομαι εἰσελθεῖν· οὗ ὁ (super lin. adscr. P^c) ψῆφος χμ

MSS HL = Rec. A. 10 ὅταν γεννήσῃ ἡ γυναῖκα L 11 ἀπὸ τ. ἐκ. — L

MSS IILP = Recc. AB. 11 § 7. καὶ γὰρ σολομῶν P, καὶ ἐγὼ A | ταῦτα καὶ δοξάσας τὸν κύριον P | προσετ. HP: ἐκέλευσα L 12 αὐτήν . . . κορμασθ. — L | αὐτήν ego: τούτοις H, αὐτῆς P | τὰς τρίχας P

τοῦ ναοῦ ἵνα πάντες οἱ διερχόμενοι υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ βλέποντες
δοξάσουσι τὸν θεὸν τὸν δόντα μοι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην.* * *

XIV. Καὶ πάλιν ἐκέλευσα παρεῖναι μοι ἕτερον δαίμονα· καὶ
ἦλθε πρὸς με τῷ εἶδει δράκων κυλινδούμενος, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον
ἔχων καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἀνθρώπου καὶ τὰ μέλη αὐτοῦ δράκοντος
καὶ τὰ πτερὰ κατὰ νότον. 2. καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ἔκθαμβος γενό-
μενος εἶπον αὐτῷ· »σὺ τίς εἶ καὶ πόθεν ἐλήλυθας;« καὶ εἶπέ μοι
τὸ πνεῦμα· »τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παρέστηκά σοι, βασιλεῦ Σολομῶν,
πνεῦμα θεοποιούμενον ἐν ἀνθρώποις, * νῦν δὲ κατηργημένον
διὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δεδομένης σοι σφραγίδος. 3. καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ εἰμι
ὁ λεγόμενος Πτεροδράκων, οὗ συγγινόμενος πολλαῖς γυναιξίν,
ὀλγαις δὲ καὶ εὐμόρφοις, αἵτινες τῷ ξύλῳ τούτου τοῦ ἄστρου
ὄνομα κατέχουσι. 4. καὶ ἀπέρχομαι πρὸς αὐτὰς ὥσει πνεῦμα
περοειδὲς συγγινόμενον διὰ γλουτῶν, καὶ ἡ μὲν βαστάζει ἢ ἐφόρ-
μησα καὶ τὸ γεννηθὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἔρω(ς) γίνεται· ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν δὲ
μὴ δυνηθὲν βασταχθῆναι ἐψόφησεν ἄρα καὶ ἡ γύνῃ ἐκείνῃ. αὕτη

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. 1 τ. ναοῦ LP: μου καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ H, + τοῦ
θεοῦ P | οἱ . . . Ἰσρ. ego: οἱ ἐρχόμενοι υἱοὶ Ἰ(σρα)ήλ καὶ H, οἱ διερχόμενοι
τῶν νῆων Ἰ(σρα)ήλ L, οἱ (supra lin. adscr. P^e) υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ διερχόμενοι καὶ P
| ἐβλέποντες αὐτήν καὶ L 2 δοξάσουσι ego: — H, δοξάζουσι LP | κύριον
τ. θεὸν Ἰ(σρα)ήλ P | ταύτην: + καὶ σοφίαν καὶ δύναμιν παρὰ θεοῦ (* f. 12^v)
διὰ τῆς σφραγίδος ταύτης P | ** H f. 19^r

C. XIV. (60) 3 δαιμόνιον L 4 πρὸς . . . κυλινδ. H: πρ. με τὸ ἴδος
ὡς δράκοντος κυλινδ. L, πρὸ προσώπου δρακοντοειδὲς ἀνακυλινδ. P | καὶ
τοὺς πόδας ἔχων P 5 κ. τ. μέλη αὐτ. H: τὸ δὲ ἕτερον σῶμα L, τὰ δὲ μέλη
αὐτοῦ πάντα ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν P | δράκοντος HP: κοντὸς L 6 κατὰ νό-
τον P, κατὰ νότον H, ἐκ τὰ νότατον L | § 2. ἰδὼν vel ἰδοῦ P | αὐτὸν H
(ex -ος corr.) P: τούτου L 7 καὶ εἶπον L | αὐτῷ H: αὐτὸν L, — P | σὺ
— P | εἶ ὁ δαίμων· καὶ τίς λ(έ)γ(ει)· καὶ P | ἐλήλυθας εἶπέ μοι P | καὶ
.. πνεῦμα H: κ. ἀποκριθεὶς τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει P, — L 8 τὸν μὲν H
9 πνευμά τε P | θεοποιούμενον L | ἐν ἀνθρώποις δὲ νῦν καταργοῦμαι H
* L f. 16^v 10 τῆς . . . σοι P: τῆς σῆς δεδομένης H, τοῦ θεοῦ δεδομένου
τοι L | σφραγίδος καὶ σοφίας P | § 3. καὶ νῦν P: νῦν δὲ A | ἐγὼ . . .
δαιμόνιον (p. 48*, l. 5), i. e., XIV 3—XVI 1) om. mss. HL

MS P = Rec. B. 12 ξύλον certe falsum est: ξυλ < (λ super v posito)
MS, ξύλι Fl errore, ξυφίου vel Σειρίου conj. Bn; stellae vel sideris nomen aut
compendium falso enodavit scriptor; l. forte Τοξότον? 14 γλουτῶν Ctrr
nates): πλοῦτον P | βαστάζει ego: ἐβάσταζεν P | ἡ Fl: ἡ P | ἐφόρ-
μησα P 15 Ἔρω Fl: ἔρω punctis tribus incertum esse notatum P, ἥρω
conj. Bn vix recte

μου ἢ πρᾶξις ἐστίν. 5. θέσον οὖν μοι μόνον ἀρκεσθῆναι, τὰ δὲ
λοιπὰ τῶν δαιμονίων ἐνοχλούμενα ὑπὸ σου καταταρασσόμενα
πᾶσαν μὲν ἀλήθειαν εἰπωσί· τὰ δὲ διὰ πυρὸς ποιήσουσιν ἀναλω-
θῆναι τὴν μέλλουσαν ὕλην τῶν ξύλων ὑπὸ σου συνάγεσθαι εἰς
5 οἰκοδομὴν ἐν τῷ ναῷ. 6. καὶ ὡς ταῦτα ἐλάλησεν ὁ δαίμων,
ἰδοὺ τὸ πνεῦμα ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐξελθὼν ἐνέπρησε τὸν
δρυμῶνα τοῦ Λιβάνου καὶ ἐνεπύρισε πάντα τὰ ξύλα ἅπερ εἰς τὸν
ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐθέμην. 7. καὶ εἶδον ἐγὼ Σρλομῶν ὁ πεποίηκε
τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἐθαύμασα, καὶ δοξάσας τὸν θεὸν ἠρώτησα τὸν
10 δαίμονα τὸν δρακοντοειδῆ λέγων· »εἰπέ μοι ποίῳ ἀγγέλῳ καταργῇ
σύ;« ὁ δέ μοι ἔφη· »τῷ μεγάλῳ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ
οὐρανῷ καθεζομένῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ Ἑβραϊστὶ Βαζαζάθ.« 8. καὶ γὰρ
Σολομῶν ἀκούσας ταῦτα καὶ ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ
κατέκρινε μάρμαρα πρίζειν εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ.
15 XV. καὶ εὐλογήσας τὸν θεὸν ἐκέλευσα παρεῖναι μοι ἕτερον
δαίμονα. * καὶ ἦλθε πρὸ προσώπου μου ἕτερον πνεῦμα ὡς γυνή
μὲν τὸ εἶδος ἔχον, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ὤμους ἑτέρας δύο κεφαλὰς σὺν
χερσίν. 2. καὶ ἠρώτησα αὐτήν· »λέγε μοι σὺ τίς εἶ.« ἔφη δέ
μοι· »ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἐνήψιγος, ἥτις καὶ μυριόννυμος καλοῦμαι.« 3. καὶ
20 εἶπον αὐτῇ· »ἐν ποίῳ ἀγγέλῳ καταργῇ σύ;« ἡ δέ μοι ἔφη· »τί
ζητεῖς; τί χρήξεις; ἐγὼ μὲν μεταβάλλομαι ὡς θεὰ λεγομένη, καὶ
μεταβάλλομαι πάλιν καὶ γίνομαι ἕτερον εἶδος ἔχουσα. 4. καὶ μὴ
θελήσης κατὰ τοῦτο γινῶναι πάντα τὰ κατ' ἐμέ, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ
πάρει μοι, εἰς τοῦτο ἄκουσον· ἐγὼ παρακαθεζομαι τῇ σελήνῃ
25 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τρεῖς μορφὰς κατέχω. 5. ὅτε μὲν μαγευομένη ὑπὸ
τῶν σοφῶν γίνομαι ὡς Κρόνος. ὅτε δὲ πάλιν περὶ τῶν κατα-
γόντων με κατέρχομαι καὶ φαίνομαι ἄλλη μορφή· τὸ μὲν τοῦ
στοιχείου μέτρον ἀήττητον καὶ ἀόριστον καὶ ἀκατάργητόν ἐστιν.
ἐγὼ γοῦν εἰς τὰς τρεῖς μορφὰς μεταβαλλομένη κατέρχομαι καὶ
30 γίνομαι τοιαύτη ἥνπερ βλέπεις. 6. καταργοῦμαι δὲ ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου

MS P = Rec. B. 1 § 5. θέσον: θες Bn 2 καταρασσ.: καὶ ταρασσ.
ἵνα Bn 4 μέλλουσαν corr. Bn: μέλουσαν P | σου ego: τοῦ P, τούτων
conj. Bn § 6. (62) 6 ἰδοὺ corr. Bn: ἴδων P | * Mg 1337 | ἐξελθὼν P
7 * f. 13^r

MS P = Rec. B. c. XV. 1. 16 * (64) 17 ἔχον ego: ἔχουσα P
18 § 2. ἐρώτησα P § 3. 20 αὐτῇ: ἡ incertum, αὐτῷ Fl § 5. 28 ἀήττη-
τον P: ἀνίττητον Fl errore

Ῥαθανάηλ τοῦ καθεζομένου εἰς τρίτον οὐρανόν. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν σοι λέγω· οὐ δύναται με χωρῆσαι ὁ ναὸς οὗτος.»

7. ἀγὼ οὖν Σολομῶν εὐξάμενος τῷ θεῷ μου καὶ ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸν ἄγγελον ὃν εἶπέ μοι, Ῥαθανάηλ, ἐποίησα τὴν σφραγίδα καὶ κατεσφράγισα αὐτὴν ἀλύσει τριττῇ, καὶ κάτω δεσμῶν τῆς ἀλύσεως ἐποίησα τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ θεοῦ. 8. καὶ προεφῆτευσέ μοι τὸ πνεῦμα λέγον· »τὰυτα μὲν σύ, βασιλεῦ Σολομῶν, ποιεῖς ἡμῖν. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τινὰ ῥαγήσεται σοι ἡ βασιλεία σου, καὶ πάλιν ἐν καιρῷ διαρραγήσεται ὁ ναὸς οὗτος καὶ συνλευσθήσεται πᾶσα Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀπὸ βασιλέως Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων καὶ Χαλδαίων· καὶ τὰ σκεύη τούτου τοῦ ναοῦ οὗ σὺ ποιεῖς δουλεύουσιν θεοῖς. 9. μεθ' ὧν ἂν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀγγεῖα ἐν οἷς ἡμᾶς κατακλείεις κλασθήσονται ὑπὸ χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τότε ἡμεῖς ἐξελευσόμεθα ἐν πολλῇ δυνάμει ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν καὶ εἰς τὸν κόσμον κατασπαρησόμεθα. 10. καὶ πλανήσομεν πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην μέχρι πολλοῦ καιροῦ ἕως τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ υἱὸς τανυσθῇ ἐπὶ ξύλον· καὶ οὐκέτι γὰρ γίνεται τοιοῦτος βασιλεὺς ὅμοιος αὐτῷ ὁ πάντας ἡμᾶς καταργῶν, οὗ ἡ μήτηρ ἀνδρὶ οὐ μιγήσεται. 11. καὶ τίς λάβῃ τοιαύτην ἐξουσίαν κατὰ πνευμάτων εἰ μὴ ἐκεῖνος; ὃν ὁ πρῶτος διάβολος πειρᾶσαι ζητήσῃ καὶ οὐκ ἰσχύσει πρὸς αὐτόν, οὗ ἡ ψῆφος τοῦ ὀνόματος χυδ, ὃ ἐστὶν Ἑμμανουήλ. 12. διὰ τοῦτο, βασιλεῦ Σολομῶν, ὁ καιρὸς σου πονηρὸς καὶ τὰ ἔτη σου μικρὰ καὶ πονηρὰ καὶ τῷ δούλῳ σου δοθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία σου.»

13. Ἀγὼ Σολομῶν * ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐδόξασα τὸν θεὸν καὶ θαυμάσας τῶν δαιμόνων τὰς ἀπολογίας ἕως τῶν ἀποβάσεων ἡπίστον αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐκ ἐπίστευον τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν. 14. ὅτε δὲ ἐγένοντο, τότε συνῆκα καὶ ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ μου ἔγραψα τὴν διαθήκην ταύτην πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτοῖς ὥστε εἰδέναι τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν δαιμόνων καὶ τὰς μορφὰς αὐτῶν

MS P = Rec. B. 2 § 6. χωρῆσαι conj. Cr: χωρίσαι P 3 § 7. (65) 5 δεσμῶν ego: δεσμὸν P § 8. 9 συνλευσθ. ego: συνλευθ. P, vox nihili cuius vis fortasse est 'congeries lapidum fiet', "shall be undone" = (συν)λυθήσεται Cr, συνλονθήσεται (sic) Fl errore 13 § 9. κατακλείεις ego: κατακλύεις P 24 § 13. (66) * f. 14^r 27 § 14. * Mg 1340

C. XV 10. Apoc. XII 9 notat James

C. XV 11. Mt. IV 1—11; Lk. IV 1—13

C. XV 12. Gen. XVII 9 notat James

καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐν οἷς καταργοῦνται οἱ δαίμονες. 15. καὶ δοξάσας κύριον τὸν θεὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐκέλευσα περιδεθῆναι τὸ πνεῦμα δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις.

XVI. Καὶ εὐλογῆσας τὸν θεὸν ἐκέλευσα παρεῖναι ἕτερον
 5 πνεῦμα. καὶ ἦλθε πρὸ προσώπου μου ἕτερον δαιμόνιον * ἔχον
 τὴν μορφὴν ἔμπροσθεν Ἰππου, ὅπισθεν δὲ ἰχθύος. καὶ λέγει
 μεγάλην τὴν φωνήν· »βασιλεῦ Σολομῶν, ἐγὼ θαλάσσιόν εἰμι
 πνεῦμα χαλεπόν. ἐγείρομαι οὖν καὶ ἔρχομαι ἐπὶ τοὺς πελάγους
 παρὰ * τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐμποδίζω τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ πλέοντας ἀν-
 10 θρώπους. 2. διεγειρόμενος δὲ καὶ ἑμμαντὸν ὡς κῦμα καὶ μετα-
 μορφούμενος ἐπεισέρχομαι τοῖς πλοίοις. καὶ αὕτη μου ἡ ἐργασία
 τοῦ ὑποδέχεσθαι τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. Ἰαμβάνω
 γὰρ καὶ διεγείρομαι καὶ διαρρίπτω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπὸ τῆς
 θαλάσσης, οὕτως εἰμι ἐπιθυμῶν σωμαίων, ἀλλ' ἐκρίπτω αὐτὰ
 15 ἔξω τῆς θαλάσσης ἕως τοῦ δεῦρο.¹ 3. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Βεελζεβούλ ὁ
 τῶν αἰρίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων πνευμάτων δεσπότης
 συμβουλεύει εἰς τὰς καθ' ἑνὸς ἐκάστου ἡμῶν πράξεις, διὰ τοῦτο
 καὶ ἐγὼ ἀνέβην ἐκ τῆς * θαλάσσης σκέψιν τινὰ λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ.

MS P = Rec. B. 1 ante ἀγγέλων scriptum δαιμόν(ων) linea deleuit prim. man.

C. XVI. (67) l. 5 * rursus inc. mss. HL

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. 6 μορφ. ἔχω H, μορφ. ἔχων L | ἔμπροσθεν H
 | ὅπισθεν L | κ. λ. μεγάλη τὴν φωνήν H, κ. λεγ(ει) μετὰ μεγάλης φωνῆς L,
 κ. φωνὴ ἦν αὐτῷ μεγάλη καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς με P 7 ἐγὼ πνεῦμα θαλάσσιον
 εἰμι P | θαλάσσιος L 8 ἔγειρ. . . θαλάσσης: καὶ ἀποδέχομαι ἐν χροσφῇ
 καὶ ἀργύρῳ. ἐγὼ τοιοῦτον εἰμι πνεῦμα διεγυρόμενον καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τὰ
 ἀπλώματα τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς θαλ. P | οὖν H: δὲ L | ἐπὶ . . . θαλάσσης H:
 HP: ἐν τῷ πλείῳ (l. πλοῖῳ) L 9 * II f. 19^v | ἐν αὐτῇ πλ.
 HP: ἐν τῷ πλείῳ (l. πλοῖῳ) L 10 § 2. διεγειρ. . . μεταμορφ.: διεγύρω
 γὰρ ἑμμαντὸν εἰς κῦμα καὶ μεταμορφοῦμαι· ἐπιρρίπτω καὶ P | διεγυρόμενοι L
 | καὶ — L | ἑμμαντὸν L: ἑμμαντοὺς H | ὡς κῦμα L: κεῖται H 11 ἐπεισ-
 ερχ. P: περιέρχομαι L | ὑπεισέρχομαι τοῦ πλείου H | μου ἐστὶν P
 12 τοῖς ἀν(θρώπ)οις L

MS P = Rec. B. 12 λαμβάνω . . . δεῦρο (l. 15): — A

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. § 3. l. 15 ἐπεὶ ego: ἐπὶ A, ἐπειδὴ P | ὁ τῶν
 . . . δεσπότης A: ἄρχων τῶν αἰρίων πνευμάτων κ. καταχθ. κ. ἐπιγ. δεσπόζει
 καὶ P 17 ἐμβουλεύει L | εἰς τὰς P: τοῦ A | καθ' — P 18 ἀνέβη
 LP: ἀναβαίνω H | ἐκ A: ἀπὸ P | * P f. 14^r | σκέψιν: σκῆψιν
 conj. Cr cum dubio | σκέψιν . . . θαλάσσης (p. 49*, l. 2) P: om. per homoeo-
 teleuton A

4. ἔχω δὲ καὶ ἑτέραν δόξαν καὶ προᾶξιν· μεταμορφοῦμαι εἰς κύματα καὶ ἀνέρχομαι ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ δεικνύω ἑμαυτὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ καλοῦσί με Κυνόπηγον ὅτι μεταμορφοῦμαι εἰς ἄνθρωπον· ἔστι μοι τὸ ὄνομα ἀληθές. ναντίαν δὲ ἀποστέλλω τινὰ διὰ τῆς ἀνόδου μου εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. 5. ἦλθον οὖν εἰς τὴν συμβουλὴν τοῦ ἄρχοντος Βεελζεβούλ καὶ ἐδέσμευσέ με εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου. νῦν δὲ παρέστηκά σοι καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ὕδωρ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐκλείπει τὸ πνεῦμά μου τὸ λαλοῦν σοι.* 6. καὶ γὰρ εἶπον αὐτῶ· «λέγε μοι ποῖον ἄγγελον καταργεῖσαι.» ὁ δὲ λέγει· «διὰ τοῦ *ΐαμέθ.» 7. καὶ γὰρ ἐκέλευσα αὐτὸν βληθῆναι εἰς φιάλην καὶ ὕδατος θαλάσσης δοχὰς δέκα περιχύνεσθαι καὶ περιέφραξα ἐπάνω μαρμάρου καὶ περιήπλωσα τῇ ἀσφάλτῳ καὶ πίσσῃ καὶ στυπείῳ τὸ στόμα τοῦ ἀγγείου καὶ σφραγίσας τῷ δακτυλιδίῳ ἐκέλευσα ἀποτεθῆναι εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.

XVII. Καὶ ἐκέλευσα παρεῖναι μοι ἕτερον πνεῦμα. * καὶ ἦλθε πνεῦμα ἀνθρώπου μορφὴν ἔχον σκοτεινὴν καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς λάμ-

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. § 4. 1 κύματα conj. Cr: κύματα P 3 καὶ Α ὡς οἱ ἐπίγειοι P | Κυνόπηγον H: κύνόπιγω L, l. forte κυματοπήγον, κυνόπα-
στον P, l. κυνόσβατον, Κυνόσπαστον Cr cum Plin., HN XXIV 74

MS P = Rec. B. ll. 3—9 habet P textum peculiarem. ὅτι ... χεῖράς σου (l. 7) om. A 7—9 νῦν ... σοι: καὶ γὰρ παρέστιν ἐνώπιόν σου διὰ τῆς σφραγίδος ταύτης· καὶ σὺ νῦν βασανίζεις με, ἰδοὺ οὖν δύο καὶ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκλείπει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ λαλοῦν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν με ὕδωρ P

MSS HL = Rec. A. 4 δε: + παρέχω L 7 σοι H: σε L 8 ὅτι δύο τρεῖς ἡμέρας ponit post λαλοῦν σοι L 9 * L f. 16^v2

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. § 6. (69) 9 καὶ γὰρ .. αὐτ. HP: λέγω δὲ τοῦ-
τον L | λέγε μοι — L | ἀγγέλων A | καταργῇ σὺ P 10 λέγει: ἔφη P⁺
| * H f. 20^r | ΐαμέθ LP: ἰαβέθ H | § 7. καὶ γὰρ: + δοξάσας τὸν θεόν P |
κελεύσας H | αὐτ. βληθ. H: tr. L | αὐτὸν — P 11 εἰς φιάλ. βληθ. τὸ
πνεῦμα P | φιάλην P: φυλάκην A | περιχύν. A: ἀνὰ μετροητῶν β P
12 ἐπάνω P: ἐπάνωθεν L, — H | μαρμάρω H: μαρμάρων LP | περιή-
πλωσα A: — P | τῇ ἀσφ. A: ἀσφάλτῳ P 13 πίσσῃ ego: πύσαν H,
πίσα L, πίσσης P | κ. στυπείω ego: κ. στυπίων H, στιπίων L, — P | εἰς
τὸ P | στόμα HP: στόμα L | ἀγγείου APCr: ἀγγέλου Fl errore | τὸ δακτυ-
λίδιον H 14 ἐκέλ. ... θεοῦ — H | ἐν τῷ ναῷ L

C. XVII. 15 ἐκέλευσαν H | πνεῦμα HP: δαίμονα L | * (70) ἦλθε:
+ πρὸ προσώπου μου κατειδωλισμένον (καταλισμένον Mg, καταδουλισμένον
Cr) ἕτερον P 16 ἔχον P: ἔχων L, ἔχουσαν H | σκοτεινὴν L: σκοτεινὴν H,
σκοτεινὸν P | . κ. ὀφθ. λαμπ. A: τοὺς ὀφθ. ἔχον λαμπ. καὶ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ
φέρον σπάθην P

UNT. 9: McCown.

4*

ποντας. καὶ ἐπηρώτησα αὐτὸν λέγων· »σὺ τίς εἶ;« Ἦ δὲ ἔφη·
 »ἐγὼ εἰμι ὄχεικὸν πνεῦμα ἀνθρώπου γίγαντος ἐν σφαγῇ τετελευ-
 τηκότος ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῶν γιγάντων.« 2. καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ·
 »λέγε μοι τί διαπράττεις ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ποῦ ἔχεις οἰκητήριον;«
 5 ὁ δέ μοι ἔφη· »ἡ * κατοικία μου ἐν τόποις ἀβάτοις. ἡ ἐργασία
 μου αὕτη· παρακαθέξομαι τοῖς τεθνεόσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐν τοῖς μνη-
 μείοις καὶ ἐν ἁωρία παραμορφῶ * τοῖς τεθνεόσι καὶ εἰ λήψομαι *
 τινὰ εὐθέως * ἀναιρῶ αὐτὸν τῷ ξίφει. 3. εἰ δὲ μὴ δυνηθῶ ἀναι-
 ρεῖν, ποιῶ αὐτὸν δαιμονίζεσθαι καὶ τὰς σάρκας αὐτοῦ κατατρῶ-
 10 γειν καὶ σιάλους ἐκ τῶν γενεῶν αὐτοῦ καταρρεῖν.« 4. ἔφην δὲ
 αὐτῷ· »φοβήθητι τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ εἰπέ
 μοι ποίῳ ἀγγέλω καταργεῖσαι.« ὁ δὲ ἔφη μοι· »ἐμὲ καταργεῖ ὁ
 μέλλων κατελθεῖν σωτήρ, οὗ τὸ στοιχεῖον ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ, εἴ τις
 γράψῃ, καταργεῖ με καὶ ἐπιτιμηθεὶς ἀποστρέψω ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τα-
 15 χέως· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ σημεῖον σταυρός.« 5. ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ἐγὼ
 Σολομῶν κατέκλεισα τὸν δαίμονα ὥσπερ καὶ τᾶλλα δαιμόνια.

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. 1 αὐτὸν A: αὐτὸ P | λέγων — P

MS P = Rec. B. 1—3 τὸ δὲ . . . γιγάντων P, καὶ ὁ δαίμων ἔφη· τὸ ὄνομα
 μου μαχθόν L, — H | 1 ὁ δὲ cum rec. A infra: τὸ δὲ P 2 ὄχεικὸν ego,
 i q., ὀχεντικόν: ὀχικόν P

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. 3 § 2. καὶ — P 4 καὶ — L 5 ὁ δέ μοι
 H: ὁ δαίμων L, τὸ δὲ P | ἡ κατοικία . . . ἐργασία: ἡ κατοικία (l. κακία) H |
 ἡ μὲν κατ. P | * P f. 15^r | τόποις ἀβάτοις L: τοῖς κατακάρποις τόποις P
 | ἡ δὲ ἐργ. P 6 αὕτη HP: ἐτούτη εἶναι L, + ἐστὶν H | παρακαθίξω
 ἐμαντὸν P | τεθνεόσιν A: παρερχομένοις P 7 καὶ ἀλλ' ἐν H | παρα-
 8 μορφῶ: + ἐμ H | * H f. 20^v | τεθν. A: τελευτῶσι P | εἰ P: ἡ H, ὁ L
 | ** L f. 17^r 8 εὐθέως post ξίφει ponit L | * Mg 1341 | ἀναιρῶ H:
 ἀνερῶ P, ἀερῶ L | τῷ H: τὸ L, — P | § 3. μὴ L: μοι H, οὐ P | ἀναι-
 ρεῖν A: ἀναιρῆσαι P 9 ποιῶ: ποιὸν L | αὐτοῦ: αὐτῶν L | κατατρῶ-
 γειν A: κατεσθίειν P 10 σιάλους ego: σὺ ἄλλοις H, σὺ ἄλλους L, τοὺς
 σιέλους P | ἐκ A: ἀπὸ P | γενεῶν P: γονιῶν A | αὐτοῦ H: αὐτ(ῶν) L,
 — P | καταρρεῖν H, καταρρεῶν L | § 4. ἔφη A 11 αὐτῷ: + ὁ βασιλεὺς
 σολομῶν φοβηθ. οὖν P | τοῦ . . . τῆς HP: πν(εύμ)α πονηρὸν L 12 ἀγγέ-
 λων H | καταργῇ συ P | ὁ δὲ A: τὸ δ' P | μοι H: — LP | ὁ ἐμὲ H |
 ἐμὲ καταργή με L 13 κατελθ. σωτ. A: σ(ωτ)ήρ γενέσθαι ἄν(θρωπ)ος P |
 καὶ εἴ A 14 γράψῃ: + αὐτῷ A, ἐπιγράψῃ P | καταργεῖ . . . αὐτοῦ A:
 ἡττήσῃ με καὶ φοβηθεὶς ἀποστραφήσομαι P 15 καὶ τοῦτο P | στ(αν)-
 ρ(ός) A: εἰάν τις ἐπιγράψῃ φοβηθήσομαι P | § 5. ταῦτα δὲ A: καὶ τοῦτο P,
 + αὐτοῦ H 16 κατεκλ. A: καὶ δοξάσας κύριον τὸν θεὸν ἐπέκλεισα P |
 τ. δαίμ. H. αὐτὸν L, τὸ δαιμόνιον P | τὰ ἄλλα L | δαιμόνια A: πν(εύμ)ατα P

XVIII. Καὶ ἐκέλευσα παρῆναι μοι ἕτερον δαίμονα. καὶ ἦλθον πρὸς με τὰ τριάκοντα ἔξ στοιχεῖα, * αἱ κορυφαὶ αὐτῶν ὡς κύνες ἄμορφοι. ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ ἦσαν ἀνθρωπόμορφα, ταυρόμορφα, θηριοπρόσωπα, δρακοντόμορφα, σφιγγοπρόσωπα, πτηνοπρόσωπα. 2, καὶ ταῦτα ἰδὼν ἐγὼ Σολομῶν ἐπηρώτησα αὐτὰ λέγων· «καὶ ὑμεῖς τίνες ἐστε;» αἱ δὲ ὁμοθυμαδὸν μιᾷ * φωνῇ εἶπον· «ἡμεῖς ἔσμεν τὰ τριάκοντα ἔξ στοιχεῖα, οἱ κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. 3. ἀλλ' οὐ δύνασαι ἡμᾶς, βασιλεῦ, ἀδικῆσαι οὐδὲ κατακλῆσαι· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἔδωκέ σοι ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ἀερίων πνευμάτων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων, ἰδοὺ παραστήκομεν ἔμπροσθέν σοι ὡς τὰ * λοιπὰ πνεύματα.»

4. Καὶ γὰρ δὲ Σολομῶν προσκαλεσάμενος τὸ ἐν πνεῦμα εἶπον

C. XVIII. MSS HLP = Recc. AB. 1 (72) παρῆναι μοι LP: — H | ἕτερον δαιμ. P: ἕτερα δαιμόνια L, πν(εύμ)ατα H | καὶ ἦλθον π. με: — L | ἦλθον P: ἦλθασιν H 2 πρὸς με H: πρὸ προσώπου μοι P | τὰ λς' στοιχ. H, τὰ λεγόμενα στοιχ. L, τριάκοντα ἔξ πν(εύμ)α P | * H f. 21^r | αἱ κορ. HP: καὶ ἡ κορυφῇ L | ὡς LP: ὡσεὶ H 3 ἐν αὐτοῖς· ἦσαν δὲ H | ἦσαν καὶ L | ἀνώμορφα καὶ κατόμορφα· θηρ. δρακ. σφιγγοπ. πτερωτα· ἐν τὰ πρόσωπα H, ἀπὸ ἀνωμορφα· καὶ ταυρομ. καὶ θηρ. L, ἀνθρωπόμορφοι, ὀνοπρόσωποι, βοοπρόσωποι, καὶ πτηνοπρόσωποι P 5 § 2. καὶ ... Σολ. A: καὶ γὰρ σολομῶν ἀκούσας καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὰ ἐθαύμασα καὶ P | αὐτὰ — H | καὶ — P 6 αἱ HP: εἰ L | ὁμοθ. HP: ὁμοῦ L | μίαν φωνὴν L | * L f. 17^r 2 | εἶπαν μιᾷ φωνῇ H 7 ἔσμεν HP: ἐστὶ L | τριακ. ἔξει δαιμόνια καὶ στοιχεῖα L | οἱ HP: — L | τὸ σκότος L 8 τοῦ αἰῶνος A: — P | § 3. δυνήσῃ βασιλεῦ σολομῶν ἡμᾶς P | καὶ ἀδικεῖσαι L 9 οὐδὲ κατακλ.: — L, + οὐδὲ κελεῦσαι ἡμῖν P | ἐπειδὴ LP: ἐπεὶ H | κύριος ὁ θεὸς P 10 πάντων (+ ἡμῶν L) ... (καὶ — 1° — om. H) ... καταχθ. A: παντὸς πν(εύμα)τος ἀερίου τὲ καὶ ἐπιγείου καὶ καταχθονίου P 11 ἰδοὺ A: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς P | παραστήκομεν H: παραστήκαμέν σοι L, παριστάμεθα P | ἔμπροσθέν H: pr. καὶ ἡμεῖς L, ἐνώπιον P | ὡς καὶ L | * P f. 15^v 12 πνεύματα: + ἀπὸ κριοῦ, καὶ ταύρου, διδύμου τὲ καὶ καρκίνου, λέοντος, καὶ παρθένου, ζυγοῦ τε καὶ σχορπίου (sic, x = η?) τοξότου, αἰγωκέρωτος, ὕδροχόου, καὶ ἰχθύος P

MS P = Rec. B. § 4. ll. 13—p. 52*, 1 pro Καὶ γὰρ . . . μοι praebebat P haec: τότε ἐγὼ σολομῶν ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σαβαὼθ, ἐπερώτησα αὐτὰ καθ' ἓνα ὅποιος τρόπος αὐτῶν τυγχάνει, καὶ ἐκέλευσα αὐτοὺς ἓνα ἕκαστον εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐλθόντα εἰπεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προᾶξιν. τότε προσελθὼν ὁ πρῶτος εἶπεν P

MSS HL = Rec. A. § 4. l. 13 δὲ — L | τὸ — L

- αὐτῶ· »σὺ τίς εἶ;« ὁ δὲ ἔφη μοι »ἔγὼ δεκανὸς α' τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ κύκλου, ὃς καλοῦμαι Ῥύαξ. 5. κεφαλὰς ἀνθρώπων ποιῶ ἀλγεῖν καὶ κροτάφους σαλεύω. ὥς μόνον ἀκούσω· »Μιχαήλ, ἔγκλεισον Ῥύαξ, εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ.« 6. ὁ δεῦτερος ἔφη· »ἔγὼ Βαρσαφαήλ 5 καλοῦμαι. ἡμικράνους ποιῶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐν τῇ ὄρῃ μου κειμένους. ὥς δὲ ἀκούσω· »Γαβριήλ, ἔγκλεισον Βαρσαφαήλ, εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ.« 7. ὁ τρίτος ἔφη· »Ἄρτοσαήλ καλοῦμαι. ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀδικῶ σφόδρα. ὥς δὲ ἀκούσω· »Οὐριήλ, ἔγκλεισον Ἄρτοσαήλ, εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ.«
- 10 8. Ὁ τέταρτος ἔφη· »ἔγὼ καλοῦμαι * Ὀροπέλ. λαιμοὺς καὶ συνάγχας καὶ σηπεδῶνας ἐπιπέμπω. ὥς δὲ ἀκούσω· »Ραφαήλ, ἔγκλεισον Ὀροπελ, εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ.« 9. ὁ πέμπτος ἔφη· »ἔγὼ Καιρωξανονδάλων * καλοῦμαι. ἐμφράξεις ὀτίων ποιῶ. ἐὰν δὲ

MSS HL = Rec. A. § 4. 1 * H f. 21^v | μοι — L

MS P = Rec. B. § 4. ll. 1—2 pro ἔγὼ . . . Ῥύαξ praebebat P textum interpolatum hunc: ἔγὼ εἰμι ὁ (πρῶτος) δεκανὸς τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ κύκλου, ὃς καλοῦμαι κριός, καὶ μετ' ἐμοῦ οἱ δύο οὔτοι. ἐπηρώτησα οὖν αὐτούς· τίνες καλεῖσθε; § 5. ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἔφη· ἔγὼ, κύριε, ῥύαξ καλοῦμαι

MS HL = Rec. A. § 4. ll. 1—2 ἔγὼ . . . Ῥύαξ dubitanter propono: ἔγω δεκαδὴν (δεκάδων L) τοῦ ἐξοδίου (ἐξοδίων L) κυκλῶνος (κακόκλωνος — zo supra lin. adscr. — H) καλοῦμαι καὶ κριός HL

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. § 5. 2 ποιεῖν H | ἀλγεῖν — A 3 καὶ — L | σαλεύειν H | μόνον: μὲν L | ἔγκλεισον ego: ἔκλυσον (forte recte, sed in ms. tribus punctis dubii indicandi notatum) P, ἔγγεισον H, ἔγγισον L 4 Ῥύαξ P: οὐ οὐρὸν H, οὐροῦν L | § 6. (74) δεῦτερος: numeros constanter per compendia scr. codd. omnes | ἔφη: λέγ < L | βαρσαβαήλ L 5 ἡμικρανός L, ἡ μικρανοὺς Mg | τοὺς ἀνθρ. A: ἀλγεῖν P 6 ὥς δὲ L: ἕως δὲ H, ἐὰν μόνον P | ἔγκλησον HP, ἔκλεισον (κ ex λ corr.) L 7 εὐθὺς semper scr. P, εὐθὺς semper L, interdum εὐθὺς, interdum εὐθέως H | § 7. (75) καὶ ὁ L | Ἄρτοσαήλ HL: ἄρωτοσαήλ P 8 ὥς δὲ H: ὥς μόνον P, καὶ ἐὰν L | ἀκοῖσαι P | οὐρονὲλ L | ἔγκλεισον P: ἔκκλεισον H, ἔκλεισον L | ἄρατοσαήλ P, ἄρσαήλ L

§ 8. sectionem 8 om. Fl cum nota hac: »Hic omisi quae v. in additam. sub signo *),« quae additamenta reperire non potui 10 ἔφη HP: εἶπεν L | * L f. 17^v | Ὀροπέλ P: ὀροπόλος L, ἄροπόλον H | λαιμοὺς . . . ἐπιπέμπω P: λιμοὺς καὶ συμπεδῶνας καὶ συνεχὰς linea delet.) μπεδῶνας καὶ συνοχὰς ἐμποιῶ H, λιτ(οὺς) καὶ σιπεδῶνας κ. συνοχὰς ἐμπιῶ L 11 ὥς δὲ A: ἐὰν P 12 ἔγκλεισον Ὀρ. — A | § 9. (76) 13 καὶ ρωξανονδάλων H καιριξενονδάλων L, λουδάλ P | * H f. 22^r | ἔμφραξιν P | ὀτίων HP: ὅτι L | ποιῶ H: ἐνπιῶ L, καὶ σφήνωσιν ἀκοῶν ἐπιτελῶ P | δὲ — P

ἀκούσω· Ὀυρουήλ, ἔγκλεισον Καίρωξανονδάλον, εὐθὺς * ἀναχωρῶ. 10. ὁ ἕκτος ἔφη· ἐγὼ Σφενδοναήλ καλοῦμαι. παρυντίδας καὶ ὀπισθοτόνους ἐμποιῶ. ἐὰν ἀκούσω· Σαβαήλ, ἔγκλεισον Σφενδοναήλ, εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ. 11. ὁ ἕβδομος ἔφη· ἐγὼ Σφανδῶρ καλοῦμαι. ὥμων δύναμιν ἐλαττῶ καὶ χειρῶν νεῦρα παραλύω, καὶ μέλη κοπιάζω. ἐὰν ἀκούσω· Ἀραήλ, ἔγκλεισον Σφανδῶρ, εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ. 12. ὁ ὄγδοος ἔφη· ἐγὼ Βελβέλ καλοῦμαι. καρδίας ἀνθρώπων καὶ φρένας διαστρέψω . . ἐὰν ἀκούσω· Καραήλ, ἔγκλεισον Βελβέλ, εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ.

13. Ὁ ἔννατος ἔφη· ἐγὼ Κουρταήλ καλοῦμαι. στρόφους ἐγκάτων * ἐπιπέμπω. ἐὰν ἀκούσω· Ἰαώθ, ἔγκλεισον Κουρταήλ, εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ. 14. ὁ δέκατος ἔφη· ἐγὼ Μεταθιάξ καλοῦμαι. νεφρῶν πόνους ποιῶ. ἐὰν ἀκούσω· Ἀδωναήλ, ἔγκλεισον Μεταθιάξ, εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ. 15. ὁ ἐνδέκατος ἔφη· ἐγὼ Κατανικοταήλ καλοῦμαι. μάχας καὶ αὐθαδείας κατ' οἴκους ἐπιπέμπω. ἐὰν τις θέλει εἰρηνεύειν, γραψάτω εἰς ἑπτὰ φύλλα δάφνης τὰ

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. 1 οὐριήλ H | ἔγκλεισον Καίρ. ego: ἔγκλησον λουδάλ P, — A | * P f. 16^r 2 § 10. Σφενδοναήλ P: σφενδοναήλ H, σφενδοναήλ L | παρυντιδ.: + ποιῶ καὶ παρίσθμια P 3 ὀπισθοτόνους H, ὀπισθοτόνους L, ὀπισθότονα P | ἐμποιῶ A: — P | Σαβαήλ (β ex λ corr.) P: Σαβραήλ Mg errore, σαφαήλ L, σφεβαήλ H | ἐγκλ. Σφεν. — A 4 σφανδοναήλ P | § 11. (78) ἔφη HP: εἶπεν L 5 Σφανδῶρ P: δορόν H, φανδωρόν L | ὥμων δυν. P: ἀν(θρώπων)ων (ἀπὸν H) δυνάμεις A | ἐλαττῶ P: ἐλαττόνων H, ἐλαττῶν L, + καὶ σαλεύω P, + ἐὰν ἀκούει L | καὶ — H | χειρῶν νεῦρα H 6 παραλύω HP: παρχύω L, + καὶ ὁσῶ παλαμῶν συντριβῶ P | κ. μέλη κοπ. H: κ. μυελοὺς ἐμπιπύζω (ἐκπιπύζω Fl, 1. ἐκπιπίζω = ἐκπίνω) P, — L | ἐγκλ. Σφανδ. — A 7 § 12. (79) βοκβέλ in βελβέλ corr. L 8 διαστρέψω HP: ἀναστρέψω L 9 Καραήλ A: ἀραήλ P | ἐγκλ. Βελβ. — A

§ 13. (80) 10 ἔφη HP: εἶπεν L | Κουρταήλ P: κουρταήλ vel κοφταήλ H, ἀκουρτααήλ L 11 ἐγκάτων A: ἐν κοιλίᾳ P | * Mg 1344 | ἐπιπέμπω A: ἀποπέμπω, πόνους ἐπάγω P | ἐὰν . . . ἀναχωρῶ — L | Ἰαώθ P: σαβαώθ H | ἐγκλ. Κουρτ. — H 12 § 14. (81) ἔφη HP: εἶπεν L | Μεταθιάξ P: μεταθιάξ H, μεταθιαξ L 13 νεφροὺς ποιῶ πονεῖν P | ἐὰν δε H | * H f. 22^v | Ἀδωναήλ P: ἀδωναῖ H, ἀδωνάν L | ἐγκλ. Μεταθ. — A 14 § 15. (82) ἔφη HP: εἶπεν L | Καταν. P: κανικοταήλ L, νικοταήλ H 15 αὐθαδείας A: ἀδικίας P | οἴκους: + ποιῶ καὶ σκληρίας P | * L f. 17^v 16 εἰρηνεύειν: εἰρηνεύει L, + εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ P | γραψάτω P: γράφαι H, ἄς γράφη L | εἰς . . . με H: τὰ ἑπτὰ ὄνομ. τ. κατ. με εἰς ἑπ. φύλα δάννης ἐτοῦτα L, εἰς ἑπ. φύλλ < δάφνης τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ καταργουῦντος με ἀγγέλον, καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα P

ὀνόματα τὰ καταργοῦντά με· ἄγγελε· ἱερέ· ἱερώ· σαβαώθ· ἐγκλεί-
σατε Κατανικοταήλ,^c καὶ πλύνας τὰ φύλλα τῆς δάφνης θανάτω
τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ τῷ ὕδατι, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ.^c 16. ὁ δωδέ-
κατος ἔφη· ἔγὼ Σαφθοραήλ καλοῦμαι. διχοστασίας ἐμβάλλω
5 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ εὐφραίνομαι αὐτοὺς σκανδαλίζων. ἐάν τις
γράψῃ ταῦτα· * ἱερέ· ἱερώ· υἱοὶ Σαβαώθ,^c καὶ φορεῖ ἐν τῷ τρα-
χήλῳ αὐτοῦ, εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ.^c

17. Ὁ τρίτος καὶ δέκατος ἔφη· ἔγὼ Φοβοθήλ καλοῦμαι.
νευρῶν χαλάσεις ποιῶ. ἐὰν ἀκούσω· Ἀδωναί,^c εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ.^c
10 18. ὁ τέταρτος καὶ δέκατος ἔφη· ἔγὼ Λερωήλ * καλοῦμαι. ψῦχος
καὶ ῥίγος καὶ στομάχον πόνον ἐπάγω. ἐὰν ἀκούσω· Ἰάζ, μὴ ἐμ-
μείνης, μὴ θερμάνης, ὅτι καλλίον ἐστὶ Σολομῶν ἐνδεκα πατέ-
ρων,¹ εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ.^c 19. ὁ πέμπτος καὶ δέκατος ἔφη· ἔγὼ
Σουβελτὶ καλοῦμαι. φρίκην καὶ νάρκην ἐπιπέμπω. ἐὰν μόνον

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. 1 ἄγγελε A: — P | ἱερέ H: ἱεαῖ L, ἱαῖ P | ἱεώ LP: ἱωεῶ H | σαβαώθ A: υἱοὶ σαβαώθ, διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ μεγάλου
θεοῦ P | ἐγκλήσεται H, ἐγκλησάτω P, ἐγγίσαιτε L, + τῷ Fl errore 2 καὶ
A: πλύνει vel πλύνας P, πλύνων Fl | τ. φυλ. τ. δαφ. H: τὰς δάφνας L, τὰ
δαφνόφυλλα P, τὰ δαφνόφυλλα Fl, + ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος P | ῥενάτω (sic) Fl
errore 3 τὸν ... ὕδατι P: τοῦ οἴκου μετὰ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκείνω L, τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ
τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ H, + ἀπὸ ἔσω ἔως ἔξω P | § 16. (83) 4 σαφθοραήλ P
| ἐμβάλλω P 5 εὐφρ. αὐτ. σκανδ. P: φρένας σκανδαλίζω (-ζων H) A 6 γρά-
ψῃ ταῦτα A: εἰς χάριτην ἐπιγράψῃ ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν (* f. 16^v) ἄγγε-
λων P | ἱερέ· ἱεώ· (ἱαῶ· L) υἱοὶ Σαβ. A: ἱαεῶ· ἱειλῶ· (Ἰαελῶ Fl) ἱωελετ·
σαβαώθ· ἱθδθ· βαῖ P, cf. supra § 15, l. 1, textum cod. ms. P | φορεῖ ...
αὐτοῦ H: — L, πλίσας φορέσῃ τῷ τραχήλῳ, ἥ καὶ τὰς (scil. χάριτας?) πρὸς
τὸ οὐς ἦθη (l. τιθῇ) P 7 ἀναχωρῶ: + καὶ τὴν μέθην λύω P

§ 17. (84) 8 Φοβοθήλ A: βοθήλ P 9 νευρ. χαλ. ego: νευρῶν κολάσ-
σης H, νευρ. χαλάσας L, νευροχαλάσης P, νευροχρίλασεις (sic) Fl errore |
ἐὰν ... Ἀδωναί H: ἐὰν ἀκ. ἀδ. δ. . L, ἐὰν ἐφαπτόμενος ἀκ. τοῦ μεγάλου
ἀδωναήλ τὸ ὄνομα ἐγκλησαν βοθοθήλ P 10 § 18. (85) ἔφη P: εἶπε L,
— H | ἐγὼ Λερωήλ ... ἀναχωρῶ (l. 13) et ἐγὼ Σουβελτὶ ... ἀναχωρῶ
(l. 13—p. 55*, 1) tr. P | λερωήλ L, ῥοκλήδ P, ῥοηλήδ Fl | * H f. 23^r |
ψῦχος LP: ψυχρὸς H 11 κ. στ. πόνον P: κ. στόμαχον H, κ. στομαχῶν L,
ἐπάγω A: ἐποιῶ P | ἐὰν A: ὡς μόνον P | Ἰάζ, μὴ ἐμμ. ego: ἱάζ μὴ ἐμ-
μείνης H, ἱάζ μὴ ἐμμεμείνης L, ἱάζ μὴ ἐμμεμείνης P 12 μὴ θερ. ὅτι κάλ-
λιον ... ἐν δέκα κατ. P, — A 13 § 19. (86) ἔφοι ὁ τῆ H 14 Σουβελτὶ L:
σουβελτὴ H, κουμειτὴλ P, Κουμεατὴλ Fl | φρικ. κ. ναρκ. ἐπιπ. P: — L,
τὸν (ν)οῦν καὶ σάρκας ἐμποιῶ H | ἐὰν A: ὡς P | μόνον — L

ἀκούσω· > Ῥιζώῃλ, [ἔγκλεισον Σουβελτί,] εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ. 20. ὁ ἔκτος καὶ δέκατος ἔφη· > ἐγὼ Κατράξ καλοῦμαι. ἐπιφέρω τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πυρετοὺς ἀνιάτους. * ὁ θέλων ὑγίης γενέσθαι τριψάτω κολιάνδρον καὶ ἐπιχρίετω τὰ χεῖλη λέγων· > ὀρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ Δάν, ἀναχώρησον ἀπὸ τοῦ πλάσματος τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ. >

21. Ὁ ἑβδομος καὶ δέκατος ἔφη· > ἐγὼ Ἱεροπὰ καλοῦμαι. ἐπὶ τοῦ στομάχου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθέξομαι, καὶ ποιῶ ἀσπασμοὺς ἐν βαλανείῳ· καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ εὐρίσκω τὸν ἀνθρώπον καὶ πτωματίζω. 22. * Ὁ ὄγδοος καὶ δέκατος ἔφη· > ἐγὼ Μοδεβήλ καλοῦμαι. γυναῖκα ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς χω-

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. 1 Ῥιζώῃλ H: ριζωὲλ L, ζωρωῃλ P | ἔγκλει-
σον Σουβ. ego cum dubio: — A, ἔγκλησον κομμενταῖλ P, de *Κομμενταῖλ*
annotavit Fl: »diversa genera scripturae in una enuntiatione.« | ἀναχωρῶ
ὅτι τὸν νοῦν καὶ σάρκα ἐμπιῶ L | § 20. (87) 2 ἐγὼ — H | Κατράξ
H: ἱατράξ L, ἀτραξ P | ἐπιφέρω A: ἐγὼ καταστρέφω P | τοὺς ἀν(θρώ-
π)ους L 3 ἀνιάτ.: + καὶ βλαβεροὺς P | * L f. 18^{r1} | ὁ ... γενέσθαι A:
ἐὰν θέλῃς με ἐγκλῆσαι P | τριψ. κολ.: τρ. κολύατρον H, τρ. κολιάντρον L,
κολ. κόψας P 4 καὶ — P | ἐπιχρ. τ. χεῖλ. L: ἐπίχριε τὰ χεῖλη αὐτοῦ H,
ἐπίχριε τῶν χειλέ(ων) P | λέγων: + οὗτος H, + τὴν ἐπωδὴν ταύτην P |
ὀρκίζω ... θεοῦ H (— ἀπὸ ... θεοῦ) L: τὸ πύρεθρον τὸ ἀπὸ ὀνπαρί(ας),
ὀρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου τοῦ θρόνου, ἀναχώρει ἀπὸ ὀνπαρί(ας),
καὶ ἀναχώρει ἀπὸ τοῦ πλάσματος τοῦ θεοῦ P 5 καὶ — H 6 ἀναχωρῶ:
+ ἀπὸ τοῦ πλάσμα τ. θεοῦ L

§ 21. (88) 7 Ἱεροπὰ ego: ἱερωπὰ L, κερωπὰ vel ἡερωπά H, ἱερωπαῖλ P
| ἐπὶ: pr. ἐάν L 8 τοῦ — H | τ. ἀνθρ. A: τῶν ἀν(θρώπ)ων P | ποιῶ
ἀσπασμοὺς H (i. q. σπασμοὺς, cf. Dieterich, *Unters.* p. 33, ἀσπασμένος): ποιῶ-
σας σπασμοὺς L, ποιῶ ἀσπαρμους (sub ρ lineam posuit man. prim.?) P |
ἀσπ. ἐν βαλ. κ. ἐν ὁδῷ scr. mss. omnes, sed ἐν ὁδῷ cum εὐρίσκω legendum
est 9 εὐρίσκω H: εὐρώ L, καὶ ὅπου δ' ἂν εὐρεθῶ καὶ εὐρω P | τὸν
— L | πτωματ. P: παραστοματίζω H, ἀποστοματίζω L 10 ὅς δ' ἂν P:
ὥς δ' ἂν H, καὶ ἐάν L | εἴπη H, εἴποι P, εἰπεῖ τις L | εἰς ... τρίτον L:
εἰς ... ὡτίον (* f. 23^v) τοῦ ἀν(θρώπ)ου ἐκ τρίτου H, τοῖς πάσχουσιν εἰς τὸν
οὗς αὐτῶν, τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα ἐκ τρίτου εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν P 11 ἰουδα ... με
ego: ἰουδαξειζαβονιδέποι εἰ με H, ἰουδαξειζαβονιδέ· ποιῶμαι L, ἰουδαριζ),
ζαβουνή· δούνη P, Fl falso legit | ἀναχωρεῖν A: εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ P |
§ 22. (89) * P f. 17^r 12 ἔφη ὁ ἱῇ H | Μοδ. καλ. H: μοδιῇλ καλ. L, καλ.
βουλδουμήλ P | γυναῖκα L: γυναῖκας HP | ἀνδρὸς P: ἄνδρα L, τοὺς ἑαν-
τῶν ἀνδρας H | χωρίζω P: χωρήζωμαι L, χορίζω H, + καὶ φθόνον ἐπι-
τελῶ P | γράφη P

- ρίζω. ἔάν τις γράφει τῶν ὀκτώ πατέρων τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ θήσει αὐτὰ ἐν προθύροις, εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ. 23. ὁ ἔννατος καὶ δέκατος ἔφη· »ἐγὼ καλοῦμαι Μαρδέρω. ἐπιφέρω πυρετούς ἀνιάτους; καὶ ἐν οἴῳ δὲ οἴκῳ * γράφεις τὸ ὄνομά μου, εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ. 24. ὁ εἰκο-
 5 στὸς ἔφη· »ἐγὼ καλοῦμαι Ῥὺξ Ναθώθω. εἰς γόνατα καθέξομαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἔάν τις γράφει εἰς χάρτην· >Φνοννηβιήλ,< εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ. 25. ὁ πρῶτος καὶ εἰκοστὸς ἔφη· »ἐγὼ Ῥὺξ Ἀλάθ καλοῦμαι. δύσπνοιαν τοῖς νηπίοις ἐμποιοῦ. ἔάν τις γράφει· >Ραρι-
 10 δέρις,< καὶ * βαστάζει, εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ. 26. Ὁ δεύτερος καὶ εἰκοστὸς ἔφη· »ἐγὼ καλοῦμαι Ῥὺξ Αὐδά-
 μεώθ. καρδιόπονον ἐπιπέμπω. ἔάν τις γράφει· >Ραιουώθ,< εὐ-
 θὺς ἀναχωρῶ. 27. ὁ τρίτος καὶ εἰκοστὸς ἔφη· »ἐγὼ Ῥὺξ Μαν-

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. 1 ὀκτώ: $\bar{\eta}$ vel fortasse ζ H, $\xi\eta$ L, $\sigma\omega\bar{\nu}$ P | ὀνόματα: + σολομῶν ἐν χάρτῃ P | θήσει LP: θέσει H 2 αὐτὰ — H | ἐν προθ. P: ἐμπροσθέραις H, ἐμπροσθύραις L, + τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ P

MS P = Rec. B. pro εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ praebet textum hunc: ἐκεῖθεν ἀναχωρῶ. ἡ δὲ ἐπιγραφή ἐστὶν αὕτη: κελεύει σοι ὁ θεὸς ἄβραάμ, καὶ ὁ θ(εὸς) Ἰσαάκ, καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβ, ἀναχώρησον ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου τούτου μετ' εἰρήνης, εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ

MSS HPL = Recc. AB. § 23. (90) 3 ἔφη ὁ $\bar{\iota}\theta$ H | Μαρδέρω ... μου (l. 4) et Ναθώθω ... Φνοννηβιήλ (ll. 5—6) tr. P | ἐγὼ καλοῦμαι Μαρδέρω P: ἐγὼ ρὺξ καλοῦμαι μαδούρω H, ἐγὼ μανδραβουροῦν καλοῦμαι δου L | ἐπιφ. πυρ. ἀνιαι. H: πυρ. ἀν. ἐπιφ. L, πυρετὸν ἐπιπέμπω ἀνιάτον τοῖς ἀν(θρῶ-
 π)οις P | καὶ ... μου H: ἐνίω* οἴκω γράφει· τὸ ὄν. μου L, ἔάν τις (* Mg 1345) γράψῃ εἰς χάρτην βιβλίον· σφηνήρ, ῥαφαήλ, ἀναχώρημην (ἀναχώρημεν Fl), σύρον δούρον, καὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ περιάψῃ P 4 εὐθὺς P: εὐθέως L, — H | § 24. (91) 5 ἔφη — H | ἐγὼ ριζίνα θά· θω καλοῦμαι L | Ῥὺξ Ναθώθω H: ναὼθ P | καὶ εἰς τὰ γόνατα P | τῶν ἀνθρ. P: τῶν ἀν(θρῶπ)ω L, τοῦ ἀν(θρῶπ)ου H 6 ἐπιγράψῃ P | εἰς χάρτην H: εἰς χαρτίον L, ἐν χάρτῃ P | Φνοννηβ. H: φνοννιφαήλ L, φνοννοβοηόλ, ἔξειλθε ναθώθ, καὶ τραχείλιν μὴ ἀψης P 7 § 25. (92) ἔφη ὁ $\bar{\alpha}\alpha$ H | Ῥὺξ Ἀλάθ ... βαστάζει (l. 9) et Ῥὺξ Αὐδαμεώθ ... ραιουώθ (ll. 10—11) tr. H | Ῥὺξ Ἀλάθ ego: ρήξ ὁ ἀλάθ H, ριξ ὁ λάθ L, ἀλάθ P 8 δύσπνοιαν P: δίσπνια H, δύσπνια L, pr. βήχα καὶ P | νηπίους L: παισὶν P, — H | γράφει ... βα-
 στατάζει (+ αὐτῶ) H: γραφ. καὶ βαστ.* ραριδερις L, ἐπιγράψῃ εἰς χάρτην· ῥορηξ δίωξον σὺν ἀλάθ, καὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ περιάψῃ P 9 * H f. 24^r

MSS HL = Rec. A. 10 § 26. ὁ δευτ. ... ἀναχωρῶ — P, errore Mg ὁ $\pi\beta'$ pro ὁ $\pi\gamma'$ posito ὁ $\pi\gamma'$ (§ 27) omitti videtur | sectiones 26 et 25 tr. H, cf. supra | Ῥὺξ Αὐδάμ. H: ριξ αὐμαδεώθ (ante καλοῦμαι) L 11 καρδιοπ. ... ἀναχωρῶ H: ἔάν τις γράφει ραῖζώθ καλοῦμαι ἔάν τῆς γράφει ραῖζώθ καὶ βαστάζει ἀναχωρῶ ὅτι καρδιόπονός ἐπιπέσει καὶ πέμπω L

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. § 27. (93) 12 ἔφη ὁ $\bar{\alpha}\gamma$ H | Ῥὺξ Μανθ.: ριξ μανθαδῶ L, ρὺξ αὐθάδης H, νεφθαδᾶ P

θαδῶ καλοῦμαι. νεφροὺς ἀλγεῖν ποιῶ. ἐάν τις γράψει· Ὑαῶθ, Οὐρίηλ, εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ. 28. ὁ τέταρτος καὶ εἰκοστὸς ἔφη· ἐγὼ Ῥὺξ Ἀκτονμὲ καλοῦμαι. πλευρὰς ἀλγεῖν ποιῶ. ἐάν τις γράψει ἐν ὕλῃ ἀπὸ πλοίου ἀστοχήσαντος· ἄερίου Μαρμαραῶθ, εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ. * 29. ** ὁ πέμπτος καὶ εἰκοστὸς ἔφη· ἐγὼ Ῥὺξ Ἀνατρὲθ καλοῦμαι. ζέσεις καὶ πυρώσεις εἰς σπλάγχνα ἀναστέλλω. ἐὰν ἀκούσω· ἄραρὰ ἄραρή, εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ. 30. ὁ ἕκτος καὶ εἰκοστὸς ἔφη· ἐγὼ Ῥὺξ ὁ Ἐναυθα καλοῦμαι. φρένας ἀποκλέπτω καὶ καρδίας ἀλλοιῶ. ἐάν τις γράψει· Χαλαζαήλ, εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ. 31. ὁ ἑβδομος καὶ εἰκοστὸς ἔφη· ἐγὼ Ῥὺξ Ἀξησβὺθ καλοῦμαι. ὑπεκτικόνους ποιῶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ αἱμορροόους. ἐάν τις ὀρκίσει με εἰς οἶνον * ἄκρατον καὶ δώσει τῷ πάσχοντι, εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ.

32. Ὁ ὄγδοος καὶ εἰκοστὸς ἔφη· ἐγὼ Ῥὺξ Ἀπάξ καλοῦμαι. ἀγρυπνίας ἐπιπέμπω. ἐάν τις γράψει· κὸκ· φνηδισμός, καὶ περιάψει τοῖς κροτάφοις, εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ. 33. ὁ ἔννατος καὶ εἰκοστὸς ἔφη· ἐγὼ Ῥὺξ Ἀνοστήρ καλοῦμαι. μητρομανίας ἐπιπέμπω καὶ πόνους ἐν τῇ κύστει ποιῶ. ἐάν τις εἰς ἔλαιον καθαρὸν τρεῖς

MSS HLP = Recc. AB. 1 ποιῶ: + καὶ στραγγισμοὺς οὖρων ἐπιτελῶ P | Ὑαῶθ, Οὐρίηλ H: ἱαῶθ ὀρηήλ L, εἰς λαμνὸν (in marg. dextr. πέταλ <) κασσιτήρινον, ἱαῶθ, οὐρουήλ, νεφθαδὰ καὶ περιάνη τῷ ἰσχύῳ P 2 § 28. (94) ἔφη ὁ κδ H 3 ἐγὼ — L | ρήξ ἀκτονμὲ H, ἐρίξ κτονμὲ L, ἄκτον μὲν P, + δίωξον transversa linea deletum P | πλευρὰς καὶ ψόας P | ἐμποιῶ H 4 γράψει: γλύψη P | ὕλῃ P: οἶλο H, ἡλίω L, + χαλκοῦ P | ἀπὸ . . εὐθὺς — L | ἀπὸ πλ. ἀστοχ. P: ἀποπλού. οὐ ἀστολίσαντος H | ἄερίου Μαρμ. H: ἀρνίου μαρμαραῶθ, σαβαῶθ, ἄκτον μὲν δίωξον, καὶ περιάνη τῷ ἰσχύῳ P 5 * hic explicit in media col. cod. ms. L (f. 18^{r2})

MSS HP = Recc. AB. § 29. (95) 5 ** P f. 17^v 6 Ῥὺξ H: — P | ζέσεις κ. πυρώσεις H, καύσεις κ. πυρώσεις P | εἰς τὰ σπλ. ἀποστέλλω P 7 ἄραρα χάραρα P | § 30. (96) 8 Ῥὺξ ὁ Ἐν.: ἐνενοῦθ P 9 ἀλλοιῶ καὶ νοδὸν (l. νωδὸν) ποιῶ P | Χαλαζαήλ H: ἀλλαζοῶλ, δίωξον ἐνενοῦθ, καὶ περιάνη τὸν χάρτην P 10 § 31. (97) Ῥὺξ Ἀξησβὺθ H: φήθ P 11 αἱμορόους H, αἱμορασίας (αἱμορραγίας conj. Bn) ποιῶ P 12 τις γράψει ἢ H | * H f. 24^v | οἶν. εὐώθη ἄκρατον P | δώσει H: κατὰ τοῦ ἐνδεκάτου ἔων (l. αἰῶνος Crtr) λέγων· ὀρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ ἐνδεκάτου ἔων παῦσαι ἀξιωφθῆναι, καὶ δὸς ποιεῖν (l. πιεῖν Crtr) P

§ 32. (98) 14 Ῥὺξ Ἀπάξ H: ἄραξ P 15 ἀγρυπνοπνίας P | γράψη P | κὸκ . . περιάνη P, — H 16 § 33. (99) 17 Ῥὺξ — P | Ἀνοστήρ P: ἀστήρ H | ἐπιπέμπω: + ἐάν τις γράψη κὸκ· φνηδισμός· καὶ περιάνη transversa linea deleta P 18 κύστει: κήτη H | εἰς: γράψει H

- κόκκους δάφνης λεάνας ἐπαλείφει λέγων· ὀρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ
 Μαρμαραώθ,· εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ.· 34. ὁ τριακοστὸς ἔφη· »ἐγὼ Ῥὺξ
 Φυσικορὲθ καλοῦμαι. μακρονοσίαν ποιῶ. ἔάν τις βαλεῖ ἄλας εἰς
 ἔλαιον καὶ ἐπαλείφει τὸν ἀσθενὴν λέγων· >χερουβίμ, σεραφίμ,
 5 βοηθεῖτε,· εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ.· 35. ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τριακοστὸς ἔφη·
 »ἐγὼ Ῥὺξ Ἀλευρὴθ καλοῦμαι. ὅστέα ἰχθύος καταπίνων, ἔάν τις
 <τοῦ> αὐτοῦ ἰχθύος ὅστέον ἐπιθήσει εἰς τὰ βύζια τοῦ πάσχοντος,
 εὐθὺς * ἀναχωρῶ.· 36. ὁ δεύτερος καὶ τριακοστὸς ἔφη· »ἐγὼ
 Ῥὺξ Ἰχθύον καλοῦμαι. νεῦρα παραλύω. * ἔαν δὲ ἀκούσω· >Ἄδω-
 10 ναί, μάλθθ,· εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ.· 37. ὁ τρίτος καὶ τριακοστὸς ἔφη·
 »ἐγὼ καὶ Ῥὺξ Ἀχωνεὼθ καλοῦμαι. ἐν τῷ φάρυγγι καὶ τοῖς
 παρισθμίοις πόνον ποιῶ. ἔάν τις εἰς φύλλα κισσοῦ γράψει· >λει-
 κουργός,· βοτρυδὸν ἱ ἀναχωρίς,· εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ.·
 38. Ὁ τέταρτος καὶ τριακοστὸς ἔφη· »ἐγὼ Ῥὺξ Αὐτῶθ κα-
 15 λοῦμαι. φθόνους φίλων καὶ μάχας ποιῶ. καταργεῖ με δὲ τὸ α'
 καὶ β' γραφόμενον.· 39. ὁ πέμπτος καὶ τριακοστὸς ἔφη· »ἐγὼ
 καὶ Ῥὺξ Φθηνεὼθ καλοῦμαι. βασκαίνω πάντα ἄνθρωπον.
 καταργεῖ με δὲ ὁ πολυπαθὴς ὀφθαλμὸς ἐγχαραττόμενος. 40. ὁ

MSS HP = Recc. AB. 1 λεώνας δάφνης H | σε· ἀνοστήρ P 2 Μαρ-
 μαραώθ H: μαρμαραώ, παῦσον P | § 34. (100) Ῥὺξ Φυσικ. . . βοηθεῖτε
 (l. 5) et Ῥὺξ Ἀλευρὴθ . . . πάσχοντος (ll. 6—7) tr. P | Ῥὺξ Φυσικ. H: ἡ
 φυσικιρὲθ P 3 βαλεῖ (βαλεῖν ms.) . . . ἀσθενὴν H: εἰς ἔλαιον βαλὼν ἄλας
 τριπτόν ἐπαλείφθ τὸν κάμνοντα P 4 σεραφίμ· χερουβίμ· βοηθήσατέ μοι P
 5 § 35. (31) 6 ἐγὼ — H | Ῥὺξ Ἀλ. H: ἄλλεβορίθ P | sectiones 35 et
 34 tr. P, v. supra | καταπίνων ego: καταπίνειν H 7 ὅστέα . . . πάσχον-
 τος: ἔάν τις νυκτοφαγήσῃ (sub v linea brevi ducta supra eandem η ponit ms.;
 in marg. lat. ἰχθυο scr. man. prim.) ὅστέον καταπίνῃ, καὶ ἄρας ὅστέον ἀπὸ
 τοῦ ἰχθύος βήσσει P | βήζια H 8 * H f. 25^r | § 36. (102) 9 Ῥὺξ
 — P | ἰχθύος H | παραλύω P: παλίω H, + καὶ συντρίβω P | * P f. 18^v
 | δὲ — P | Ἄδωναί, μάλθθ H: ἄδωναῖθ βοήθει P 10 § 37. (103)
 11 καὶ — P | Ῥὺξ Ἀχων. H: ἀχωνίων P | ἐν . . . ποιῶ: ἐν τοῖς σπαρ-
 γάνοις καὶ ἐν τῷ φάρυγγι κείμεαι P | φάραγγι H | παρισθμίοις H 12 ἔαν
 . . . ἀναχωρίς H: καὶ ἔαν τις εἰς φύλλα συκῆς γράψῃ· λυκοῦργος, ἐν παρὰ ἐν
 γράμμα (ἐνπαρὰ· ἐνγραμμὰ ms.), γράψῃ δὲ βοτρυδὸν (in marg. βο <) P
 13 ἀναχωρῶ: + λυκοῦργος ὑκοῦργος· κούργος· οὔργος· γός· θς P
 § 38. (104) 14 Ῥὺξ — P | Αὐτῶθ H: αὐτοθιθ P 15 φθον. ποιῶ
 κ. μάχας P | καταρ. με: καταργοῦμαι H | δὲ . . . γραφ. H: οὖν τὸ ἄλφα
 καὶ τὸ ὀμέγα γραφόμενα P 16 § 39. (105) 17 κ. Ῥὺξ Φθην.: φθηνοθ P
 | παντὶ ἀν(θρόπ)ῳ P 18 κατ. με: καταργοῦμαι H | δὲ . . . ὀφθαλ.: οὖν
 ὀφθαλμὸς πολυπαθὴς P | ἐνχαραττόμενον H | § 40. (106)

ἔκτος καὶ τριακοστὸς ἔφη· ἐγὼ καὶ Ῥὺξ Μιανέθ καλοῦμαι. τῷ σώματι ἐπίφθονός εἰμι· οἴκους ἐρημῶ· σάρκας ἀφανίζω. ἂν τις γράφει ἐν τοῖς προθύροις τοῦ οἴκου οὕτως· * μέλπω ἀρδὰδ ἀναάθ,· φεύγω ἐγὼ τοῦ τόπου,· * 41. καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐγὼ Σολομῶν ἐδόξασα τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκέλευσα αὐτοὺς ὕδωρ φέρειν. 42. καὶ ἠνέξάμην πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τοῦς τριάκοντα ἐξ δαίμονας τοὺς ἐμποδίζοντας τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι προσέρχεσθαι εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.

XIX. Καὶ ἤμην ἐγὼ Σολομῶν τιμώμενος ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. καὶ ᾠκοδόμουν τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία μου ἦν εὐθύνουσα. 2. καὶ ἤρχοντο πάντες οἱ βασιλεῖς πρὸς με θεωρηῆσαι τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὃν ᾠκοδόμουν, καὶ χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον ἐκόμιζον πρὸς με, χαλκὸν

MSS HP = Recc. AB. 1 καὶ Ῥὺξ ego: χερῆς H, — P | Μιανέθ: βιαναιθ P | τοῦ σώματος P 2 ἐπιφθ. P: ἐφθόμενον H | ἐρήμους H | ἀφανίζω: + καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα P 3 τοῖς — P | οὕτως: αὐτοῦ P | * H f. 25^v | μηλιτῶ· ἀρδοῦ· ἀναάθ P 4 ἐγὼ — P | * Mg 1348 | τόπον ἐκείνου P | § 41. (107) 5 κ. ἐκελ.. ἐκελ. δὲ P 6 φέρειν H: κομίζειν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ P

MS P = Rec. B pro § 42 textum interpolatum praebebat hunc: § 42. καὶ ἔτι προσηνέξάμην πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεὸν ὥστε τοὺς ἔξω δαίμονας καὶ ἐμποδίζοντας τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα συμποδίζεσθαι καὶ προσερχεσθαι εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. § 43. ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς μὲν τῶν δαιμόνων κατέκρινα ἐργάζεσθαι τὰ βαρέα ἔργα τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ· τοὺς δὲ φρουραῖς (Fl, ex φρουροῦς corr. ms.) κατέκλεισα: § 44. ἐτέρους πυρομαχεῖν ἐκέλευσα χρυσίῳ καὶ ἀργυρίῳ καὶ μολύβδῳ καὶ φιάλῳ παρακαθέζεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς δαίμοσι τροπὸν ἡτοιμασθαι ἐφ' οἷς ὀφείλουσι κατακλεισθῆναι.

MS H = Rec. A in § 42 brevem textum praebebat.

C. XIX. MS P = Rec. B pro c. XIX, ll. 9—p. 60*, 4, textum interpolatum praebebat hunc: (108) Καὶ εἶχον πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἐγὼ σολομῶν (in marg. inf. add. βασιλεὺς ms.) ἐν πάσῃ (f. 18^v) τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ διήγον πολλῇ, τιμώμενος ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ ᾠκοδόμουν τὸν ναὸν κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία μου ἦν εὐθύνουσα καὶ ὁ στρατὸς μου ἦν μετ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ λοιπὸν ἀνεπαύσατο ἡ πόλις ἰερουσαλὴμ χαίρουσα καὶ ἀγαλλιωμένη. § 2. καὶ ἅπαντες οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς ἤρχοντο πρὸς με ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τῆς γῆς θεωρηῆσαι τὸν ναὸν ὃν ᾠκοδόμουν (κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ), καὶ ἀκούσαντες τὴν σοφίαν τὴν δοθεῖσαν μοι προσεκύνουν μοι εἰς τὸν ναόν· χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον, καὶ λίθους τιμίους πολλοὺς διαφόρους, καὶ χαλκὸν καὶ σίδηρον, καὶ μολύβδον, καὶ ξύλα κέδρινα, καὶ ξύλα ἱσηπτα προσέφερόν μοι εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ.

MS H. § 1. 1. 10 ἐκοδόμουν ms.

τε καὶ σίδηρον καὶ μόλῳβδον καὶ ξύλα προσέφερον εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ ναοῦ. 3. ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡ Σάβα βασίλισσα Νότου γόης ὑπάρχουσα πολλῇ τῇ φρονήσει ἦλθε καὶ προσεκύνησεν ἐνώπιόν μου.

- 5 XX. Καὶ ἰδοὺ εἰς τῶν τεχνιτῶν γηραιὸς ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν ἐνώπιόν μου λέγων· »βασιλεῦ Σολομῶν υἱὸς Δανεῖδ, ἐλέησόν με τὸ γέρας.« καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· »λέγε, γέρον, ὃ θέλεις.« 2. ὁ δὲ ἔφη· »δέομαί σου, βασιλεῦ. υἱὸν ἔχω μονογενῆ, καὶ οὗτος καθ' ἐκαστην * ὕβρεις ἐπάγει μοι χαλεπάς, ἔτυπτέ μου γὰρ τὸ πρόσωπον
10 καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὅτι θάνατον πικρὸν ἐπαγγέλει μοι ποιῆσαι. τούτου χάριν προσῆλθον ἵνα ἐκδικήσῃς μοι.« 3. ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐκέλευσα ἀγαγεῖν ἐμοὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. τούτου δὲ ἐλθόντος εἶπον * αὐτῷ· »οὕτως ἔχεις;« 4. ὁ δὲ ἔφη· »ἕως ἀπονοίας ἐμπέπλησμαι, βασιλεῦ, ὥστε τὸν γεννήτορά μου παλάμη
15 τινάξαι. Ἰλεῶς μοι γενοῦ, ὦ βασιλεῦ· ἀθέμιτον γὰρ ἀκούσαι τοι-

MS P = Rec. B. § 3. ἐν οἷς καὶ βασίλισσα νότου γόης ὑπάρχουσα ἐν πολλῇ φρονήσει ἦλθεν καὶ προσεκύνησεν ἐνώπιόν μου ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἀκούσασα τὴν σοφίαν μου ἐδόξασε τὸν θεὸν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ· ἐν οἷς καὶ ἐδοκίμασε δοκιμασίαν τὰ τῆς σοφίας μου πάντα, ὅσα ἐσοφισάμην αὐτὴν κατὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν μοι σοφίαν· καὶ πάντες υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεόν.

Parallela ad c. XX v. infra in ms. D c. IV.

C. XX. MSS HP = Recc. AB. (110) 5 ἰδοὺ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις P | γηραιὸς τὴν ἡλικίαν P 6 υἱὸς Δ. — P | με: μου conj. James | τὸ γερ.: ὅτι γηραιὸς ὑπάρχω P 7 κ. εἶπον αὐτ. ego: κ. εἶπον αὐτὸν H, κελεύσας οὖν αὐτὸν ἀναστῆναι καὶ φησὶν P | λέγε: εἰπέ P | § 2. 8 ἔχων H | οὕτως P | καθ' ἐκ. (scil. ἡμέραν) — P 9 * P f. 19^r | ἐπαγάγη μου H | ἔτυπτε ego: ἔτυπον H, καὶ τύπας P | μου ... προσωπ.: με κατὰ προσ. P 10 κεφαλὴν μου διέτιλλεν P | ὅτι: καὶ P | πικρὸν: πονηρὸν P | ἐπαγγέλειται P | ποιῆσαι — P 11 τοῦτον H | προσ. ... μοι: προσέειμι (sic, προσίημι? Fl; 1. πρόσσειμι) ὑμῖν, ἐκδίκησόν με P | ἐκδικήσῃς conj. James: ἐκδικῆς εἰς H | § 3. (111) δὲ: + σολομῶν P 12 ἀκούσας κατενύγη ἀποβλέψας εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου γῆρας, καὶ P | ἀγαγεῖν ego: ἀγγαγὲν H, ἀχθῆναι P | τούτου ... ἔχεις: τοῦ δὲ ἀχθέντος ἐπερώτουν αὐτὸν εἰ οὕτως ἔχει P 13 § 4. ὁ δὲ ἔφη H, ὁ δὲ νέος ἔφη P

MS P = Rec. B pro ἕως ... ταλαιπορίαν (ll. 13—p. 61*, 1) textum interpolatum praebebat hunc: οὐχ οὕτως ἀπονοία ἐγὼ ἐμπέπλησμένος ὥστε τὸν γεννήτορά μου π(ατέ)ρα παλάμη τύπαι. Ἰλεως γενοῦ μοι βασιλεῦς (s finalis transversa linea deleta). οὐ γ(ὰρ) ἀθέμιτα τοιαῦτα τετόλμηκα ὁ ταλαιπορος ἐγὼ

MS H = Rec. A. 15 ἀθέμιτον ego: ἀθές μοι τὸν H

αὐτήν παραβολὴν καὶ τάλαιπορίαν.« 5. ἐγὼ οὖν Σολομῶν τοῦ νέου ἀκούσας παρεκάλουν τὸν πρεσβύτερον εἰς ἔννοιαν ἐλθεῖν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἤθελεν ἀλλ' εἶπε· »θανατωσάτω αὐτόν.

6. Καὶ θεωρῶν τὸν δαίμονα Ὀρνίαν γελάσαντα ἐγὼ ἐθυμώ-
5 θην λίαν ἐν τῷ γελάσαι αὐτὸν ἐνώπιόν μου, καὶ τοῦτον μεταστῆ-
σας ἐκέλευσα τὸν Ὀρνίαν ἐλθεῖν καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· »κατηραμένε, ἐμὲ
προσεγέλασας;« 7. ὁ δὲ ἔφη· »δέομαί σου, βασιλεῦ· οὐ διὰ σὲ
ἐγέλασα, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν δύστηνον γέροντα καὶ τὸν ἄθλιον νέον,
* τὸν τούτου υἱόν· ὅτι μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας τεθνήσκειται, καὶ ἰδοὺ
10 ὁ γέρον βούλεται αὐτὸν κακῶς ἀνελεῖν.« 8. καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον· »ἢ
ἀληθῶς * οὕτως ἔχει;« ὁ δαίμων εἶπε· »ναί, βασιλεῦ.« 9. καὶ
ἐκέλευσα μεταστῆναι τὸν δαίμονα καὶ ἐλθεῖν τὸν γέροντα καὶ
τὸν τούτου υἱόν, καὶ ἐκέλευσα αὐτοὺς εἰς φιλίαν γενέσθαι.
10. * καὶ εἶπον τῷ πρεσβύτῃ· »μεθ' ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἄγαγέ μοι τὸν
15 υἱόν σου ὧδε.« οἱ δὲ προσκυνήσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν.

MSS HP = Recc. AB. 1 § 5. οὖν: δὲ P | τ. νέου ἀκ.: ταῦτ' ἀκ. παρὰ
τ, νέου P 2 πρεσβύτερον P | ἔννοιαν HP: εὐνοιαν conj. James | ἐλθεῖν
καὶ δέχεσθαι τοῦ υἱοῦ τὴν ἀπολογία P 3 ἀλλ' . . . αὐτ.: ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
θανατωθήτω P

MS P = Rec. B pro § 6 textum praebet hunc: ἐν δὲ τῷ μὴ πείθεσθαι τὸν
πρεσβύτερον ἔμελλον τῷ νέῳ τιμωρίας ἀποφῆναι· καὶ θεωρήσας Ὀρνίαν
τὸν δαίμονα γελῶντα· ἐθυμώθην μεγάλως διὰ τὸ γελάσαι τὸν δαίμονα ἐνώ-
πιόν μου· καὶ τούτους μεταστῆσαι ἐκέλευσα Ὀρνίαν εἰς μέσον ἀχθῆναι τοῦ
βήματος. τοῦ δὲ ἀχθέντος (Mg 1349) ἔφη αὐτῷ· ἐπικατάρκατε, τί με προσχῶν
ἐγέλασας;

MS H = Rec. A. § 6. 4 θεωρῶ H | γελάσαντα H 5 αὐτῷ ego:
αὐτόν H | κατηραμένε vel κατειραμένε ego: κατερειμένε H

MSS HP = Recc. AB. 6 § 7. δὲ: δαίμων P 8 τοῦτον τὸν δυστ. P
9 * H f. 27^r | τ. τουτ. υἱόν: υἱὸν αὐτῶν H | μετὰ . . . τεθν.: τρεῖς ἡμέρας
καὶ ἐν ᾧ τὴν τετελευτήσῃ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ P 10 κακῶς ἀναιρεῖν αὐτόν P

MS P = Rec. B in § 8 textum praebet hunc: (112) ἐγὼ δὲ σολομῶν
ἀκούσας ταῦτα· ἔφη πρὸς δαιμόνιον· ἀληθῆ εἰσιν (* f. 19^v) ἃ λέγεις; ὁ δὲ
λέγει· ἀληθῆ ταῦτα, βασιλεῦ

MS H = Rec. A in § 8 textum breviorē praebet.

MSS HP = Recc. AB. 11 § 9. καὶ ἀκούσας ἐγὼ P 12 ἐλθεῖν πάλιν
τὸν γηραιὸν μετὰ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ P 13 καὶ — P | εἰς φιλ. γεν.: φιλίᾳ
τραπῆναι, καὶ τὰ εἰς τροφήν αὐτοῖς παρασχόμενος P

MSS HPQ = Recc. AB. 14 * § 10. * post omissionem maximam hic rur-
sus incipit ms. Q (cc. III—XX 9 omissis, v. supra p. 16*) | κ. εἶπον H: εἶπον
οὖν B | ὧδε τ. υἱόν σου B, + καὶ διατάξω αὐτόν Q, + καὶ ἐπινοοῦμαι
αὐτοῦ P 15 οἱ δὲ προσκυν. B: καὶ προσσεκύνησαν H

11. Καὶ ἐκέλευσα πάλιν ἀγαγεῖν τὸν Ὀρνίαν πρὸς με καὶ εἰ-
 πον αὐτῷ· »λέγε μοι πόθεν τοῦτο σὺ οἶδας ὅτι μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέ-
 ρας τεθνήσκει ὁ νέος.« 12. ὁ δὲ ἔφη· »ἡμεῖς οἱ δαίμονες ἀνερ-
 χόμεθα ἐπὶ τοῦ στερεώματος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ μέσον τῶν ἀστρῶν
 5 ἱπτάμεθα καὶ ἀκούομεν τὰς ἀποφάσεις * τὰς ἐξερχομένας ἀπὸ
 τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. 13. «καὶ λοιπὸν ἐρχό-
 μεθα καὶ εἴτε ἐν δυναστείᾳ, εἴτε ἐν πυρὶ, εἴτε ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ, εἴτε
 ἐν συμπτώματι μετασχηματιζόμενοι ἀναιροῦμεν.»¹ 14. καὶ ἐπη-
 ρώτησα αὐτόν· »λέγε μοι οὖν πῶς ὑμεῖς δύνασθε εἰς τὸν οὐρα-
 10 νὸν ἀναβαίνειν δαίμονες ὄντες.« 15. ὁ δὲ ἔφη μοι· »ὅσα ἐν
 οὐρανῷ ἐπιτελοῦντα, οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, αἱ γὰρ ἀρχαὶ καὶ
 ἐξουσίαι * καὶ δυνάμεις ἄνω ἵπτανται καὶ τῆς εἰσόδου τοῦ οὐ-
 ρανοῦ ἀξιοῦνται. 16. ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ δαίμονες ἀτονοῦμεν μὴ ἔχοντες

MSS HPQ = Recc. AB. (113) 1 Καὶ Q: — H, τούτων δὲ ἀπελθόντων P
 | ἐκελ. . . με H: πάλιν ἐκελ. ἐλθεῖν πρὸς με τὸν δαίμονα Ὀρνίαν Q, ἐκελ.
 εἰς μέσον ἀχθῆναι τὸν Ὀρνίαν P | εἶπον αὐτ. HP: λέγω πρὸς αὐτόν Q
 2 τοῦτο . . . νέος H: σὺ τὰ μέλλοντα γινώσκεις Q, σὺ ταῦτα οἶδας P 3 § 12.
 ἔφη H: εἶπεν P, λέγει μοι Q | ἀνερχόμενοι H 4 ἐπὶ τ. στερ. H: κατὰ
 τὸ στερέωμα B | ἀστέρων B 5 ἱπταμ. B: ἀπτόμεθα H | * H f. 27^v |
 ** Q f. 12^v | ἀπὸ τ. θ. H: παρὰ θεοῦ Q, — P, + πρὸς τοὺς ἀγγέλους Q

MS H = Rec. A pro § 13 textum praebet hunc: καὶ ἐρχόμεθα μετὰ δυν-
 ναστείας· εἴτε ρομφαία εἴτε ἐν πυρὶ καὶ ἀνερῶμεν αὐτοὺς μετασχημ.

MSS PQ = Rec. B. 6 § 13. ἐρχόμεθα εἰς τὴν γῆν Q | post ἀναιροῦ-
 μεν add. PQ glossam hanc: καὶ ἂν τις ἀποθάνῃ ἐν ἀωρίᾳ ἢ βίᾳ τινὶ (καὶ . . .
 τινὶ: καὶ ἂν μὴ ἐν ἀωρίᾳ τίς, ἢ βίᾳ τινὶ ἀποθ. P), μεταμορφούμεθα ἡμεῖς
 οἱ δαίμονες (+ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τεθνεότος, Q) ὥστε παραφαίνεσθαι (φαίν. P)
 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ σέβεσθαι ἡμᾶς (+ ἐπὶ τῆς — ex τοῖς κοπ. — ἀνθρω-
 πίνης φύσεως P)

MSS HPQ = Recc. AB. 8 § 14. κ. ἐπ. αὐτόν H: (114) ἐγὼ δὲ (ἐγὼ
 γοῦν P) ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐδόξασα κύριον τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἐπ. πάλιν τὸν δαίμονα B
 9 οὖν et ὑμεῖς — B 10 ἀναβῆναι B | ὄντες: + καὶ μέσον τῶν ἀστέρων
 καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων μιγῆναι B | § 15. μοι B

MSS PQ = Rec. B pro οὕτως . . . ἀναπάσεως (p. 63*, l. 1) praebent haec:
 οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (οἱ ἐπὶ γῆς Q) οἱ τύποι αὐτῶν· εἰσὶν γὰρ ἀρχαί, ἐξου-
 σίαι, κοσμοκράτορες (* P f. 20^r). καὶ ἱπτάμεθα ἡμεῖς οἱ δαίμονες ἐν τῷ ἄερι
 καὶ ἀκούομεν τῶν ἐπουρανίων τὰς φωνὰς καὶ (+ πάσας P) τὰς (+ ἐπουρα-
 νίας Q) δυνάμεις θεωροῦμεν (ἐπιθεωρ. P)· καὶ ὥς μὴ ἔχοντες βάσιν ἀναπαύ-
 σεως ἀτονοῦμεν

MS H = Rec. A. 12 ἵπτανται ego: ἤτταντε H 13 § 16. ἀτονοῦμεν
 (cf. Rec. B supra): αὐτὸν οὖν μὲν H, forte l. ἀκούομεν. μὴ δὲ ἔχοντες

βάσιν ἀναβάσεως ἢ ἀναπαύσεως, καὶ ἐκπίπτομεν ὥσπερ φύλλα ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων καὶ δοκοῦσιν οἱ θεωροῦντες ἄνθρωποι ὅτι ἀστέρες εἶδιν οἱ πίπτοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. 17. οὐχ οὕτως ἐστὶ, * βασιλεῦ, ἀλλὰ πίπτομεν διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ μηδαμόθεν ἔχειν ἀντίληψιν καταπίπτομεν ὡς ἀστραπαὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ πόλεις καταφλέγομεν καὶ ἀγροὺς ἐμπυρίζομεν. οἱ δὲ ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τεθεμελιωμένοι εἶδιν ἐν τῷ στερεώματι. 18. καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐγὼ Σολομῶν ἐκέλευσα τὸν δαίμονα τηρεῖσθαι ἕως ἡμερῶν πέντε.

19. Μετὰ δὲ τὰς πέντε ἡμέρας μετακαλεσάμενος τὸν γέροντα οὐκ ἤθελεν ἐλθεῖν. εἴτα ἐλθὼν, εἶδα αὐτὸν τεθλιμμένον καὶ πενθοῦντα. 20. καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· «ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός σου, γέρον;» ὁ δὲ ἔφη· «ἅπαις ἐγενόμην, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ ἀνέλπιστος τάφῳ υἱοῦ παραφυλάττω.» 21. ἐγὼ δὲ Σολομῶν ἀκούσας ταῦτα καὶ γινὼς ὅτι ἀληθῆ εἰσι τὰ παρὰ τοῦ δαίμονος * λαληθέντα μοι ἐδόξασα τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς. *

MSS HPQ = Recc. AB. 2 δοκοῦσιν ... πίπτοντες H. θεωροῦντες ἡμᾶς οἱ ἄνθρωποι δοκοῦσιν ὅτι (+ οἱ P) ἀστέρες πίπτοντες B 3 § 17. οὐχ οὕτως ἐστὶ: οὐχ οὕτως ἐστὶ H, pr. ἀλλ' B 4 * H f. 28^r | ὦ βασ. P | ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν. καὶ πίπτομεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν διὰ Q 5 μηδαμόθεν B: μὴ δυνάμεθα H | ἔχειν HPis: ἔχῃμεν Q | ἀντίληψι: ἀντιλέγειν Q | πίπτωμεν H | ἐπὶ τ. γῆν H: ἐν ἀωρίᾳ (πολλῇ ex πολλῆς corr. add. P) καὶ ἐξάπινα (αἰφνηδίνως Q) B 7 δὲ HQ: γὰρ P | τοῦ οὐρανοῦ — B | τεθεμελ. HPis: τε θέμελοι ὅμοιοι P | στερεωμ. H: οὐρανῷ ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη B 8 § 18. (115) τὸν ... πέντε: φρουρεῖσθαι τ. δαίμ. ἄχρι ἡμερῶν ε' B 9 ἡμέραις H

§ 19. 10 μετὰ δὲ ἡμ. ε' H | ἐπεκαλεσάμην Q | γέροντα H: γηραιὸν B, + ἔμπροσθέν μου Q, + ἡμελλον ἐρωτᾶν P 11 οὐκ ἤθελ. ... πενθ. H: ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ γέρον πρὸς με κατὰ πενθος καὶ μελανῷ τῷ προσώπῳ P, καὶ ἐλθὼν πρὸς με ὁ ἄνθρωπος κατὰ πένθος καὶ μεμελα(σ)μένῳ τῷ προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ Q 12 § 20. καὶ — P | εἶπον P: εἶπα H, λέγω Q | αὐτῷ P: αὐτὸν H, πρὸς αὐτὸν Q, + εἰπὲ πρὸς βύτα B | γέρον H: — B, + καὶ τί τό σῆμα (+ τοῦτο P, + τοῦ προσώπου σου Q) B 13 ἔφη H: ἔφην Q, + ἰδὸν P, + ἰδὸν, κύριε, Q | ἅπαις: ἅπας H | ὦ βασ. — B | ἀνέλπιστα B 14 παραφυλ. ego: παραφυλάττειν H, παρακαθέζομαι Q, παρακαθεζόμενος P, + ἥδη γὰρ ἡμέρας (ἡμέραι P) δύο νεκροῦ γεγονότος B | § 21. 15 ἀληθὲς H | εἰσι ... μοι: εἰσὶν δ' ἔφη μοι ὁ δαίμων Ὁρνίας, καὶ Q, μοι ἔφησεν ὁ δαίμων ὀρνί(ας) P | * H f. 28^v 16 τοῦ ... γῆς: Ἰσραήλ Q, τοῦ Ἰσραήλ P | * Q f. 13^r

XXI. Καὶ Σάβα ἡ βασίλισσα Νότου ἐθαύμασα καὶ εἶδε τὸν
 ναὸν ὃν ὠκοδόμουν καὶ ἔδωκε μυρίους * * οἴγλους χαλκοῦς.
 2. καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ναὸν καὶ εἶδε τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ τὰ
 χερουβιμ καὶ τὰ σεραφίμ κατασκιάζοντα τὸ ἱλαστήριον καὶ τοὺς
 5 διακοσίους λίθους τῶν λύχνων ἐξαστράπτοντας ἐκ διαφόρων
 χρωμάτων, λύχνοι καὶ σμαράγδων καὶ ὑακίνθου τῶν λίθων καὶ
 σαμφείρου. 3. καὶ εἶδε τὰ σκεύη τὰ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ χαλκᾶ καὶ χρυσᾶ
 καὶ τὰς βάσεις τῶν κιόνων ὑπὸ χαλκοῦ ἀλυσιδωτοῦ πεπλεγμένας.
 εἶδε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν χαλκῇν ἔχουσαν ἐπισταθὸν καὶ τοὺς
 10 τριάκοντα ἕξ ταύρους. 4. καὶ ἦσαν ἐν * τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐρ-
 γαζόμενοι πάντες * μισθοῦ ταλάντου χρυσοῦ
 ἐνὸς χωρὶς τῶν δαιμόνων.

Parallela ad c. XXI v. infra ms. D c. V.

C. XXI. (116) MSS HPQ = Recc. AB. 1 Σάβα . . . ἔθανμ. καὶ H:
 ἰδοῦσα ἡ βασ. νότου ταῦτα πάντα ἔθανμ. δοξάζουσα τὸν θεόν ἰ(σρα)ήλ καὶ P,
 — Q, supplevit ἡ βασ. Νότου Is 2 ναὸν: + κυρίου P, οἶκον κυρίου Q |
 ὃν ὠκοδ. H: οἰκοδομοῦμενον B | * Mg 1352 | κ. ἔδωκε (δέδωκεν ms.) . . .
 χαλκ. H: κ. ἔδωκεν (* * f. 20^v) οἶκον χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυρίου μυριάδας ἑκα-
 τὸν, καὶ χαλκοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ P, ἐχαρίσατο ἐν τῷ ναῷ κυρίου χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀρ-
 γυρίου καὶ χαλκοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ λίτρας μυριάδας ᾗ Q 3 § 2. εἶδε — P | κ.
 τὰ χερ. . . . ἱλαστ.: τοὺς ἀναφόρους τοὺς χαλκοὺς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου B
 4 κατασκιάζοντα H 5 διακοσίους H: ἀναφόρους Q, — P | λύχνων H
 6 χρημάτων Q | λύχνοι . . . σαμφείρου: καὶ λύχνη (λυχνίων P) τοῦ (I.
 λυχνίτου) λίθου καὶ σμαράγδων καὶ ὑακίνθου καὶ σαμφύρου (σαμφείρου P) B
 7 § 3. εἶδε — Q | τ. ἀργ. . . . χρυσᾶ: τ. χρυσᾶ κ. (+ τὰ Q) ἀργυρᾶ κ.
 χαλκᾶ κ. ξύλινα κ. ἐκ δερμάτων ἀπλώματα ἡρυνθοδανομένα (ἡρυνθοδανο-
 μένων Q) B | καὶ (2°): pr. εἶδε Q, + ἔδε P 8 κιόνων: + τοῦ ναοῦ
 κυρίου B

MSS HQ = Recc. AB. 8—10 ὑπὸ . . . θεοῦ — P 8 ἀλυσιδωτοῦ:
 βαισιδώτου Q | πεπλεγμ.: πεπλημένας H, πλοκῇ περιπεπλεγμένων Q 9 δὲ
 καὶ Q | ἔχουσαν . . . ταύρους: ἔχουσα στάδιον κ. τ. λς ταυρ. H, ἣν ἐποίησα
 εἰς τὸ μήκος ἔχουσα (ἔχουσα(ν) Is) σταδίους καὶ ἐπὶ στάδιον καὶ τοὺς ἰς
 ταύρους Q 10 § 4. ἦσαν . . . ἐνὸς (I. 12): ἦσαν οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι εἰς τὸν
 ναὸν κυρίου (rursus ms. P) οἱ πάντες χρυσοῦ ἐνὸς Q, οἱ παντ. χρ. ἐνὸς P |
 * H f. 29^f 11 * textum depravatum enodari non potui: οἱ μελησιοι (apo-
 graphum incertum) H

MSS HPQ = Recc. AB. 12 δαιμόνων: + ὧν κατέκρινα ἐργάζεσθαι.
 καὶ ἣν εἰρήνην κύκλῳ τῆς βασιλείας μου (+ καὶ P) ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς (πᾶσαν
 τὴν γῆν Q) B

XXII. Ἐπέστειλε δὲ ἐπιστολὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀράβων Ἀδάρκης, (λέγων οὕτως· »Βασιλεὺς Ἀράβων Ἀδάρκης) βασιλεῖ Σολομῶντι χαίρειν. ἰδοὺ ἠκούσαμεν τὴν δεδομένην σοι σοφίαν καὶ ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ὢν παρὰ κυρίου ἐδόθη σοι σύνεσις ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν πνευμάτων ἀερίων τε καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων. 2. πνεῦμα δέ ἐστιν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἑωθινῇ ἔρχεται αὖρα ἀνέμου ἕως ὥραν τρίτην καὶ ἡ πνοὴ αὐτοῦ δεινὴ καὶ ἀποκτείνει ἀνθρώπους καὶ κτήνη καὶ * οὐ δύναται ζῆσαι πνοὴ οὐδεμία ἐναντίον τοῦ δαίμονος. 3. δέομαί σου οὖν, ἐπειδὴ ὡς ἀνεμὸς ἐστὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, σόφισαί τι κατὰ τὴν δεδομένην σοι σοφίαν ὑπὸ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου καὶ καταξίωσον ἀποστεῖλαι δυνάμενον ἄνθρωπον συλλαβέσθαι αὐτό. 4. καὶ ἰδοὺ σοῦ * ἐσόμεθα, βασιλεῦ Σολομῶν, ἐγὼ τε καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαός μου καὶ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ μου, καὶ εἰρηνεύσει πᾶσα Ἀραβία, ἐὰν τὴν ἐκδίκησιν ταύτην ποιή-

Parallela ad c. XXII v. infra in ms. D, c. VI 1—9

C. XXII. (117) MSS HPQ = Rec. AB. 1 Ἀπεστ... Ἀδάρκης (l. 2) ego: ἀπέστειλεν δὲ βασιλεὺς αἰδάρκης περσῶν H, καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι με ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου ἀπέστειλέ μοι ἐπιστολὴν ὁ βασ. ἀράβων ἀδάρκης P, ἐν ταύταις δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἀπέστειλέν με ἐπιστολὴν ὁ βασ. Ἀράβων Ἀδάρκης ὀνόματι Q, + ἡ δὲ γραφὴ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἔγραφεν οὕτως B 2 βασιλεῖ: βασιλεῦ H, + τῷ Q 3 χαίρ.: τὸ χέρειν H | τὴν... σοφίαν (+ παρὰ θεοῦ) H: καὶ ἀκουστὸν (ἀκουστὰ Q) γέγονεν εἰς (— εἰς Q) πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς τὴν (τῇ Q) ἐν σοὶ δεδομένην (μὲν Q) σοφίαν (σοφία Q) B 4 ὢν π. κυρ. H: ἐλεῆμων παρὰ κυρίου (θεοῦ Q) εἰ σύ B | ἐδόθη σοι συν. H: καὶ συν. ἐδόθη σοι P, — Q | πνευματ... καταχθ. B: ἀερίων κ. καταχθ. H 6 § 2. πνεῦμα... Ἀραβ. H: ἐπειδὴ πν. πάρεστιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῆς Ἀραβίας τοιόνδε B | ἐν τῷ ἑωθινῷ B 7 τις αὖρα B | ὥρῶν τριῶν P (7) Q | δεινὴ καὶ χαλεπὴ B | ἀποκτείνει H 8 * P f. 21^r | οὐ δυν... δαίμονος H: οὐ δυν. πνοὴ οὐδ. ζῆσαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐναντίον τ. δαιμ. ἐκείνου P, οὐ δυνάμεθα οὐδεμίᾳ πνοῇ ζῶντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ζῆσθαι ἀπὸ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκείνου Q

MS H = Rec. A pro § 3 textum mutilatum praebeet hunc: δέομαί σου οὖν φῆσασθαι ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ποῖος ἄνεμος ἐστὶν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ εἰπεῖν μοι

MSS PQ = Rec. B. 9 § 3. σου — P | οὖν — Q 10 σόφισαι Kurz: σόφισε PQIs | τι P: δὴ Q | σοι — Q 11 δυνάμενον P: δύναμιν καὶ Q 12 αὐτό Q: αὐτῷ P

MSS HPQ = Rec. AB. 12 § 4. σοῦ ego: σν vel ου H, — B | * H f. 29^v | ἐσόμεθα H, ἔσομαι B, pr. ἐγὼ Q 13 πᾶς — P | πᾶσα... μου H: ἡ γῆ μου ἅπασα (πᾶσα P) δοῦλοι (δοῦλη P) σου ἕως θανάτου B 14 ἐὰν δὲ H, ἐάνπερ P | ἐκδικ. H: δικαιοσύνην B

UNT. 9: McCown.

σεις ἡμῖν. 5. διὸ δεόμεθά σου, μὴ παραβλέψῃς τὴν ἰκεσίαν ἡμῶν, καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν γενοῦ αἰδίδα πάντοτε. ἔρρωσθαι τὸν ἐμὸν κύριον αἰεὶ διὰ παντός.»¹

6. Ἐγὼ δὲ Σολομῶν ἀναγνοὺς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ταύτην καὶ
 5 πτύξας ἀπέδωκα τῷ δούλῳ μου εἰπὼν αὐτῷ· »μετὰ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας
 ὑπομνήσεις μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ταύτην.« 7. καὶ ἦν Ἱερουσαλήμ
 ὀικοδομωμένη καὶ ὁ ναὸς συνεπληροῦτο.¹ καὶ ἦν λίθος ἀκρογω-
 νιαῖος μέγας ὃν ἐβουλόμην θεῖναι εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας τῆς πλη-
 ρώσεως τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. 8. καὶ πάντες οἱ τεχνῖται καὶ πάν-
 10 τες οἱ δαίμονες οἱ συνυπουργοῦντες ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀγαγεῖν
 τὸν λίθον καὶ θεῖναι εἰς τὸ πτερύγιον * τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ οὐκ
 ἴσχυσαν σαλευῖσαι αὐτόν. * 9. μετὰ δὲ τὰς ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας μνησθὲς
 ἐγὼ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀράβων ἐκάλεσα τὸ παιδάριόν
 μου καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· »ἐπίσαξον τὴν κάμηλόν σου καὶ λάβε ἄσ-
 15 κὸν καὶ τὴν σφραγίδα ταύτην, 10. καὶ ἀπελθε εἰς Ἀραβίαν εἰς
 τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ τὸ πονηρὸν πνεῦμα πνέει, καὶ κρατήσας τὸν
 ἄσκον καὶ τὸ δακτυλίδιον ἔμπροσθεν * τοῦ στόματος τοῦ ἀσκού.

MSS HPQ = Recc. AB. 1 § 5. διὸ — H | ἡμῶν: + καὶ μὴ ἐξου-
 θενημένην τὴν σὴν ὑποτελεῖ καὶ ὑποτεταγμένην ἐπαρχίαν ἀποτελέσῃ P 2 καὶ
 ... πάντοτε H: ὅτι σου οἰκέται (ἰκέται P) ἐσμέν, ἐγὼ (+ τε P) καὶ ὁ λαὸς
 μου καὶ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ μου B | ἔρρωσθαι ... παντός B: — H 3 αἰεὶ Q: — P

§ 6. (118) 4 ταύτην — P | κ. πτυξ. H: κ. ἀναπτύξ. P, — Q 5 ἀπέ-
 δωκα B: ἐπιδέδοκα H | δούλῳ H: λαῷ B | εἰπὼν αὐτῷ HP: εἰπόντες Q
 6 ὑπομν. ... ταύτην H: ὑπομνήσεις (ὑπομνήσατέ Q) με περὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς
 ταύτης B | § 7. καὶ ἦν ... συνεπληρ. B: — H 7 οἰκοδομουμένη Q |
 ἀκρογων. κείμενος B 8 μέγας ἐκλεκτός P | ὃν H: ὅτι B | εἰς τὴν
 κεφαλὴν τῆς γωνίας τῆς συμπληρώσεως B 9 τ. ναοῦ τ. θ.: αὐτοῦ P |
 § 8. 10 συνυπουργοῦντες Q | ἀγαγεῖν H: ὥστε ἀναγαγεῖν B 11 θεῖναι
 αὐτόν B | εἰς H: ἐπὶ P, ὑπὸ Q | * H f. 30^r | ναοῦ: + τοῦ ἱεροῦ B
 12 * P f. 21^v | αὐτόν: + καὶ θεῖναι πρὸς τὴν γωνίαν τὴν θεματισμένην
 αὐτῷ P, + ἦν γὰρ ὁ λίθος ἐκεῖνος πᾶν μέγας καὶ χρῆσιμος εἰς τὸ τεθῆναι
 ἐπὶ τῆς γωνίας (τὸ ... γων.: τὴν γωνίαν P) τοῦ ἱεροῦ B | § 9. (119) καὶ
 μετὰ τὰς B | ἐμνήσθην Q 13 ἐγὼ — B | τοῦ H: Ἀδάρκου Q, Ἀδάρου P
 | ἐκάλεσα P: ἐπεκαλεσάμην Q, ἐκέλευσα H | τ. παιδ. H: τὸν παῖδα P, τὸν
 παιδί Q 14 τὴν H: τὸν B | λάβε: + μετὰ σου Q, σεαντόν P | λάβε
 δὲ καὶ B 15 σφραγίδα P | § 10. εἰς τὴν Ἀρ. ἐπὶ τὸν B 16 πνέει B:
 πνῆ H | κρατήσας B: κατάργησον H 17 ἄσκον B: αἰκὸν H | καὶ τὸ ...
 ἀσκού P: κ. τ. δακτ. θες ἔμπρ. τὸν ἐκὸν H, ἐπιτηδεύεις εἰς τὸ τόπον, ὅθεν
 ἐξέρχεται ἡ πνοὴ τοῦ δαίμονος, ὁμοίως δὲ τὸ δακτυλίδιον Q, + κατὰ τὴν
 πνοὴν τοῦ πνεύματος P | * Mg 1353

11. καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐμπνευσθῆναι τὸν ἄσκον εὐρήσεις ὅτι ὁ δαίμων ἐστὶν ὁ ἐκεῖσε ἐμπνέων. τότε σπουδαίως μετὰ βίας δῆσον τὸν ἄσκον καὶ σφραγίσας τὸ δακτυλίδιον ἐπίσαςον ἐπὶ τὴν κάμηλον καὶ κόμισον αὐτὸν ἐνθάδε, καὶ ἀπελθε ὑγιαίνων.»

5 12. Τότε ὁ παῖς κατὰ * τὰ ἐνταλθέντα ἐποίησε καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς Ἀραβίαν. καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου ἠπίστανον εἰ ἄρα δυνήσεται τὸ πονηρὸν πνεῦμα συλλαβέσθαι. 13. καὶ ὄρθρον * ἀναστὰς ὁ οἰκέτης ἔστη κατενώπιον τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς πνοῆς καὶ ἔθηκε τὸν ἄσκον ἐπὶ τὸ ἔδαφος, ἐπέθηκε δὲ καὶ 10 τὸ δακτυλίδιον. * καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ἄσκον καὶ ἐπνευμάτωσεν αὐτόν. 14. ὁ δὲ παῖς σταθεὶς ἔσφιγξε τὸν ἄσκον ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου Σαβαὼθ καὶ ἔμεινεν ὁ δαίμων ἔσωθεν

MSS HPQ = Recc. AB. 1 § 11. ἐμπνευσθ. H: πνευματωθῆναι B | ἄσκον: αἰκὸν H | εὐρήσεις ego: εὐρέσεις H, τότε συνήσεις B 2 ὁ ἐκ. ἐμπν. — B | τότε σπουδ. H: καὶ σπουδῇ B | μετὰ βίας — B | δῆσον τ. ἄσκ. (ἐκόν) H: περιδῆσας τὸ στόμα τοῦ ἀσκού B 3 κ. σφραγ. τ. δακτ. H: κατασφράγισον αὐτὸν μετὰ τοῦ δακτυλιδίου καὶ P, σφράγισον αὐτὸν μὲ τὸ δακτ. καὶ Q | ἐπίσαςον αὐτὸν B | τὴν HP. τὸν B 4 κόμισον αὐτ. ἐνθ. H: κομ. μοι ἐνθ. P, ἐλθὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς Q, + καὶ ἐὰν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τάξει (τάξεται Q) σοι χρυσίον ἢ ἀργύριον (ἀργυρον Q, + ἢ θησαυροὺς P) ἵνα (θῶς Q) ἀπολύσῃς αὐτόν, βλέπε μὴ πεισθῆς (+ καὶ ἀπολύσῃς αὐτόν Q). σύνταξον δὲ (ἀλλὰ σύνταξαι P, + αὐτοῦ Q) ἄνευ θροῦ (+ ἀπολύσαι P). καὶ ἐὰν ἀποδείξῃ (ὑποδείξῃ Q) σοι τόπους (τόπον ἔχοντα Q) χρυσοῦ ἢ (καὶ Q) ἀργυρίου, σημειωσάμενος τοὺς τόπους σφράγισαι τὴν σφραγίδα ταύτην ((σ)φράγισαι τὸν τόπον τοῦ χρημάτων Q) καὶ ἄγαγέ μοι αὐτόν (αὐτ. ἀγ. μοι ὧδε Q) B | καὶ H: ἦθη B

§ 12. (120) 5 κατὰ (* f. 30^v) τ. ἐνταλθ. H: τ. ἐντελόμενα Q, τὰ ἐντεταλμένα αὐτῷ P, + παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως σολομῶν < H | ἐποίησε: + καὶ ἐπέσαςε τὴν (τὸν Q) κάμηλον καὶ ἔθηκε τὸν ἄσκον (+ ἐπὶ τὸν κάμηλον Q) B 6 εἰς τὴν Ἀρ. B 7 ἄρα ... συλλαβ. P: ἄρα τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πονηρὸν δυνήσεται συλλαβ. Q, δυνατὸν ἄν(θρωπ)ον συλλαβ. H | § 13. κ. ὄρθρος ego: κ. ὄρθρος H, ὄρθρον δὲ γενομένου B 8 * P f. 22^r | ὁ — H 9 ἐπέθηκε ... δακτ. H: καὶ τὸ δακτ. (* Q f. 14^r) ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα (τοῦ στόματος P) τοῦ ἀσκού B 10 εἰσῆλθεν ... ἐπνευματ. αὐτ. ego: εἰσῆλθεν ... ἐμπνευσμάτισεν αὐτ. ἀπὸ τῆς πνοῆς τοῦ πονηροῦ πν(εύματος) H, ἐπνευματώθη ὁ ἄσκος Q, ἐπνευσεν ὁ δαίμων διὰ μέσον τοῦ δακτυλιδίου εἰς τὸ στόμα τοῦ ἀσκού καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἐπνευμάτωσε τὸν ἄσκον P 11 § 14. παῖς HQ: ἄνθρωπος P | σταθεὶς H: ἐνσταθεὶς εὐθέως P, συντόμως Q | ἔσφιγξε (ἔσφηξε ms.) ... στόματι H: ἔσφιγξεν τῇ χειρὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ ἀσκού P, ἔθηκε τὸ στόμα τοῦ ἀσκού Q 12 ἐν HP: ἐπὶ τῷ Q | κυρίον τοῦ θεοῦ P | ὁ δαίμ. ἔσωθ. H. ἔσω ὁ δαίμ. B

εἰς τὸν ἄσκον. 15. ἔμεινε δὲ καὶ ὁ παῖς εἰς ἀπόδειξιν ἡμέρας
 τρεῖς, καὶ οὐκέτι ἔπνευσε τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν οἱ Ἀραβες
 ὅτι ἀσφαλῶς συνέκλεισε τὸ πνεῦμα. 16. τότε ἐπέσαξε τὸν ἄσκον
 εἰς τὴν κάμηλον. προσέπεμπον δὲ οἱ Ἀραβες τὸν παῖδα μετὰ
 5 δώρων καὶ τιμῶν εὐφηνούντες τὸν θεόν, ἔμειναν γὰρ ἐν εἰρήνῃ.
 εἰσήγαγε <δὲ> τὸ πνεῦμα ὁ παῖς καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸ εἰς κεφαλὴν
 τοῦ ναοῦ.

17. Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον εἰσῆλθον ἐγὼ Σολομῶν εἰς τὸν ναόν·
 καὶ ἡμην ἐν λύπῃ περὶ τοῦ λίθου τοῦ ἀκρογωνιαίου. καὶ ἀναστὰς
 10 ὁ ἄσχος καὶ περιπατήσας βήματα ἑπτὰ ἔστη ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα καὶ
 προσεκύνησέ μοι. 18 καὶ θαυμάσας ἐγὼ ὅτι μετὰ τοῦ ἄσχοῦ δυνά-
 μεις ἔσχε καὶ περιεπάτησεν, ἐκέλευσα αὐτὸ ἀναστῆναι. καὶ ἀνέστη
 ὁ ἄσχος καὶ ἔστη ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν πεφυσιωμένος. 19. καὶ ἐπηρώ-
 τησα αὐτὸν λέγων· »σὺ τίς εἶ;« λέγει ἔσω τὸ πνεῦμα· *
 15 »ἐγὼ εἰμι δαίμων λεγόμενος Ἐφριπᾶς, ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ.«

MSS HPQ = Recc. AB. 1 ἐν τῷ ἄσκῳ Q | § 15. ἐμ. δὲ κ. H: καὶ
 μετὰ τοῦτο ἐμ. B | παῖς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἡμ. τρεῖς εἰς ἐπίδειξιν B
 2 πνεῦμα: + πλέον τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ P, + πλεῖον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐκείνῃ Q |
 ἔγνωσαν πάντες οἱ B 3 § 16. (121) ἐπίσαξε B | ἄσκον: + ὁ παῖς B |
 τὴν HP: τὸν Q 4 προσεπ. δὲ H: καὶ προσεπ. P, καὶ ἐξαπέστειλαν Q | τ.
 παιδ. οἱ Ἀρ. B | μετὰ ... τιμῶν H: μετὰ τιμῆς πολλῆς καὶ δώρων πολυ-
 τίμων P, μ. τιμ. πολ. καὶ δῶρα πολλὰ ἐδωροφόρησαν τὸν παῖδα Q 5 εὐφ.
 τ. θ. H: εὐφην. καὶ δοξάζοντες τὸν θεὸν Ἰσραὴλ P, ἐπαίνους καὶ δόξαν πεμ-
 ψάμενοι μοι Q | ἔμειν. ... εἰρ. — B 6 εἰσηγ. ... παῖς H: ὁ δὲ παῖς
 εἰσηγ. τὸν ἄσκον B | αὐτὸ ego: αὐτῷ H, αὐτὸν Q, — P | κεφαλὴν H:
 τὸ μέσον B 8 § 17. εἰσῆλθον: ἐλθὼν B | ἐγὼ βασιλεὺς P | ναὸν τοῦ
 θεοῦ B 9 καὶ — B | λύπῃ πολλῇ B | καὶ ἐν τῷ εἰσέρχεσθαι μοι εἰς
 τὸν ναὸν (+ κυρίου Q) B 10 κ. περιπ. βημ. ἐπ. H: πεφυσνημένος (— P)
 ἐπεριεπάτησεν ἐπ. βημ. B | ἔστη (ἔστι ms.) ... στόμα H: ἔπεσεν δὲ ἐπὶ
 στόμα P, καὶ ἐλθὼν ἔμπροσθέν μου ἔπεσεν ἔμπροσθέν μου κήπον (l. κόπτον Is)
 τὸ στόμα τοῦ ἄσχοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν Q 11 ἐπροσκύνησε Q | § 18. κ. θανυμ.
 ἐγὼ HP: ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα θεωρήσας ἐθαύμασα Q | ὅτι καὶ B | μετὰ τ.
 ἄσχοῦ H (— τοῦ) P: ἐν ἄσκῳ δεδεμένος ὁ δαίμων Q | δύναμιν B 12 ἔσχε
 ὁ δαίμων P | περιεπάτει B | ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκέλευσα Q | αὐτὸν B 13 κ.
 ἔστη — H | ἐν — P | πεφυσ. H: πεφυσνημένος P, πεφυσνημένος Q |
 § 19. 14 σύ: pr. εἰπέ μοι B, — Q | λέγει ἔσω H: καὶ ἔφη ἔσωθεν B |
 * P f. 22^v | ὁ δαίμων ὁ λεγόμενος B | ἐφριπᾶς P, ἐφρίπας Q, ἔφριπας H,
 cf. supra VI 5, infra XXIV 1 | ὁ ὦν P, ὁ ἡμην Q

20. καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· »ποιῶ ἀγγέλῳ καταργεῖσαι;« ὁ δὲ λέγει· »τῷ διὰ παρθένου μέλλοντι γεννηθῆναι ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸν προσκυνοῦσι ἄγγελοι, καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων μέλλοντι σταυρωθῆναι.«

XXIII. Ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω πρὸς αὐτόν· »τί μοι δύνασαι ποιῆσαι;« ὁ δὲ ἔφη· »ἐγὼ δυνατός εἰμι ὄρη μεταστῆναι καὶ μεταφέρειν οἴκους καὶ βασιλεῖς καταβαλεῖν.« 2. καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· »εἰ δυνατός εἶ, ἔπαρον τὸν λίθον τοῦτον εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς γωνίας τοῦ ναοῦ.« ὁ δὲ ἔφη· »οὐ μόνον τοῦτον τὸν λίθον ἔπαρῶ, βασιλεῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺν τῷ δαίμονι τῷ ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ τὸν ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ κίονα τὸν ἄριον, καὶ στήσεις αὐτὸν ὅπου θέλεις.« 3. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὑπεισῆλθεν ὑποκάτω τοῦ λίθου καὶ ἤρην * αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κλίμακα βαστάζων τὸν λίθον

MSS PQ = Rec. B pro § 20 praebent textum hunc: καὶ (ἐγὼ δὲ Q) εἶπον αὐτῷ· (+ τοῦτό σοι ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα; ὁ δὲ ἔφη· ναί· ὅπου γὰρ βούλομαι ἐφίπταμαι καὶ ἐμπυρρίζω καὶ θανατῶ. καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ· P) ποιῶ ἀγγέλῳ καταργεῖσαι (καταργῇ συ P); ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ὁ μονάρχης θεὸς ὁ ἔχων ἐξουσίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ (+ καὶ ἀκούεσθαι P), ὁ διὰ παρθένου μέλλων γενᾶσθαι (ὁ καὶ μέλλων ἐκ παρθ. τίκτεσθαι Q) καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων (+ μέλλει Q) σταυρωθῆναι ἐπὶ ξύλον, ὃν προσκυνοῦσι ἄγγελοι ἀρχάγγελοι, ἐκεῖνός με καταργεῖ καὶ ἀτονεῖ με ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς μου δυνάμεως (ἀτονεῖ μου τὴν πολλὴν μου δύναμιν Q) τῆς δοθείσης μοι (μουν Q) ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ διαβόλου.

MS H = Rec. A. 1 § 20. τοῦ δ. π. μέλλοντο < γεννηθ. ms. 3 μελλ < ms.

Parallela ad c. XXIII v. infra in ms. D c. VI 10f.

C. XXIII. MSS HPQ = Recc. AB. 4 ἐγὼ ... αὐτόν Q: ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῶν H, εἶπον δὲ αὐτῷ P | δύνασαι μοι Q | μοι — P 5 μεταστῆναι H: μεταφέρειν P, σαλευσαι Q | κ. μεταφ. ... καταβ. (καταβαλῶ ms.) H: οἰκίας βασιλέων καταβαλ. (καταλαβεῖν Q), δένδρα ἀπέταλα (ἀπέταλλα Q, -αλα Kurz) ξηραίνω (μαραίνω P) B 6 § 2. εἰ ... τοῦτον H: δύνασαι ἐπάραι τὸν λίθον τοῦτον καὶ θέσαι (ex θέσθαι corr. P) αὐτόν B 7 γωνίας ταύτης τῆς οὔσης ἐν τῇ ἐνπρεπείᾳ τ. ναοῦ B 8 οὐ μόνον HP: δύνομαι καὶ Q | τὸν λίθον — B | ἐπάραι B | βασιλεῦ, ἀλλὰ — Q 9 * Mg 1356 | σὺν ... θαλάσῃ ego: σὺν τῷ δαίμονι τῷ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης P, συντόμως ἕνα H, — Q | τὸν ἐν ... ἄριον H: ἀναγάγω τὸν κίονα τὸν ἀριόστην P, τὸν κίονα τὸν ἐν βύθῳ τῆς θαλάσσης (f. 14^v) τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης, ὃν περ βαστάζει ἕτερος δαίμων φυλάττων αὐτὸ ἐκεῖ ἕως τὴν σήμερον Q 10 στήσεις ... θέλεις H: στήσω αὐτ. (αὐτ. θέσω Q) ὅπου βούλει (βούλη Q) ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ B 11 § 3. καὶ — B | ὑπεισῆλθεν ... λίθου H: ἠνάγκασα αὐτόν, καὶ ὥσει ἐκφυσηθεὶς ὁ ἄσκός ἐγένετο καὶ ὑποδέδωκα τῷ λίθῳ καὶ διέξωσεν ἑαυτὸν P, ἐπέδειξα αὐτοῦ τὸν λίθον. ὁ δὲ ἄσκός ἐγένετο ὥσει ἐκφυσηθεὶς καὶ διέξωσεν ἑαυτὸν Q 12 ἤρην αὐτ. H: ἐπῆρην (+ τὸν λίθον Q, * P f. 23^r) ἐπάνω τοῦ ἄσκοῦ B | εἰς τ. κλιμ. H: ὁ ἄσκός τὰς κλίμακας P, ὁ ἄσκός τὰς σκάλας Q | * H f. 32^r

καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἄκραν τῆς εἰσόδου τοῦ ναοῦ. 4. ἐγὼ δὲ Σολομὼν ἐπαιρόμενος εἶπον· »ἀληθῶς νῦν ἐπληρώθη ἡ γραφὴ ἢ λέγουσα· »λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες οὗτος ἐγε-
νήθη μὲν εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας, καὶ τὰ λοιπά.

5 XXIV. «Καὶ πάλιν εἶπον αὐτῷ· »ἀπελθε, ἄγαγέ μοι ὃν εἶπας κίονα ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ. καὶ ἀπελθὼν ὁ Ἐφιππᾶς ἀνήγαγεν τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὸν κίονα ἀμφοτέροι βασιτάζοντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀραβίας. 2. ἐγὼ δὲ κατασοφισάμενος¹ ὅτι τὰ δύο πνεύ-
ματα ταῦτα ἐδύναντο πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην σαλευσαι ἐν μιᾷ
10 ῥοπῇ περιεσφράγισα ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τῷ δακτυλιδίῳ καὶ εἶπον·
»φυλάττεσθε ἀκριβῶς.« * 3. καὶ ἔμειναν βασιτάζοντες τὸν κίονα

MSS HPQ = Recc. AB. 1 ἔθετο HP: ἔθηκεν Q | τῆς ... ναοῦ B: τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς ὁδοῦ H | § 4. 2 ἐπαιρόμενος H: ἰδὼν τὸν λίθον ἐπηρμέ-
νον καὶ τεθεμελιωμένον (+ ἐθαύμασα καὶ Q) B | νῦν . . . λέγουσα H
(— νῦν) P: ἡ γραφὴ εἶπεν Q 3 ὃν ἀπεδοκ. B: ἀναπεδοκ. H 4 μὲν
— B | καὶ τὰ λοιπά H: ὅτι τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἔμὸν δοῦναι ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ
κατισχύσαι τὸν δαίμονα ἐπάραι τὸν λίθον τηλικούτον καὶ ἀποθεῖσθαι αὐτὸν
εἰς τόπον ὃν ἐβουλόμην P, ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ θέλημά ἐστιν τῷ δώσαντι τὴν
ἰσχὺν δαίμονος (ἐ)πάραι λίθον τοσοῦτον μέγεθος καὶ ἀποτεθῆναι εἰς τὸν τό-
πον ὃν ἐβουλόμην Q

Parallela ad c. XXIV v. in ms. D c. VI 12—14

C. XXIV. MSS HPQ = Recc. AB. (124) textum eius capituli depravatum
per conjecturam dubitanter emendavi 5 καὶ ... θαλάσῃ H: — B 6—8 καὶ
... Ἀραβίας Q: καὶ ἀπῆλθεν καὶ ἤρεν αὐτῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν ἄφνω
ἐρχόμενον βασιτάζοντα τὸν κίονα τὸν ἄεριον H, + ὥς δὲ ἐθεασάμην τὸν
κίονα φέροντες εἰς ὕψος τοῦ ἀέρος βασιτάζοντες πάντες οἱ θεωροῦντες τὰ
θαῦμα ἐξεπλάγησαν Q (l. fortasse ὥς δὲ εἶδον αὐτὰ ἀμφοτέρα ἐρχόμενα βα-
σιτάζοντα τὸν κίονα τὸν ἄεριον cum κατεσοφισάμην, v. infra), καὶ ἤγαγεν
Ἐφιππᾶς τὸν δαίμονα τὸν ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ μετὰ τοῦ κίονος, καὶ λα-
βόντες ἀμφοτέροι τὸν κίονα ὑψώθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς P 8 § 2. ἐγὼ δὲ
κατασ. B: κατεσοφισάμην H 9 ἐδύν. ... οἰκουμ. H: ἠδύναντο τ. οἰκ. ὕλην
(ὄλ. τ. οἰκ. Q) B, pr. μὴ Cr | σαλεύσαι B: σαλέσαι H | μιᾷ ῥοπῇ H: ῥοπῇ
(l. ῥοπῇ Kurz) Q, στιγμῇ χρόνου P 10 καὶ περιεσφράγισα αὐτὸν H |
μετὰ τοῦ δακτυλιδίου Q 11 φυλάττ. ἀκριβ. H: φυλάττεσθαι ἀκριβ. P, πρὸς
τοὺς δαίμονας· ἐπ' ὀνόματος κυρίου Ἰσραὴλ θεοῦ Σαβαὼθ στήτε, δαίμονες.
μετὰ τοῦ κιονίου εἰς τὸ ὕψος τοῦ ἀέρος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ, βασιτάζοντες τὸν
κίονα ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος Q | * H f. 32^v | § 3. ἔμειναν:
+ τὰ πνεύματα B, add. adhuc εἰς τὸν τόπον Q | βασιτάζοντα P | τ.
κίονα — P

§ 4. Ps. CXVIII 22; Mk. XII 10; Mt. XXI 42; Lk. XX 17; I Pt. II 6f.
Mt. XX 23; Mk. X 40

εἰς τὸν ἀέρα μέχρι τῆς σήμερον εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς δεδομένης μοι σοφίας. 4. καὶ ἦν κρεμιάμενος ὁ κίων ὑπερμεγέθης διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων βασταζόμενος καὶ οὕτως κάτωθεν τὰ πνεύματα ἐφαίνοντο ὥσπερ ἄρ βαστάζοντα. 5. καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀτενίζειν ἡμᾶς (ὑπόλοξος) ἐγένετο ἡ βάσις τοῦ κίονος καὶ ἔστιν ἕως τῆς σήμερον.¹ *

XXV. Καὶ ἐγὼ ἠρώτησα τὸν ἕτερον δαίμονα τὸν ἀνελθόντα ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης μετὰ τοῦ κίονος· «σὺ τίς εἶ καὶ τί καλεῖσαι καὶ τί σου ἡ ἐργασία; ὅτι πολλὰ ἀκούω περὶ σου.» 2. ὁ δὲ δαίμων ἔφη· «ἐγὼ, βασιλεῦ Σολομῶν, καλοῦμαι Ἀβεξεθιβοῦ· καὶ ποτε ἐκαθεζόμεν ἔν πρῶτῳ οὐρανῷ, οὗ τὸ ὄνομα Ἀμελούθ. 3. ἐγὼ οὖν εἰμι * πνεῦμα χαλεπὸν καὶ πτερωτὸν καὶ μονόπτερον, ἐπίβουλον πάσης πνοῆς ὑπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν. ἐγὼ παρήμην ἡνίκα ὁ Μωϋσῆς εἰσῆρχετο εἰς Φαραὶ βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου σκληρύνων αὐτοῦ τὴν καρδίαν. 4. ἐγὼ εἰμι ὃν ἐπικαλοῦντο Ἰαννῆς καὶ Ἰαμβρῆς οἱ μαχόμενοι τῷ Μωϋσῇ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἀντιπαλαίων τῷ Μωϋσῇ ἐν τοῖς τέρασιν καὶ τοῖς σημείοις.»

MSS HPQ = Recc. AB. 1 εἰς τ. ἀέρα — B | μέχρι τ. (τὴν H) σημ. HP: ἕως καὶ τὴν σήμερον Q

MSS PQ = Rec. B. 1—6 εἰς ἀποδ. ... σήμερον magnem partem om. ms. H, v. infra ll. 4f. 2 § 4. ὁ κίωνας ἐν μεγέθει φοικτῶ εἰς τὸν ἀέρα Q 3 καὶ οὕτως ... βαστάζοντα om. Q per homoeoteleuton 4 § 5. καὶ ἐν ... κίονος (ὑπόλοξος ex P supplevi) H: κ. ἐν τ. ἀτεν. τις ὁ κίων ὑπόλοξος βαστάζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων P, φερόμενος ὡς ὑπὸ λοξήγον οὐχὶ ὀρθῶς Q 5 ἕως καὶ τὴν σήμερον Q 6 * P f. 23^v

C. XXV. MSS HPQ = Recc. AB. (125) 7 ἠρώτησα H: Σολομῶν ἐπηρωτ. B | τὸν ἐτ. ... κίονος H: τὸ ἕτερον τὸ ἐν τῇ ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης Q, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἕτερον τὸ ἀνελθὼν μετὰ τοῦ κίονος ἀπὸ τοῦ βυθοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ P

MSS PQ = Rec. B. §§ 1—5. ll. 8—p. 72*, 1 σὺ ... αὐτῷ — H | εἶ καὶ τί — Q 9 περὶ P: παρὰ Q | § 2. 10 Σολ. — Q | Ἀβεξεθιβοῦ Q | καὶ ποτε ἐκαθεζ. Q: ἀπόγονός εἰμι ἀρχαγγέλου, καθεζομένου μου P 11 ὄνομα: + τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ καταργούντός με Q | Ἀβελούθ Q 12 § 3. οὖν — Q | χαλεπὸν (* f. 15^r) πνεῦμα Q | καὶ (1^ο) — Q 13 ἐπιβουλ. ... οὐρανῶν P: πολλὰ κακὰ ἐνεργῶν Q | ἐγὼ παρ. ἡνίκα P: ὅθεν ἐγὼ εἰμι, διὰ Q 14 ὁ Μωϋσῆς Q: μωσῆς P | βασιλέως mss. 15 Ἰαννὶς καὶ Ἰαμβροῖς P, Ἰαννῆς κ. Ἰαμβροῖς Q | οἱ μαχόμενοι Q: οἱ κανχώμενοι P, οἰκονχώμενοι Fl 16 ἐν Αἴγ. ... Μωϋσῇ om. Q per homoeoteleuton 17 τέρασιν καὶ Q: πέρασιν P, τέρασιν conj. Cr

5. εἶπον οὖν αὐτῷ· «πῶς οὖν εὐρέθης ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ;» ὁ δὲ ἔφη· «ἐν τῇ ἐξόδου τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἐγὼ ἐσκήλησυνα τὴν καρδίαν Φαραὼ καὶ ἀνεπτέρωσα αὐτοῦ τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων αὐτοῦ. 6. καὶ ἐποίησα αὐτοὺς ἵνα καταδιώξωσιν 5 ὀπίσω τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ συνηκολούθησε Φαραὼ καὶ πάντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι. τότε ἐγὼ παρήμην ἐκεῖ καὶ συνηκολουθήσαμεν, καὶ ἀνῆλθομεν ἅπαντες ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ. 7. καὶ ἐγένετο ἡνίκα διεπέρασαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ, ἐπαναστραφὲν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκάλυψε πᾶσαν τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων· τότε εὐρέθην ἐγὼ ἐκεῖ 10 καὶ συνεκαλύφθην ἐν τῷ ὕδατι «καὶ ἔμεινα ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ τηρούμενος» ὑποκάτω τοῦ κίονος «μέχρι ἀνῆλθεν Ἐφιππᾶς.» * 8. καὶ γὰρ δὲ Σολομῶν ὥρκισα αὐτὸν βαστάζειν τὸν κίονα ἕως τῆς συντελείας. 9. καὶ σὺν θεῷ ἐκόσμησα τὸν ναὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν πάσῃ εὐπρεπείᾳ. καὶ ἤμην χαίρων καὶ δοξάζων αὐτόν.»

MSS PQ = Rec. B. 1 § 5. οὖν P: δὲ ἐγὼ Q 2 ἔφη P: λέγει μοι Q | ἐσκήλησυνα Q 4 § 6. ἵνα καταδιώξουσιν Q 5 συνεκολούθησεν Q 6 ἐσυνηκολούθησάν με Q | § 7. 7 ἡνίκα P: ὅτε Q

MS H = Rec. A. §§ 5—7. pro ll. 1—2 πῶς ... ἔφη; praebebat H haec: πῶς ἐν τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ οἰκῆς. ὁ δαίμων ἔφη 2—8 ἐν τῇ ... Ἰσραὴλ — H

MSS HPQ = Recc. AB. 8 ἐπαναστραφὲν ... ἐκαλ. B: ὅταν ἐστράφη ὁ ὕδωρ καὶ ἐκάλυψε H 9 πᾶσαν — H | Αἰγυπτ.: + καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν B | τότε εὐρ. H: εὐρ. οὖν B 10 συνεκ. ἐν τ. ὕδ. H: ἐκάλυψέν με τὸ ὕδωρ B | κ. ἔμεινα ... τηρούμενος B: — H 11 κίονος τούτου B

MS H = Rec. A §§ 7—9, ll. 11—14 μέχρι ... αὐτόν: textum brevem praebebat

MSS PQ = Rec. B eiusdem sectionis textum interpolatum praebeant hunc: ὥς δὲ ἦλθεν Ἐφιππᾶς πεμφθεὶς παρὰ σοῦ ἐν ἀγγελίᾳ ἀσχοῦ (* P f. 24^r) ἐγκλεισθεὶς καὶ ἀνεβίβασέ με πρὸς σέ. § 8 (127) καὶ γὰρ (+ οὖν P) Σολομῶν ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐδόξασα τὸν θεὸν καὶ ὥρκισα τοὺς δαίμονας ὥστε μὴ παρακοῦσαί μου ἀλλὰ μείναι βαστάζοντας (-τες Q) τὸν (τὴν P) κίονα. καὶ ὁμοσαν ἀμφοτέρωτεροι λέγοντες· ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεός (+ σου P, + ὃς παρέδωκεν ἡμᾶς ὑποχειρίους σου Q), οὐ μὴ ἀποθώμεθα τὸν στῦλον τοῦτον ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος. ἡ δ' ἂν * ἡμέρα (ego: εἰ δ' ἂν ἡμέραν P, εἰς δ' ἂν ἡμέραν Q, εἰς δ' ἦν ἡμ. conj. Kurz, * Mg 1357) πέσῃ ὁ λίθος οὗτος, τότε ἔσται ἡ συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος. § 9. (128) ἐγὼ δὲ (καὶ γὰρ P) Σολομῶν ἐδόξασα τὸν θεὸν καὶ (+ ἔδο linea deletum P) ἐκόσμησα τὸν ναὸν τοῦ κυρίου πάσῃ εὐπρεπείᾳ, καὶ ἤμην εὐπυμῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου καὶ εἰρήνῃ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις μου

XXVI. Ἔλαβον δὲ γυναῖκας ἀπὸ πάσης χώρας * καὶ βασιλείας, ἃν οὐκ ἦν ἀριθμός. καὶ ἐπορεύθην πρὸς τῶν Ἰεβουσαιῶν βασιλέα καὶ εἶδον γυναῖκα ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ ἡγάπησα αὐτὴν σφόδρα, καὶ ἠθέλησα αὐτὴν μίξαι σὺν ταῖς γυναῖξί μου. 2 καὶ εἶπον πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν· »δοτε μοι τὴν Σουμανίτην ταύτην, ὅτι ἡγάπησα αὐτὴν σφόδρα.« καὶ * εἶπον πρὸς με· »εἰ ἡγάπησας τὴν θυγατέρα ἡμῶν, προσκύνησον τοὺς θεοὺς ἡμῶν, τὸν μέγαν Ῥαφὰν καὶ Μολόχ, καὶ λάβε αὐτήν.« 3. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἠθέλησα προσκυνῆσαι, ἀλλ' εἶπον αὐτοῖς· »ἐγὼ οὐ προσκυνῶ θεῶ ἀλλοτρίῳ.« 4. αὐτοὶ δὲ παρεβιάσαντο τὴν παρθένον λέγοντες ὅτι· »ἐὰν γένηταί σοι εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν Σολομῶν(τος), * εἰπὲ αὐτῷ· »οὐ κοιμηθήσομαι μετὰ σου ἐὰν μὴ ὁμοιωθῇς τῷ λαῷ μου, καὶ λάβε ἀκριδὰς πέντε καὶ σφάξαι

C. XXVI. MSS HPQ = Rec. AB. 1 Ἔλαβον δὲ H: καὶ ἔλαβ. P, ἐγὼ δὲ ἔλ. Q | γυναῖκας: + ἐμαντοῦ P, + εἰς ἀνάπανσίν μου Q | πάσας Q | * H f. 33^r | κ. βασιλείας — B 2 ὧν B: οὐ H | ἐπορεύθη H | τ. Ἰεβουσ. βασ. ego: τὸν ἱεβ. βασιλέων H, τοὺς Ἰεβουσαιῶν Q, τὸ Ἰεβουσαιῶν P 3 εἶδον HQ: ἰδὼν P | γυναῖκα ... αὐτῶν H: ἐκεῖ θυγατέρα ἀνθρώπου Ἰεβουσαιῶν B | καὶ — P 4 σφόδρα: + ὡς πολλὰ ὥραιαν οὖσαν Q | ἠθέλησα ... μου H: ἡβουλόμην δέξασθαι αὐτὴν μετὰ ταῖς γυναῖξί μου εἰς γυναῖκα P, ἐξήγησα αὐτὴν ἵνα μου γυναῖκαν μετὰ τῶν ἐτέρων γυναικῶν Q § 2. 5 αὐτῶν: + κ. εἰπ. πρὸς τ. ἱερεῖς linea deleta P | μοι HQ: μου P | Σουμανίτην H: σουμανίτην P, παῖδα Q 6 ὅτι ... σφόδρα H: εἰς γυναῖκα (+ μου Q) B | * Q f. 15^v | με: + οἱ (— Q) ἱερεῖς τοῦ Μολόχ B, add. etiam διότι εἰδῶλα ἐσεβόντισαν Q | ἐὰν ἀγαπᾷς B 7 θυγατ. ἡμῶν H: παρθένον B, + εἴσελθε (+ δὲ Q) καὶ B 8 τὸν μέγαν: τῷ μεγάλῳ θεῷ P (+ ἡμῶν) Q | ραφὰμ H | Μολόχ: pr. τῷ καλουμένῳ θεῷ P | καὶ λάβε αὐτ. HQ: — P | § 3. δὲ: οὐν B, + τοῦτο H, + φοβηθεὶς τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ (+ ἡμῶν Q) B 6 ἠθέλ. HQ: ἠκολούθησα P | προσκυνῆσαι ... ἐγὼ P (καγῶ) Q: — H | οὐ: οὐδὲ H

MSS PQ = Rec. B in fine sectionis 3 (post ἀλλοτρίῳ) et pro sectionibus 4 et 5 praebeant textum hunc: καὶ τίς δὲ (κ. τίς δὲ omisso spatioque puro relicto in marg. scr. τίς αὕτη P) ἢ (— Q) ὑπόθεσις ὅτι τοσοῦτον (τοῦτο Q) με ἀναγκάζετε ποιῆσαι; § 4. οἱ δὲ εἶπον· ἵνα ὁμοιωθῇς (ἵνα ὁμ. om. spatioque puro relicto ωθεῖς scr. P) τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν. (129) ἐμοῦ δὲ πυθομένου ὅτι οὐδαμῶς (οὐδαμῇ Q) προσκυνήσω (προσθύσω Q) θεοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις, αὐτοὶ (καὶ P) παρήγγειλαν τὴν παρθένον τοῦ μὴ κοιμηθῆναι μοι, ἐὰν μὴ πεισθῶ θῦσαι τοῖς θεοῖς (+ αὐτῶν Q)

MS H = Rec. A. § 4. 12 αὐτῷ ego: αὐτῶν H | ad σφάξαι (l. 13) et ἔθυσαι (ἔθυσα ms.; p. 74*, 4) cf. *Dial. Tim. et Aquil.*, p. 70, et mss. PQ infra; v. *Intro* p. 38.

αὐτὰς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Ῥαφὰν καὶ Μολόχ.⁴ 5. ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν με τὴν κόρην ὡς ὠραίαν οὖσαν πάνυ, καὶ ὡς ἀσύντετος ὢν, οὐδὲν ἐνόμισα τῶν ἀκριδῶν τὸ αἶμα καὶ ἔλαβον αὐτὰς ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ ἔθυσσα εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Ῥαφὰν καὶ Μολόχ τοῖς
5 εἰδώλοις, καὶ ἔλαβα τὴν παρθένον εἰς τὸν οἶκον τῆς βασιλείας μου.

6. Καὶ ἀπήρθη τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο ὡς λῆρος τὰ ῥήματά μου. καὶ ἠνάγκασέ με οἰκονομῆσαι ναοὺς τῶν εἰδώλων. 7. καὶ γὰρ οὖν ὁ δύστη-
10 νος ἐποίησα τὴν συμβουλὴν αὐτῆς καὶ τελείως ἀπέστη ἡ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη τὸ πνεῦμά μου, καὶ ἐγενόμην γέλως τοῖς εἰδώλοις καὶ δαίμοσιν.

8. Διὰ τοῦτο ἀπέγραψα ταύτην μου τὴν διαθήκην ἵνα οἱ

MSS PQ = Rec. B. § 5. καὶ γὰρ οὖν ὁ δόλιος (+ καὶ πανάθλιος Q) κινουμένου μου πικροῦ καὶ ἀσφύτου βέλους τοῦ ἔρωτος τῆς κόρης, ἔδωκα ἐπισχυσιν, καὶ (πικροῦ . . . ἐπισχ. καὶ Q: ἔρωτος παρ' αὐτῇ P) ἔφερέν μοι πέντε ἀκριδας (P f. 24^v) λέγων (+ μοι Q)· λάβε ταύτας τὰς ἀκριδας καὶ σύντριψον αὐτὰς ἐπ' ὀνόματος (-ατι Q) τοῦ θεοῦ Μολόχ (+ καὶ Ῥαφὰ Q), καὶ (+ νῦν P) κοιμηθήσομαι μετὰ σου. ὕπερ καὶ ἐτέλεσα (+ ἐγὼ τὴν ἀπώλειαν ταύτην Q).

MSS PQ = Rec. B pro § 6 textum praebent hunc: καὶ (+ ταῦτα ποιήσας ὁ ἄθλιος Q) εὐθὺς ἀπέστη (+ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ Q) τὸ πνεῦμα (+ τὸ ἄγιον Q) τοῦ θεοῦ, (+ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ P, + καὶ ἅπαντα ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ σοφία Q), καὶ ἐγενόμην ἀσθενὴς ὥσει λῆρος τοῖς ῥήμασί μου (καὶ τὰ ῥήματά μου ὡς ἡ — ὥσει Kurtz — λῆρος Q)· ἔξ οὗ καὶ ἠναγκάσθην (-σθη P) παρ' αὐτῆς (αὐτοῖς Q) κτίσαι ναὸν τῶν εἰδώλων τῇ Βαὰλ (Τηβὰλ Q) καὶ τῷ (— Q) Ῥαφὰ καὶ τῷ (τὸν) Μολόχ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς εἰδώλοις (τῶν λοιπῶν εἰδώλων Q)

MS H = Rec. A. § 6. 7 ἀπήρθη ego: ἐπῆρθη ms.

MS H = Rec. A pro sectione 7 textum, ut mihi videtur, interpolatum praebet nunc: ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ δύστινος ὠκοδόμησα διὰ τὸ πάνην ἀγαπᾶν αὐτήν. καὶ διεράχην ἡ βασιλεία μου καὶ ὀλόλυξα μεγάλως, καὶ ἐσκορπίσθη τὸ πν(εῦ)μα καὶ ἐδόθη εἰς δουλείαν τὸν ῥῥοῶμ (* f. 34^r) σκῆπτρα ἰ'· τὸ συνη (sic) κατὰ (τὰ) ῥηθέντα μοι ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων, ὅτι ἔφησάν μοι· ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖρεις ἡμῶν μέλλεις τελευτῆσαι.*

MSS PQ = Rec. B a sectione 7 usque ad finem praebent breviorē et, ut mihi videtur, meliorem textum. § 7. 9 καὶ γὰρ οὖν P: ὕπερ ἐγὼ Q 10 ἐποίησα . . . αὐτῆς P: κατηργασάμην ἅπαντα Q 11 ἀπ' ἐμοῦ post ἀπέστη ponit Q | 12 καὶ παίγνιον τοῖς δαίμοσιν Q

MS H = Rec. A pro § 8 textum interpolatum praebet hunc: καὶ ἔγραψα τὴν διαθήκην μου ταύτην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ κατέλιπον ταύτην αὐτοῖς εἰς μνημόσυνον πρὸς τελευτῆς μου. ἡ διαθήκη μου φυλαττέσθω παρ' ὑμῶν (ἡμῶν ms.)

MSS PQ = Rec. B. § 8. 13 διὰ γὰρ Q

ἀκούοντες εὐχῆσθε καὶ προσέχητε τοῖς ἐσχάτοις καὶ μὴ τοῖς
πρώτοις, ἵνα τελείως εὐρωσι χάριν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.

εἰς μυστήριον μέγαν κατὰ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ὥστε γνῶναι ὑμᾶς (ἡμῶν
ms.) τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων τὰς μηχανὰς καὶ τῶν ἁγίων (τὸν ἅγιον ms.)
ἁγγέλων τὰς δυνάμεις· ὅτι ἐνισχύει μέγας κύριος σαβαὼθ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ
καὶ ὑπέταξεν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ πάντα τὰ δαιμόνια, ἐν ᾧ ἐδόθη μοι σφραγὶς διαθήκης
αἰώνιου. ταῦτα οὖν ἔγραψον ἅπερ κατέλαβον μετὰ τῶν νῦν Ἰσραὴλ ἱερ(ευ-
ματ)ων τε πν(εῦμ)α τὸ ἀκαθάρτων (f. 34^v) ὀνειδισμῶν προσφέρωσιν¹ εἰς τὰ
ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων. § 9. ἐγὼ οὖν σολομῶν υἱὸς δα(νεί)δ υἱοῦ Ἰεσσαὶ ἔγραψα
τὴν διαθήκην μου καὶ ἐσφράγισα αὐτήν (αὐτῶν ms.) τῷ δακτυλιδίῳ τοῦ θεοῦ.
καὶ ἀπέθανον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου καὶ προσετέθη μετὰ τῶν π(ατέ)ρων μου
ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐν Ἰερουσα(λήμ). καὶ ἐπληρώθη ὁ ναὸς κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ οὗ ὑπὸ
θρόνου αὐτοῦ ποταμὸς (πυρὸς ex Dan. VII 10 suppl. James) ἔλκει· ᾧ παρει-
στήκεις μυριάδες ἁγγέλων καὶ χιλιάδες ἀρχαγγέλων καὶ χειροβίμ ἐπικρά-
ζοντα σεραφίμ κεκραγότα καὶ λέγοντα· ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος σαβαὼθ
καὶ εὐλογητὸς εἰ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.

§ 10. δόξα σοι, ὁ θεός μου, καὶ κ(ύρι)ος, δόξα σοι
σὺν τῇ ὑπ(ε)ρευκ(λεεῖ)(?) θ(εοτό)κῃ καὶ τῷ τιμίῳ
προδρόμῳ καὶ πάντας ἁγίους, δόξα σοι.

MSS PQ = Rec. B. 1 ἀκούοντες: λαχόντες P | εὐχῆσθε Q: εὐχέσθε P,
+ μοι ὅπερ ῥυσθῶ τοῦ σκότους καὶ τῆς κολάσεως τῆς πικρᾶς ὡς θεῷ παρή-
κος (Kurz: παρήκως ms.) Q | προσέχητε Q: προσέχετε P, + ὀφείλην τοῖς
ἀνθρώποις Q | καὶ μὴ P: τὰ μάλλον ἢ Q 2 τελείως — Q

Lectiones novas et emendationes ex ms. N (Sancti Saba) v. in App., infra p. 112 ff.

ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝΤΟΣ

Recensio C

Prologus

1. Ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν Δαυεὶδ τὸν βασιλέαν
5 προσευξαμένου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ οἰκοδομεῖν τὴν Σιών, προσευχο-
μένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἦλθεν φωνὴ λέγουσα· »Σολομῶν υἱὸς Δαυεὶδ,
κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων σου αὐτὸς εἰσακούσας τῆς προσευχῆς
σου δέδωκά σοι πᾶσαν τὴν ἰσχύν, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔση βλέπων πᾶσαν
τὴν σοφίαν λελεucaσμένην ὥς χιόναν ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ τῶν
10 ὀφθαλμῶν σου.« 2. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τινος αὐγῆς
ἐλλαμφθεὶς καὶ ἐμπνευσθεὶς τὴν διάνοιαν ἦν παρακαλῶν καὶ
δεόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ λέγων οὕτως· »θεὲ αἰώνιε«, ἔφη, »θεὲ ἀπε-
ρινώητε, ἄκτιστε καὶ ἀόρατε, ὁ πάντα κτίσας τῷ νεύματί σου
μόνον, ἐπίδε τοῦ δούλου σου δέησιν καὶ διασάφησον τὴν τῶν
15 χειρῶν σου ἐνέργειαν. 3. καὶ γὰρ ὅσα ἐποίησας σὺ ὁ θεός, πρὸς
σύστασιν πάντων τῶν ἡμετέρων σωμάτων ἐποίησας καὶ ὠφέλειαν,
τά τε καρποφόρα καὶ μὴ καρποφόρα δένδρα, θηρία τε καὶ πε-
τεινά, καὶ αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν θεῖον ἄεραν ὃν πᾶσα φύσις ἐπιπνέει.
4. τὸ μέγιστόν σε τοίνυν δυσωπῶ ἵνα διανοιχθῶσί μου οἱ ὀφθαλ-
20 μοὶ καὶ ὄρῶ τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην σοφίαν σου, ὅτι εὐλογητὸς εἶ
εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.« 5. ταῦτα τοίνυν εὐξαμένου φωνῆς

MSS VW. conspectum titulorum vide infra, p. 99*. 4 τὸν (1°): — V
6 αὐτοῦ: αὐτὸν V | φωνή: φο(ν)ή V 7 ὁ: — W | εἰσακούσει V
9 καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου W § 2. 1. 11 ἐλαμφθῆς ἐμπνευσθῆς (— καὶ) V
| παρακαλῶ V 12 οὕτως — V | ἀπεριν.: + θεὲ ἑὸν V 13 τὸν
εὐματι V 14 ἐπίδε: ἐπὶ ἐπὶ V § 3. 1. 16 ἡμετέρων V § 4. 1. 21 αἰῶ-
νας τῶν αἰώνων W | § 5. τοίνυν: δεύτερον V

ἤκουσεν λεγούσης· »Σολομῶν, Σολομῶν, κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἔρει· ἄρξαι κτίζειν μου οἶκον εἰς ὄνομα τῆς ἐπουρανίου μου Σιών.« καὶ ἤρξατο οἰκοδομεῖν τὴν Σιών.

8. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἔφη μετὰ κλανθμοῦ· * »δέομαί σου, βασιλεῦ Σολομῶν, ἵνα μὴ με κατακαύσης ὑπὸ τῆς σφραγίδος, καὶ ὑπόσχομαί σοι ἐν ὅρκῳ ὅτι εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ὄντος προσφέρω σοι πάντα τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ παραδώσω σοι ταῦτα ὑποχείριους δι' ἐνὸς ἐκάστου σημείων καὶ τῶν δυνατῶν καὶ τῶν δυναμένων καὶ τῶν ἐξουσιαζόντων.« καὶ εἶπον ἐγὼ Σολομῶν· »εἰ τοῦτο ποιήσεις, ἔσῃ ἐλεύθερος.« 9. καὶ λέγει μοι· »λάμβανε ἑρίφους μελανοὺς ἀγεννήτους εἰς ἀριθμὸν ποσονύμενων νᾶ, καὶ ἐνεγκέ μοι μάχαιραν καὶνὴν τρίκωλον μελανοκέρατον, καὶ ἐκδείραντες τὰς ἑρίφους.« 10. εἶτα προσέταξεν ἐναχθῆναι αἷμαν ἀνθρώπινον τοῦ δευθῆναι τὰ δέρματα καὶ ἔρραψεν αὐτὰ ἀνὰ δύο φύλλων καὶ ἔρρυσεν αὐτὰ ἐν τριωδίῳ, καὶ εὗρεν γεγραμμένον ἐνὸς ἐκάστου ὄνομα ἰδιοχείρως ἐν τοῖς δερματίοις καὶ τὸ ση-

MSS VW. 1 λεγούσης: + αὐτὸν W, + πρὸς αὐτὸν U

MSS UVW. πρὸς αὐτὸν· Σολομῶν . . . ἐρεῖ exscr. editores ex MS U cf. supra, *Introd.* p. 20f. | ἐρεῖ U: ἔρει V, ἐρεῖ W

MSS VW. Textus recensionis C cc. I—IX 7 cum rec. A et B supra pp. 5*—37* exhibitur. 4 § 8. κλανμοῦ W | * V f. 439^v 5 βασ. Σολ.: βασιλεὺς V 7 παραδίδο V 8 ἐκάστου αὐτοῦ V | σημείων: + καὶ εἶπα ἐγὼ σολομῶν καὶ V | τ(ὸν) δυνατ(ὸν) καὶ τ(ὸν) δυνάμενον καὶ τ(ὸν) ἐξουσιάζοντα V 9 τοὺς ἐξουσιάζοντας W 10 ἔσῃ: ἔστο V

MSS TUVW. § 9. l. 10 καὶ λέγει μοι VW: Δαίμων σφραγισάμενος ὑπὸ Σαλμωνῶνος τάδε εἶπε· δαιμονίων δυνάμεις καὶ ὀνόματα (ὄνομ. inter lineas sub δαιμ. δυναμ. scr.) hoc modo inc. fragmentum ms. U §§ 9—10. l. 10—14 καὶ . . . δέρματα: ἑτερα πρᾶξις τῆς αὐτῆς. ὁμοίως παιδίον παρθένον καθαρὸν· κάθισον εἰς ἄμυλον (f. 39b²) καὶ ξῦσον μετὰ ἐλαίου ἀπὸ τηγανίου κόλον εἰς τὴν παλάμην τοῦ παιδίου, καὶ λέγε ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ἕως ἑπτὰ φορές· Ναχιεὺλ· Ναχιεὺλ· Χατμήν· Ἑρμήν· μελανοκέρατο τοῦ δευθῆναι τὰ δέρματα, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ δευθῆναι τὰ δέρματα λαβὼν ὁ βεελζεβοὺλ· τὰ νᾶ δέρματα hoc modo inc. sectio in Clavicula = ms. T § 9. l. 11 ἀγεννήτους: pr. καὶ + καὶ ἔλαβεν ἐκ πάντων τῶν θρεμμάτων αὐτοῦ V | ποσονύμενων UW: ποσον V 12 τρίκωλον ego: τρήκωλον V, τρίκωλον vel τριήκωλον UW § 10. l. 14 δευθῆναι V | καὶ — TV | ἔρραψεν . . . τριωδίῳ TV: ἐποίησα οὕτως καὶ ἔρρυσεν αὐτὰ ἐν τριωδίῳ ἀνὰ δύο φύλλων UW | ἔρραψεν . . . ἔρρυσεν: ἔραψεν . . . ἔρηψεν T, ἔρηψεν . . . ἔρηψεν V, ἔρριψεν U, ἔρρυσεν W 15 τριωδίῳ: l. fortasse τριόδῳ, pr. τῷ T | γεγραμμένα mss. 16 ἐν . . . αὐτοῦ (3°) p. 78*, I: — T | σημεῖον αὐτοῦ: σιμάδη του V

μειον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν δεσποτείαν αὐτοῦ οὕτως·

- X. Τζιανφιέλ· * δεσπόζει ρμ'· ἐνεργεῖ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἀναγγεῖλαι τὰ παρεληλυθότα καὶ τὰ ἐνεστώτα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα. 2. Φα-
 5 ράν· * δεσπόζει α'· ἐνεργεῖ δὲ εἰς τὸ πληρεῖν πάντα τὰ θελή-
 ματα. δύναται καὶ πῦρ ἀναβιβάζειν εἰς τὸν ἀέρα καὶ ὕδωρ
 κατὰγειν καὶ ἀστέρας ὑποδεικνύειν. 3. Μαχουμέτ· * δεσπόζει δ'·
 ἐνεργεῖ εἰς τὸ γελᾶν ἀνθρώπους ἀλλήλων. ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ τετρά-
 10 ποδα λαλεῖν ἀνθρωπίνως καὶ ἀναφαίνεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
 ἀκεφάλους. ποιεῖ δὲ τούτους * γυμνοὺς περιπατεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τὰ ἄλογα κτήνη βλέπειν ἀλλήλα ὡς θηρία ἄγρια. 4. Ναπούρ· *
 δεσπόζει ν'· δύναται ἐν μιᾷ ὥρᾳ παρέχειν χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον
 ὅπερ διεπράξας πρὸς τῆς ἀπαντῆς σου τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῆς γεν-
 15 νήσεως μέχρι τότε, ὁμοίως καὶ στολὰς μὴ ῥηγνυμένας. 5. Ροάπτ·
 * δεσπόζει υ'· ἐνεργεῖ δὲ εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι φρόνιμον καὶ νοῦν
 ἐμφύειν. 6. Παρέλ· * δεσπόζει κε'· ἐνεργεῖ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἀνθῆσαι
 τὰ δένδρα παρὰ καιρόν, φῦναι δὲ καὶ βοτάνας εἰς ξηρὸν ξύλον.

MSS TUVW. 1 δεσπ. αὐτοῦ: ἀρχὴν του V 2 οὕτως UW: ταῦτα T, — V

C. X 1. 1. 3 Τζιανφιέλ TV: Τζηαν. UW, pr. α' T, pr. ὁ πρῶτος ἔχει
 ὄνομα V. In hoc loco et in locis sequentibus asterisco denotatis mss. habent
 post nomen sive ante nomen signum (σημεῖον) daemonis; in hoc loco signum
 ante nomen ponunt UW; in marg. sin. apud nomina numeros ab α' ad ις' scr. V,
 in textu ante nomina numeros ab initio ad finem scr. T | δεσπ.: + ἐνε-
 γίαις T | ρμ': ρ' T | δὲ — V 4 § 2. A secundo ad extremum ante nomen
 scr. ὁ T | in locis XI (§§ 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 11, 14, 17, 18, 29, 45) signum post δεσπόζει
 ponit T; in locis V (§§ 12, 38, 40, 42, 44) signum post numerum imperii (= δε-
 σποτείας) ponit T 5 α: η' U | πληρεῖν UW: πληρὴ V, πληροῦν T |
 πάντα — V 6 δύναται: pr. καὶ V | εἰς: + τω transversis lineis delet. U
 | ἀναβιβάζει V 7 κατὰγει UVW | ὑποδεικνύει V § 3. 1. 8 ἐνεργεῖ
 δὲ T | εἰς τὸ — T | ἀνθρώποις UVW | ἀλλήλων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις T |
 καὶ — T 9 ἀναφαίν. T: νὰ φαίνεσθαι V, φαίνεσθαι UW | τοὺς ἀνθρ. ἀκεφ.
 ego: οἱ ἀν(θρῶπ)οι ἀκέφαλοι mss. 10 * L f. 40^{r1} | γυμνοὺς T: — UVW
 11 τὰ ἀλ. κτήνη ego: τοῖς ἀλόγοις κτήνεσιν mss. | ἐβλέπει T | ἀλλήλα
 ego: ἀλλήλοις TUW, ἀλείης V | ὡς: ὁ V § 4. 1. 12 ἀργύριον καὶ χρυ-
 σίον T | ἄργυρ < U 13 τ. ἀπαντῆς U: τῆς ἀπαντῆς W, τὴν ἀπάντη V,
 τὴν T | τῆς ζωῆς καὶ — T 14 μέχρι τότε ὁμοίως V: — UW, ὁμοίως
 τότε μέχρι T | καὶ — T § 5. 1. 15 τινὰ ἀφρόνιμον T | φρόνιμον V |
 κ. νοῦν ἐμφ. — T 16 ἐμφυῖ UVW | § 6. Παρελκοζίον (sine signo) κοζίον
 pro signo scr. T 17 δένδρι παρὰ καιρῶ V | φῦναι: φόνε T | δὲ — T

7. Ἀσμοδεῶν· δεσπόζει ξ'· δύναται ἐν τῷ θέρει παρέχειν χιόνας καὶ βρέχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κεράσια παρέχειν ἐν χειμῶνι.

8. Μηλέτ· * δεσπόζει σ'· δύναται εἰ τι θέλει ποιῆσαι ἐν τῷ μέρει τῆς Παλαιστίνης. 9. Λασαράκ· * δεσπόζει τ'. δύναται

ποιῆσαι πολέμους καὶ παρατάξεις καὶ νίκας. καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας.

10. Ῥαμέτ· * δεσπόζει σ'· οὗτος προλέγει τὰ μέλλοντα καὶ πλουτοδοτεῖ. 11. Τζερεπόνες· * δεσπόζει ρν'· δύναται ποιῆσαι καὶ

συντῆχωσιν ἱστορίαι καὶ τὰ εἰδολα, ἀκούειν δὲ καὶ ὀρνέων * φωνάς. 12. Νταρωγάν· * δεσπόζει τ'· ἐνεργεῖ δὲ εἰς τὸ καθαρ

ιεῦσαι πᾶσαν ῥυπαρίαν καὶ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ὡς πλουσίους ποιῆσαι, καὶ εἰ ἔσται αὐτοῦ, βασιλεύει. 13. Πελών· * δεσπόζει ρ·

ἐνεργεῖ δὲ εἰς τὸ παραδοῦναι κάστρα καὶ πόλεις καὶ χώρας. 14. Σονπιέλ· * δεσπόζει ρ· ἐνεργεῖ δὲ εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι ἐπανά

στησιν κατὰ τοῦ δεσπότου καὶ παραδοῦναι ἑτέρῳ τῷ ἄρχοντι εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν καὶ ἐλευθερῶσαι δεσμίους ἐν ταῖς φυλακαῖς ὁμοίως

καὶ αἰχμαλότους. 15. Ὀρίενς· * δεσπόζει φ' πνευμάτων τῶν ἀνατολικῶν· δύναται καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμοίως ὅσα δύνανται οἱ πάντες.

16. Ἀμεμῶν· * δεσπόζει μεσημβρινῶν πνευμάτων φ'· δύναται καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμοίως.

17. Ἐλτζήν· * δεσπόζει βορείων ** πνευμάτων φ'· δύναται καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμοίως. 18. Πανῶν· * δεσπόζει καὶ οὗτος τῶν πνευ

μάτων τῶν θαλασσίων χ'· ἐνεργεῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ἀνέμους

MSS TUVW. 1 § 7. ἄσμοδέος T, ἄσμοδεῶ U | ἐν τῷ ... δύναται (1. 3):
— T | παρέχειν: κατεχ < V 2 βρέξει V | χειμῶναν V

§ 8. 1. 4 Παλαιστίνης TU: παλεστ. V, παληστ. W § 9 1. 5 ἀντραγαθίας V 6 § 10. Ῥαμέτ: ῥαεμέτ V, ραιμέτ T, + καὶ αὐτὸς UW | οὗτος ... πλουτοδ.: δύναται τοῦ προλέγει(ν) τὰ μελ. κ. πλουτοδοτεῖν T | πλουτοδοτῇ VW 7 § 11. τζεραπώνες UW | καί: — W, 1. fortasse ἵνα? 8 συντήχωσιν UW | συντειχόσῃν εστορίε V, συντηχόσιν ηθοριαί T | καὶ ἀκούειν φωνὰς ὀρνέων πετεινῶν T | δὲ — V | * explicit fragmentum ms. U

MSS TVW. 9 § 12. ἰτάρογαν T | ἐνεργεῖ δὲ: δύναται T | καθαρῶσαι πᾶσα T § 13. 1. 12 κάστρα ... χώρας: κάστοι κ. χώρας T 13 § 14. signum om. T | ρ: μ' T | ἐπανάστασι V 14 τῷ ἀρχ. εἰς — T | 15 τὰς φυλακὰς W, τῆς φυλακῆς V 16 § 15. τῶν — V | ἀνατολικῶν τῶν πνευμάτων T 17 δύναται καὶ tr. V | δύνανται: δύνοντι(ο) T 18 § 16. ἀμειμῶν V 20 § 17. ἐλτζεῖν V, ἐλτζιν T | * V f. 440^r | βορείην V | ** W f. 269^v 21 ὁμοίως: οὕτως T §§ 18—19. 11. 21—p. 80*, 1 καὶ οὕτως ... αὐτὸς — T § 18. 1. 22 θαλασσίην V | καὶ — V

καὶ πλοῖα. 19. Βούλ· * δεσπόζει καὶ αὐτὸς πνευμάτων τῆς
 δύσεως φ'· δύναται καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμοίως. 20. Ἀμπατζούτ· δε-
 σπόζει καὶ αὐτὸς α'· ἐνεργεῖ δὲ εἰς πᾶσαν τέχνην καὶ μάθησιν
 καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ γράμματα. 21. Ἀσταρώθ· * δεσπόζει β'
 5 ἐνεργεῖ δὲ εἰς τοὺς ἀπερχομένους καὶ ἐξερχομένους καὶ στήκον-
 τας· ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ θησανροὺς φανερωθῆναι. 22. Λουπήτ· *
 δεσπόζει ε'· ἐνεργεῖ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἀκούειν καὶ κράτειν καὶ πράττειν,
 κτίζειν καὶ χαλᾶν καὶ βλέπειν καὶ μεταφέρειν ἀπὸ τόπου εἰς
 τόπον. 23. Ἀπολήν· * δεσπόζει ρ'· ἐνεργεῖ δὲ εἰς τὸ πλουτῆσαι
 10 καὶ παρέχειν χρυσίον καὶ ἄργυρον πολύν. 24. Ἀστερώθ· * δε-
 σπόζει α'· ἐνεργεῖ δὲ εἰς βασιλείας καὶ πόλεις καὶ κάστρα καὶ
 πύργους καὶ κτίσματα. 25. Λάτζηφερ· * δεσπόζει γ'· ἐνεργεῖ εἰς
 πάντας τοὺς ἄρχοντας δηλαδὴ καὶ εἰς τοὺς βασιλεῖς, καὶ δύναται
 καὶ ὅσα θέλει. 26. Μαγώτ· * δεσπόζει καὶ αὐτὸς δ'· ἐνεργεῖ *
 15 δὲ εἰς τὸ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν. 27. Καράπ· * δεσπόζει ζ'· ἐνεργεῖ
 δὲ εἰς πόλεις καὶ κάστρα καὶ οἴκους. 28. Οὕλεος· * δεσπόζει
 μιᾶς φυλῆς, ἥτοι ä. ποιεῖ δὲ μεγιστάνους καὶ στολὰς λαμπρὰς
 καὶ παίγνια καὶ παροφθαλμίας, καὶ ποιεῖ ὄνους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
 καὶ ἄλλα ζῶα οἷα θέλεις. 29. Κρινέλ· * δεσπόζει ö· ἐνεργεῖ
 20 δὲ εἰς τὸ ἀναιρεῖν ἄνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας, ποιεῖ δὲ μάχας καὶ
 ταραχὰς καὶ ὀχλήσεις. 30. Τουγέλ· * δεσπόζει χ'· ποιεῖ δὲ ἀγά-

MSS TVW. 1 § 19. πνευμάτων ... ὁμοίως: τῶν τ(ῆς) δύσεως πν(ευ-
 μάτ)ων δύναντ(αι) καὶ αὐτὸς ὅσα δύναντ(αι) οἱ πάντες T | καὶ pr. δὲ W |
 § 20. 1. 3 δὲ — W | κ. μάθησιν — T 4 κ. γράμματα V: κ. πράγμα T,
 — W § 21. 1. 5 δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς T | τοὺς — T | κ. ἐξερχομ. — T
 § 22. 1. 7 ε' T | ἐνεργεῖν W | δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς T | τὸ: τοὺς T | καὶ (2°)
 — VW 8 κ. χαλᾶν ... βλέπειν — W | χαλᾶν ego: χαλᾶν T, χαλάτι V
 | μεταφέρειν VW | τόπον: τόπον VW 9 § 23. Ἀπολήν V: ἀπόλην W,
 ἀπολύ T | ρ': φ' W 10 παρέχει TW | § 24. ἀστηρώθ W, ὁ ἕτερος
 ἀστηρώθ T | καὶ οὗτος δεσπόζει V 11 ἐνεργεῖ ... κάστρα: δύναται δὲ
 καὶ βασιλείαν πόλιν κάστρον T | κ. πύργους — W, πυργούς T 12 § 25. λατ-
 ζιφέρ T | γ'· ἐνεργεῖ εἰς — T 13 δηλαδὴ: + δύναται T | κ. δύναται
 ... θέλει V: δύναται ὅσα θέλει T, — W 14 § 26. μαγώτ W | καὶ αὐ-
 τὸς — T | ἐνεργεῖ: δύναται T | * T f. 40^{v2} 15 λέγειν: + ἐνεργεῖν T
 § 27. 1. 16 πόλιν κάστροι T | § 28. οὕλατὸς T 17 ἥτοι: ἥτι V, ἥτης T |
 α' T | ἐνεργεῖ δὲ ποιεῖν μεγιστάνους T 18 παροφθ. TW: παρεροα (α,
 ε, et o supra lin.) in fine lineae, ὀφθαλμίας in linea altera scr. V | ποιεῖ ego:
 ποιεῖν W, πιήν V, ἦν T 19 ἄλλια ζῶα οἱ καὶ θελ < V | θέλης T,
 θελ < W | § 29. σ' T | ἐνεργεῖν W 20 καὶ ποιεῖ δὲ T 21 κ. ὀχ-
 λησ. — T | § 30. τουγέλ T | ἀγάπας καὶ φιλίας W

· πας, πόλεις πρὸς πόλεις καὶ ἀνθρώπους μετὰ ἀνθρώπων καὶ
 ἄνδρας μετὰ γυναικῶν. 31. Σεταριέλ· * δεσπόζει κ'· φανερεῖ
 θησανρούς, ποιῇ δὲ καὶ τὸν χρώμενον ἀθεώρητον, παρὰ μηδε-
 νὸς θεωρούμενον. παρέχει δὲ καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν γνώμας χρηστάς.
 32. Φακανέλ· * δεσπόζει ξ'· ἐνεργεῖ δὲ εἰς πάντα τὰ θελήματα
 τοῦ βουλομένου.

33. Όέλ· * δεσπόζει γ'· δύναται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὅσα δύνανται
 οἱ πάντες αὐτὸς μόνος. 34. Λένελ· * δεσπόζει λ'· ἐνεργεῖ δὲ
 εἰς τὸ παρέχειν χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον· καὶ φέρει γυναῖκας παρὰ
 10 μηδενὸς θεωρούμενος. 35. Σαρατιέλ· * δεσποζει ρ'· ἐνεργεῖ δὲ
 εἰς σεληνιαζομένους· δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν σελήνην καταβιβάζειν.
 36. Μυρατζιέλ· * δεσπόζει β'· ἐνεργεῖ δὲ εἰς στρατείας καὶ πο-
 λορκίας καὶ πόλεων ἀλχμαλωσίας. 37. Σανσωνιέλ· * δεσπόζει
 15 ζτ'· ἐνεργεῖ δὲ εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι κλύδωνας μεγίστους καὶ ἀνέμους
 σφοδρούς. 38. Ἀσιέλ· * δεσπόζει ι'· ἐνεργεῖ εἰς τὸ φανερωθῆναι
 τὰ κλεπτόμενα καὶ τοὺς κλέπτας καὶ θησανρούς τινας, ἐπιγινω-
 σκομένους μὲν εἰς τόπον, μὴ γινωσκομένους δὲ ἐν ποίῳ μέρει
 κεῖνται τοῦ τόπου. 39. Καστιέλ· * δεσπόζει σ'· ἐνεργεῖ δὲ εἰς
 τὸ ὑγιαίνειν πᾶσαν ἀσθένειαν. 40 Μεινγέτ· * δεσπόζει ξ'· δύν-α-

MSS TVW. 1 πόλεις ego: πόλας V, πολλές TW | πόλεις (2°) W:
 πόλας V, πόλιν T | ἀνθρωπον μετὰ ἀνθρώπου T 2 γυναικὸς (-κος bis,
 primum compendio, tum in linea altera scr.) T | § 31. Σεταριέλ: σε in fine
 lineae, εταριέλ in linea altera scr. V | φανερεῖ . . . θεωρούμενον (l. 4): exscr.
 Gaulminius in notis ad Psellum, *de oper. daem.* (Migne, PG 122, col. 829, n. 25)
 φανερεῖ: ἐμφαίνει Gaulmin. 3 παρὰ: ὑπὸ Gaulmin. | οὐδενὸς T 4 δὲ
 — T 5 § 32 καὶ ἐνεργεῖ (ἐν. ex δύναμαι corr.) εἰς T

§ 33. l. 7 δύναται . . . μόνος: καὶ ὁδὴν (f. 41^r) ὁ δύναται οἱ πάντες
 αὐτὸς μόνος ἐνεργεῖ, et ad marg. sup. in med. col. scr. λα' T | καὶ δύναται
 αὐτὸς ὅσα δυν. ἢ βλη (l. αἱ βλοι) αὐτὸς μόνος του V 7 § 34. Λένελ V:
 ὁ δελήνῃλ T, νένελ W | λ' VW: σ' T 9 ἀργ. κ. χρυσ. T | κ. φέρει T:
 κ. φέρει V, φέρει δὲ καὶ W 10 μηδεν.: μηθεν < V § 35. l. 11 σελη-
 νιας: ἑλληνικὰ πάθη T 12 § 36. μυρατζιέλ W, μυρακιέλ T, + ὁ δαίμων
 καὶ αὐτὸς (ante signum) W | β'· β T | εἰς: εἰ V | στρατείας: ἀστραπᾶς T
 | καὶ πόλεων: tr. W 13 § 37. σανσωνιέλ T 14 ζτ': ζ καὶ τ' V |
 κλύδωνας: ε ex ν corr. W | μεγίστους T: μεγιστ < V, μεγάλους W 15 post
 σφοδρούς signum scr. V; post spatium purum parvulum relictum scr. * signum
 W; tum ἐνεργεῖ δὲ (— V) καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμοίως add. VW | § 38. ι' — T |
 καὶ ἐνεργεῖ T 16 ἐπιγιν. . . μὴ — T 17 μὲν: δὲ V | ἐν . . . τόπου:
 ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ κεῖνται W 18 κεῖται V | § 39. ἀσιέλ T | ἐνεργεῖ: ὀφε-
 λει V 19 ὑγιένει V | § 40 μεινγέτ W, μηνγέτ V, μινγόν T

- ται ὅφεις καὶ δράκοντας ποιῆσαι. 41. Ἐνοδάς * δεσπόζει ν' δύναται * εἰς τὸν ἄεραν πῦρ ἀνάγειν καὶ ἄρματα ἐμφανῶς κατακαῦσαι. 42. Ἀτανιανούς * δεσπόζει α' δύναται δοῦναι πᾶσαν τέχνην καὶ γνῶσιν καὶ φρόνησιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.
- 5 43. Μυραγκούς * δεσπόζει λ' δύναται κρατεῖν τὸν ἥλιον τοῦ μὴ φαίνεσθαι. 44. Πότζέτιες * δεσπόζει σ' δύναται ποιῆσαι ἀνθρώπους καὶ ζῶα ἀνελθεῖν εἰς τὸν ἄεραν. 45. Ἄνετ * δεσπόζει ρ' γνωρίζει δὲ ὅλας τὰς πέτρας καὶ τοὺς μαργάρους ποιεῖ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μέταλλα. 46. Παλτάφωτε * δεσπόζει ι' 10 ποιεῖ γνωρίζειν πάντα τὰ βότανα καὶ ποῦ ἕκαστον ἐνεργεῖ καὶ ὠφελεῖ. 47. Σαπαρατζήλ * δεσπόζει ν' ποιεῖ γνωρίζειν τὰ ὄρνεα πάντα καὶ ποῦ ἕκαστον ἐνεργεῖ. 48. Ταρσεύς * δεσπόζει ξ' ποιεῖ δὲ γνωρίζειν τὰ δένδρα καὶ ποῦ ἕκαστον ἐνεργεῖ. 49. Ναβέλ * δεσπόζει μ' ποιεῖ δὲ γνωρίζειν τὰ τετράποδα πάντα καὶ ποῦ 15 ἕκαστον ὠφελεῖ. 50. Σαταήλ * δεσπόζει ε' ἐνεργεῖ εἰς τοὺς κροκοδείλους καὶ παρέχει * τούτους εἰς ὑποταγήν. 51. Ναπαλαικόν * δεσπόζει ε' δύναται ποιῆσαι τὴν ἡμέραν νύκταν καὶ τὴν νύκταν ἡμέραν. 52. Μακατάκ * δεσπόζει ε' ἐνεργεῖ δὲ εἰς τὸ πληθῆναι τὰ ποίμνια καὶ τοὺς ἵππους.
- 20 53. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ θέμενος τόπῳ καταλιμπάνω τοῖς τέκνοις μου ὅρκῳ παραδούς θεοῦ Σαβαὼθ ἁγίου ὀνόματος τοῦ

MSS TVW. 1 § 41. * L f. 41^{r2} 2 ἄεραν VW: ἄρα T | ἀνάγειν VW: ἀναγαγῇ T 3 § 42. Ἀτανιανούς: ἀντιναός T, + καὶ αὐτός W 4 τέχνην: + δοῦναι T | τοὺς ἀνθρώπους T

§ 43. 1. 5 μυραγκούς W, μύρακος T | καὶ δύναται T 6 τοῦ W: — TV | § 44. ποτζέτιος T 7 ἀνελθεῖν T: — VW | ἄερα T, ut semper § 45. 1. 8 δύναται γνωρίζειν ὅλας T | πέτρας: + ποιεῖ T | τοὺς — W 9 ποιεῖ — T | § 46. παλταφάτε T | ι' T | * V f. 440^v 10 γνωρίζει V | πάντα — T | ἐνεργεῖν T | ὠφελεῖ καὶ ἐνεργ. V | κ. ὠφελ. — T 11 § 47. σαρατζήλ T | ποιεῖ ... πάντα: ἐνεργεῖ δὲ γνωρίζει πᾶν ὄρνεον T | γνωρίζει V 12 ὄρνεα super βότανα, quod linea expunxit, scr. pr. man. W | πάντα — W | ἐνεργεῖ καὶ ὠφελεῖ W | § 48. ταρσές V, — T 13 ποιεῖν T | δὲ — W | γνωρίζει T, γνον < (l. γνῶναι) V, + πάντα T | ἐνεργεῖ: ὀφειλ(εῖν) T | § 49. ναβάλ T 14 δὲ — W | ποιεῖ δὲ ... ὠφελει — T | γνωρίζει W, γνων < V 15 § 50. τασαήλ T | ε W | ἐνεργεῖ δὲ T 16 παρέχειν T | * T f. 41^{v1} | § 51. ναμπαλαϊκόν T 17 ε W | ποιῆσαι κατὰ φαντασίαν T 18 § 52. μακατάκ W, μαχατάκ V | ε' V: ε W, — T 19 ἵππους: + καὶ ἔστην οὕτως, βασιλεῦ σολομῶν V, + τέλος T; explicit sectio haec *Claviculae* cod. T (cod. Harl. f. 41^{v1})

μηκέτι τινὶ μεταδοῦναι τοῦτο τὸ μέγα καὶ θεῖον μυστήριον, ἄλλ' ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ κατέχειν τόπῳ ὡς θησαυρὸν ἀδαπάνητον· αὐτὰ * τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀθεώρητα καὶ ἀπόκρυφα διὰ τοὺς φρικτοὺς ἀπεχώρισα ὄρκους.

XI. Ἐρωτηθεῖς δὲ ὁ Βεελζεβούλ, ὃς Ἐντζιανφιέλ καλεῖται παρ' ἐμοῦ, εἰ ἔστιν καὶ θήλεια δαιμόνια, τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος εἶναι, βουλόμην ἰδεῖν. 2. καὶ ἀπελθὼν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἤνεγκεν ἔμπροσθέν μου τὴν Ὀνοσκελοῦν καλουμένην μορφὴν ἔχουσαν περικαλλῇ καὶ ὤμα γυναικὸς εὐχρώτου, κτήμας δὲ ἡμίονου. 3. ἐλθούσης δὲ ὑτῆς ἔφην αὐτὴν λέγων· »σὺ τίς εἶ;« ἡ δὲ ἔφη μοι· »ἐγὼ Ὀνοσκελοῦ καλοῦμαι, πνεῦμα σεσωματοποιημένον. φωλεύω δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡγῆς· σπήλαιον οἰκῶ ἐνθα χρυσίον κεῖται. 4. ἔχω δὲ πολυποικίλον τρόπον· ποτὲ μὲν ἀνθρώπους πνίγω ὡς δι' ἀγχόνης, ποτὲ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐπιεγκόνων¹ σκολιάζω αὐτούς. * 5. πλεῖστά μοι οἰκητήρια· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ συγγίνομαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὡς γυναῖκάν με εἶναι, πρὸ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς μελιχροῦς, οὗτοι γὰρ καὶ συναστροὶ μού εἰσιν· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἄστρο μου οὗτοι λάθρα καὶ φανερώς προσκυνοῦσιν.« 6. ἐπηρώτησα δὲ αὐτὴν ἐγὼ Σολομῶν· »πόθεν γεννᾶσαι;« ἡ δὲ ἔφη· »ἀπὸ φωνῆς βηρσαβεὲ ἱππικῆς χρηματικῆς.«

MSS VW. § 53. 2 ἀσφαλία mss. 3 * W f. 170^r | φρικτοὺς V: πολοὺς W

C. XI. MSS T^o (= T)VW. inc. narratio acephala de Onoskelou in cod. Harl. 5596 f. 7^{r1} (= T^o, vel T). 5 ἐπηρώτησα δὲ ἐγὼ τὸν βεελζεβούλ W | ἃς ... ἐμοῦ: ὁ καὶ τζιανφιέλ T | ἐλτζιανφηέλ V, ἐντζανφιέλ W 6 εἰ — T | ἔστιν W: ἔστι T, εἰσι V | θήλεια W, θήλια V | τοῦ: τούτου T | ἔ: + μοι W | εἶναι T: ἐνι W, ἦναι φη V 7 § 2. ὁ τοιοῦτος W: ὅτι οὗτος V, ὅτι οὗτος T | ἔμπροστέν μου W, ἔμπροστέ μου V, μοι (— ἔμπρ.) T | καλουμένη, ἔχουσα V | ἔχουσιν περικαλλήν W | περικαλλῇ V, περιπερικαλλῇ T 9 κνήμας: μνημος T | ἡμίονος T | § 3. δὲ — T 10 λέγων: ἔγε μοι T | τίς εἶ σὺ T | μοι — T | ὀνοσκελεῖς V 11 σεσωματοποιημένον W, σεσωματοποιημένον V, σεσωματομένον T | φωλεύων W | ἔ — W 12 σπήλαιον οἰκῶ: ἐν σπηλαίῳ T § 4. 1. 13 ὡς δι' ἀγχ. — T 14 ἀπὸ: ὑπὸ T | ἐπιεγκόνων: ἐπιενγκόνων W, ἐπὶ εγκῶνων V, ἐπὶ εγκόνων T; ἐπιεγκονῶν, vel ἐπιεγκώνων (= ἐπὶ + ἐν + χώνω, pro χώννυμι)? | σκολιάζω W, σκολιάζω V | * T f. 7^{r2} | § 5. πλεῖστα ἔσται μὴ οἰκ. V εἰ. μοι δὲ ἔσται οἰκ. V 16 με: μὲν T | πρὸ: πρὸς TW | τοὺς μελιχροὺς VW: τ. μελαχροῦς T, 1. τοῖς μελιχροῖς 17 γὰρ (1^o): + μου V | καὶ οἱς om. T | τὸ γὰρ ἄστρο T | ἄστρον W | λαθ. προσκ. οὗτοι (— κ. φαν.) T 18 προσκ. λαθ. κ. ἐναργέως W | § 6. ἐρώτησα T 19 γενᾶσθαι W, γεναστ < V | ἔφη: εἶπεν T, + μὴ (1. μοι) V | βειρσαβεὲ V, βηρσβεὲ T, βηρσαβεὲλ N | ἱππ.: + καὶ T

7. Καὶ κατέκλεισα αὐτὴν ὑποκάτωθεν τεσσάρων λίθων με-
 γάλων. ἡ δὲ ἐβόησεν· »ἔξελέ με, ἔξελέ με, καὶ ἐνεγκῶ σοι τρά-
 πεξαν μετὰ φιάλου καὶ κύλικος, ἦντινα λαβὼν ἐπικρούσας μετὰ
 ἱμάσθλης πάντα προσφέρει σοι τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα βρωτὰ καὶ
 5 ποτά.» 8. καὶ κελεύσας ἀχθῆναι αὐτὴν, ἦνεγκέ μοι τράπεξαν
 λιθίνην ἐκ λίθου ἰασπίδος· μήκος αὐτῆς ὡς πηχῶν τεσσάρων
 καὶ πλάτος πηχῶν τεσσάρων, ἔχουσα καὶ ἐν τοῖς κέρασιν μυρμη-
 κολέοντας τέσσαρας λαλοῦντας ἀντ' ἐμοῦ ὅσα ἤθελον. 9. καὶ
 δὴ κελεύσας ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν τράπεξαν ἐναχθῆναι ἐπέζητουν καὶ
 10 τὴν * κύλικαν, μέντοι καὶ λίθον λυχνίτην κύλικος, καὶ περιέχον
 σχῆμα ἐπιδέδωκεν, καὶ ἡ μὲν τράπεζα ὅσα βρωτὰ, ἡ δὲ κύλις
 ὅσα ποτὰ παρείχεν ἐπιζητούμενα.

XII. Ἀνεζήτησα γὰρ ἐκ τῆς σφραγίδος τὸ Παλτιέλ Τζαμάλ,
 καὶ εὐθέως παραστὰς ἔφη μοι· »Σολομῶν, υἱὲ Δαυεὶδ, τί ἐκ-
 15 πειράξεις τοὺς δούλους σου καὶ τὰς δούλας σου; ἡμεῖς πάντες
 ἕως καιροῦ * σου καὶ δουλεύειν καὶ ὑπέεικιν καθυποσχόμεθα καὶ
 τὰ ὀνόματα ἡμῶν [ἔχειν] ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ ἐγράψαμεν καὶ τὰς δυνά-
 μεις ἀνηγγείλαμεν ἀπάσας. 2. ὄντινα προστάσεις, τὸ κελευ-
 μένον ἐκπληρεῖν προθυμότατα. καὶ δεόμεθά σου ἵνα μὴ ἐάσης
 20 ἡμᾶς ἀπελθεῖν εἰς πέλαγος ἀχανές.»

3. Ἐγὼ δέ φησιν αὐτὸν εἰ ἔστιν ἀνάστασις τῶν τεθνεότων.

MSS TVW. 1 § 7. ὑποκάτω T 2 ἡ δὲ: καὶ W | ἐνεγκῶ T: ἐνορ-
 κομι (V, ἐν ὄρκῳ μοι W, 1. ἐνορκοῦμαι) δοῦναι VW 3 φιάλιον V | λα-
 βὼν καὶ W 4 ἱμασθλῆς T, ἰσησμάλης W, ἡσασμάλης V | περφέρει T
 5 § 8. ἐκέλευσαν T | τράπεζα ληθῆναι ἐκ ληθ < ἰασπίδος V 6 ἰασπεως W
 | ὁ μίκος T | ὡς: + ἀπὸ V 7 καὶ (1°): — W | μυρμηγκολέοντας VW,
 μυρμνωκωνώντας T 8 ἀντ' ἐμοῦ: πάντας T | ἤθελα T § 9. 1. 9 δὴ
 — T | ἐκέλευσα T | ὁμοῦ καὶ — T | ἐναχθῆναι μοι ὁμοῦ T | ἐπέζη-
 τουν W: ἐπιζητῶν T, ἐπιζητῶν V 10 * T f. 7^{v1} | μέντοι — T | λίθον
 λυχνίτην κοίλοικος W, λίθον ληχνεῖτι κύλεικος V, λίθον λυχνύτ(ων) κύλικες T
 | καὶ (2°) — T | περιέχοντα VW, ἐνπεριέχων T 11 ἐπιδέδοκεν W, ἐπι-
 δώδεκα T | ὅσα: + παρείχεν T 12 ποτὰ — T | παρείχεν: περιείχεν T
 C. XII. 1. 13 παλτιέλ T 14 εὐθέως — T | υἱὸς T 15 σου (1°)
 — T | ἡμεῖς: ἐμῆς V | πάντες: πάντοτε T 16 * V f. 441^r | σου — W
 | καὶ τὰ: πλὴν ἔπειτα V 17 ἡμῶν: εἰ μὴ V | ἔχειν T: ἔχων V, — W
 | ἀσφαλεία: κεφαλῇ T | ἐγράψαμεν: ἐγγραφῆναι T 18 ἐναγκείλαμεν
 TV | ἀπάσας ex ἀπάσης corr. V | § 2. ὄντινα ego: ὄντι W, ἦντιναν V
 εἴτινα T | προστάσεις: + ἐκπληροῦ W 19 καὶ — T 20 ἀπελθεῖν — W
 § 3. 1. 21 φησιν T: φήσας VW | τ. τεθνεότων: νεκρῶν T

καὶ ἐφώνησεν φωνὴν μεγάλην λέγων· ἔστιν, ἔστιν, μὰ τὸν
 ισχυρὸν θεὸν καὶ ζῶντα. καὶ ἡμεῖς γὰρ οἴησιν περιφερόμενοι
 ἐξοφώθημεν * φωτεινοὶ ὄντες τὸ πρότερον, καὶ ἔτι τῇ μετανοίᾳ
 οὐ προσεκλίναμεν. 4. λέγω δέ σοι ταῦτα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, θεὸς μό-
 νος εἰς ἔστιν, ὃς τριὰ ὑμνολογεῖται παρὰ τῶν φωτεινῶν ἀγγέ-
 λων. αὐτὸς οὕτως σε ἡμᾶς παρέδωκεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ οἰκειοχείρως
 τὰ ὀνόματα ἡμῶν παρεδώκαμεν καὶ ἐπετάξαμεν καὶ ταῖς σφραγι-
 σιν ὁμοίως. 5. καὶ ὅστις, ὦ βασιλεῦ, γίνωσκε τ' ἀληθές, ἀγνίζει
 ἑαυτὸν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπικαλεῖται τῇ ἀφῇ τῆς χειρὸς ἕναν
 ἡμῶν ὃν αἰρεῖται ἄρχοντα, ἐκπληροῖ τὸ κελευόμενον αὐτοῦ, καὶ
 ὥσπερ οἰκέτης τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότῃ πειθαρχεῖ, οὕτως ὁμοίως καὶ
 αὐτὸς τῷ κεκτημένῳ ἡμῶν τὰ ὀνόματα. 6. πρέπει οὖν ταῦτα
 ἐπιλέγειν τὰ ὀνόματα διὰ λίθου ἰάσπιδος ἐγγεγλυμμένης ζωδίοις
 τοῖς δώδεκα· μέσον δὲ ὁ ὄφης καὶ λύρα, ἰστός καὶ ἄρκος, καὶ
 ὑπὲρ τὸν τύπανον κυλικὴ φορὰ καὶ ἄνωθεν τούτου τὰ γράμ-
 ματα ταῦτα· ZABAR̄ZHC, καὶ ἀντίκα ὑποτασσόμεθα τῷ κεκτη-
 μένῳ καὶ ἄκόντες.

XIII. Πλὴν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ τούτῳ προσεκτέον σοι· ἀνθρωποῖ

MSS TVW. 1 ἐφώνησεν: ἐβόησεν T | ἔστιν, ἔστιν ego: ἔστιν ἔστιν καὶ
 ἔστιν T, ἔστι ἔστι V, ἔστιν W 2 θεὸν — T | καὶ (2°) — T | οἴησιν
 ego: εἴησιν W, ἦρησιν V, — T | περιφερόμενοι ego: προσφερόμενοι T, περι-
 φερόμεθα VW 3 ἐξοφώθημεν ... πρότερον exscr. Gaulminius in notis ad
 Psellum, *de oper. daem.* (Migne, PG 122, 827, n. 19) | * L f. 7^v 2 | ἔτι V:
 εἰς W, — T 4 οὐκ ἐκλίναμεν W § 4. 1. 5 ὃς: ὡς T 6 αὐτὸς: οὐ-
 τὸς T | οὕτως: οὗτος TV | σε: 1. σοι | παρέδωκεν: παραδωκὸς T | οἰ-
 κειοχ. ego: εἰκηοχύρος V, οἰκειοχείρως W, — T 7 παρεδώκαμεν: + ἰδιο-
 χειρά T | ἐπεταξ. καὶ V: ἐγράψαμεν ὁμοίως καὶ T, — W 8 ὁμοίως:
 ἡμῶν T | post ἡμῶν punct. magn. argent. rubricumque ponit T, et posteaquam
 sequuntur quae verba infra ad l. 15 adducuntur §§ 5—6. ll. 8—16 καὶ
 ὅστις ... ταῦτα — T

MSS VW. § 5. 1. 12 τῷ κεκτ. ego: τῶν κεκτημένων W, τὸν κεκτημέ-
 νον V | § 6. πρέπει V: χορὴ W 13 ἐπιλέγει V | ἰάσπιδος V, ἰάσπεως W
 | ἐγγεγλυμ(ένως) W 14 ἰστός W: εἰστός V, 1. fortasse οἰστός |
 ὑπὲρ VW

MSS T. 16 ZABAR̄ZHC (rubric.) VW: ταῦτα δὲ ὀφίλην (1. ὀφείλει)
 βασιτάζειν ἐπάνω σου, ἔστι γὰρ φύλαξ σου· ZABAP̄ZHS T | explicit frag-
 mentum MS T

MSS VW. 16 ὑποτασσόμε(να) W 17 ἀκῶντες W

C. XIII. 1. 18 τοῦτο W | προσ. σοι. προσεκτέοσιν V

πολλοὶ μέλλουσιν ζητεῖν τὸ τοιοῦτον μέγα μυστήριον ἵνα ὑποτασσώμεθα ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ εἰ ἀκούσεις ἡμῶν ἐροῦμεν. καὶ εἶπον· »λέγε, ἀποστάτα καὶ ἀπατεῶν.« 2. ὁ δὲ ἔφη· »σὺ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις σου μόνοις ἐγκατάλειπε τὴν θησαυρὸν καὶ μὴ τοῖς
 5 πασὶν καὶ ἀφελεστέροις. ποιήσον δὲ ἡμῖν σημεῖον ὅπως μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν σε Ἐξεκεία τῷ βασιλεῖ ποιήσεις ἑτέραν διαθήκην τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἡ τοιαύτη ἔσται ἀποκεκρυμμένη καὶ μὴ φανερά τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ ἀφελεστέροις, ἵνα μὴ ὁ θησαυρὸς ἐκλείπῃ τοῖς οἰκουμένοις. 3. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμᾶς ἐδου-
 10 λώσατο, καὶ μὴ παραχωρίσῃς ἡμᾶς θνητοῖς σώμασιν πειθαρχεῖν. 4. ὁ γὰρ Ἐξεκείας, ὃ βασιλεῦ, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ πατροπαράδοτα κατακαύσει καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ μὲν ἀφανίσει βιβλία, καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην στηρίξει καὶ τὰ περιττὰ διακόψει.
 5. Ἐγὼ δὲ Σολομῶν ἀκούσας εἶπον αὐτόν· »ἐξορκίζω σε εἰς
 15 τὸν θρόνον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἀσάλευτον καὶ εἰς τὸ ὄρνεον τὸ περιπετόμενον ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ἵνα με εἴπῃς ἐν ποίῳ ἀγγέλῳ οἱ πάντες καταργεῖσθε.« 6. καὶ εἶπέν μοι· »βασιλεῦ Σολομῶν, ἡμεῖς πάντες ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμει καταργούμεθα καὶ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἀγλά, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῇ σφραγίδι κατεδεσμεύσας ἡμᾶς
 20 σὺ μόνος, ὑποτασσώμεθα μέχρι τινός. 7. ἐλεύσονται γὰρ ἡμέραι ἐν αἷς πολλὰ δεηθήσῃ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἵκετεύομέν σοι ὅπως ἐν ταῖς ἐξῆς γενεαῖς ἔξομεν σημεῖον τῆς βασιλείας σου καὶ ὑποδείξομεν τοῦτο Ἐξεκεία τῷ βασιλεῖ ὅπως δειχθῇ καὶ πλατυνθῇ
 25 εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην ἣν δώσομεν αὐτῷ διαθήκην καινὴν. 8. καὶ ταύτην, ἐν ἣ ἁληθινῶς τὰ ὀνόματα ἡμῶν ἐχαράξαμεν, κατακαύσει ἄνευ ἐνός μόνου ἧτις φυλαχθήσεται καὶ ἐν τῇ προσδοκον-

MSS VW. 1 μέλλουσιν W, μέλοσιν V 2 εἰ — V | ἡμῶν ego: ὑμῶν VW | καὶ εἶπον W: ὁ δὲ ἔφη V 3 § 2. ὁ δὲ V: καὶ W 4 μόνοις V: — W 5 ἀφελεστέρης V, ἀσφελεσταίραις W 6 σε: ση V, σοι W | ἐξεκεία τὸ βασιλεῖ VW | ποιήσῃ V | ἑτέρα διαθήκη V | τὸ κωσμ < V, — W 7 ἀποκεκρ. V: ἀποσφαλισμένη W 8 ἀσφαλεστέροις W 9 § 3. τη σημερον V, τὴν σημ. W 10 θνητοῖς ego: θικτοῖς W, θεικτεῖς V 11 § 4. μὲν W: δὲ V | πατροπαραδ. ego: παιδοπ(ατρὸς) W, πεδοπ(ατρὸς) V 12 ἄλλα W: ἄλλον V

§ 5. 1. 14 αὐτόν VW: 1. αὐτῷ 15 καὶ ... αὐτοῦ V: — W 16 με VW: 1. μοι | ποίῳ ... πάντες W: πῶ ἢ πάντες ἀγγέλων V § 6. 1. 18 πάντες: pr. ἡ (1. οἱ) V 20 σὺ μόν(ος) VW: 1. σοὶ μόνῳ cum ὑποτασσ. ? § 7 1. 22 ἔξομεν VW 23 πλατιθῇ V 24 αὐτὸ W, αὐτ < V

μένη τοῦ θεοῦ παρουσία πάλιν διαπλατυνθήσεται. 9. ἡ δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν δοθεῖσα τῷ Ἐζεκεῖα ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ παραδοθήσεται καὶ ὡς μέγα τι κειμήλιον παρὰ τοῖς σοφοῖς φυλαχθήσεται, ἣντινα ὡς παίγνιον καὶ ἀπάτην ἐκδῶσομεν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ.

10. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐγὼ Σολομῶν ἐδεήθην τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἶπον· »θεὲ πατέρων, Ἀδωνάϊ μέγας, ὁ τὴν σοφίαν τῷ δούλῳ σου χαρισάμενος, ἀποκάλυψόν μοι τί δεῖ ποιῆσαι.« 11. καὶ ἦλθεν φωνὴ λέγουσα· »Σολομῶν, Σολομῶν, ἕασον γραμματίον τῷ Ἐζεκεῖα τῇ σφραγίδι ταύτῃ ἐκσφραγισάμενος.« 12. καὶ καθίσας ἔγραψα· »τῷ Ἐζεκεῖα τῷ μέλλοντι βασιλεῖ Σολομῶν βασιλεύς, υἱὸς Δαυεὶδ, ἀπέστειλά σοι τάδε. λάβε ἐκ τοῦ Παλτιέλ Τζαμάλ διαθήκην ἣν δώσει σοι καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ καταπλούτισον· τὴν δὲ ἐμὴν παραδούς πυρὶ πλὴν ἐνὸς ἧτις καὶ ἐν λαϊνέοις ἐντυπωθήσεται γράμμασιν ἕως ὁ μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρὸς θελήσαιεν.«

13. Ταῦτα γράψας παρέδωκα τῷ Τζαμάλ, καὶ πάλιν ἠρώτησα αὐτὸν εἰ ἔστιν καλὸν τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν ὁλοσώματον καὶ ἀτρανμάτιστον ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἶσαι πλούτον. καὶ εἶπέν μοι· »ἐν μόνον ἕασον δι' οἰκείας γραφῆς σου τῇ μέσῃ τῆς γῆς γράμμασιν ἀσημάντοις.« 14. καὶ δὴ καθίσας ἔγραψα ἁλδαϊκοῖς γράμμασιν 20 χερσὶν οἰκείαις τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν ὁλοσώματον καὶ ἀτρανμάτιστον <εἶσαι> πλούτον, παραδούς μόνην τὴν Παλαιστίνην, ὡς, ὅποτε φανήσεται, οὐ μόνον κεκτημένον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅπαντα κόσμον ὀνήσῃ ὑγιαίνᾳ καὶ πλουτοποιᾳ χαρίσματα παρέχῃ ἐκάστοτε, ἐπεὶ οὐρανόθεν ταῦτα κατέβησαν χερσὶν Ὑψίστου, μεγάλων κυδῶν κατέ- 25 χουσι παλάμην, τοῦτο καὶ ἐπιδοῦσί μοι.

15. Ὡδε ἐγὼ Σολομῶν. εἰς δὲ τὸ ἐξῆς θεὸς ἰσχυρὸς, Ὑψιστος Σαβαώθ· ἀμήν.

MSS VW. § 8. l. 1 διαπλατιδεῖ(σεται) V 4 ἣντινα ego: ἣν τινὲς VW
5 § 10. ἐδεήθην V 6 εἶπον W: ὑπαι (l. εἶπε) V § 12. l. 11 παλτιέ W,
πατιέλ V 13 λαϊνέοις ego: λεανέες V, λεανές W 14 θεληση(εν) W,
θελεισέν V

§ 13. l. 16 τὸ εἰγῆνί V | ὁλό σῶματον V § 14. l. 19 ἔγραψεν V
20 ὀγῆν ὁλό σῶματον V | ἀτρανμάτιστον πλούτων V 21 εἶσαι addo |
* V f. 441^v | μόνην τ. Παλ.: l. fortasse μόνη ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ? 22 ὀνήσῃ
ego: ὄν εἰσι V, ὀνήσιν W 24 κυδῶν V: εἰδῶν W | κατέχουσι ego: κατέ-
χουσα VW 25 τοῦτο ... μοι — W | ἐπιδοῦσι ego: ἐπιδούσαν V

§ 15. l. 26 Ὡδε W: ὡς δὲ V | εἰς δὲ W: καὶ εἰς V

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝΤΟΣ

1. Ὁ Σολομῶν υἱὸς Δαυεὶδ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Οὐρίου γυναι-
 κός· ἐγένετο δὲ οὕτως. ἐσκέψατο Δαυεὶδ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν τοῦ
 Οὐρίου γυναῖκα ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ γυμνὴν. καὶ ἐμβατεύσας ὁ Σα-
 5 τανᾶς εἰς τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ ἔρωτα ἐπιθυμίας, ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτήν.
 2. καὶ οὐ μόνον τὸ τῆς μοιχείας ἔργον εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 φονεῦσαι προήχθη τὸν Οὐρίαν τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς μοιχευθείσης ὁ
 ἀγαπητὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ μέγας προφήτης, ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ
 μέγιστος τοῖς πᾶσιν, ὁ τῆς ψαλμωδίας καλλωπισμός, ὁ τῆς πα-
 10 λαιᾶς καὶ νέας διαθήκης σημειοφόρος, ὁ μεγαλῶννμος θεοπάτωρ.
 ἡπατήθη γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Βελίαρ καὶ ἀρχεκάκου ἔχθρου· ἡπατήθη
 γὰρ ὡς ὁ πρωτόπλαστος ἐκείνος Ἀδάμ. 3. ἐφονεύθη δὲ Οὐρίας
 ἀποσταλὴς παρὰ τοῦ Δαυεὶδ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ ταχθεὶς βον-
 λήσει αὐτοῦ καὶ θελήσει εἰς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πολέμου ὅπως
 15 καταληφθεὶς μόνος καὶ μὴ ἔχων τὸν βοηθοῦντα φονευθῇ. ὅπερ
 δὴ καὶ γέγονεν.

4. Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα γενέσθαι ἦλθεν ἄγγελος Κυρίου εἰς
 Νάθαν τὸν προφήτην λέγων αὐτῷ· »ἄπελθε εἰς τὸν Δαυεὶδ τὸν
 βασιλέα τὸν προφήτην καὶ δίδαξον αὐτὸν τοῦ μὴ ποιῆσαι * τὰ
 20 ἄθεσμα ἔργα τοῦ Σατανᾶ.« 5. ἐξελθὼν δὲ ὁ Νάθαν ἄπεισι
 πρὸς τὸν Δαυεὶδ καὶ ἐνεμποδίσθη παρὰ τοῦ Βελίαρ. εὗρε γὰρ
 ὁ διάβολος ἄνθρωπον ἐσφαγμένον γυμνὸν καὶ ἄρας αὐτὸν ἔθη-
 κεν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ Νάθαν. 6. ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν ἄνθρωπον
 ὁ Νάθαν ἐβουλήθη θάψαι αὐτόν· καὶ ἐν τῷ θάπτειν ἐπλήρωσεν
 25 ὁ Δαυεὶδ τὰ ἄθεσμα ἔργα τοῦ Σατανᾶ. καὶ ἐπιγινούς τοῦτο

MS D = codex 132 Monasterii Sancti Dionysii in Monte Atho (v. supra p. 7); incipit f. 367^r

10 ὁ μεγ. θεοπάτωρ, ὁ τῆς . . . σημειοφόρος hoc ordine exscriptis, postea super ὁ μεγαλων. littera β, et super ὁ τῆς littera α scripta ordinem ut in textu indicavit scriptor 19 * f. 367^v

Νάθαν ὁ προφήτης ἐθρήνει πικρῶς καὶ ἔλεγεν· »δι' ἐμὲ γέγονε τοῦτο τὸ ἁμάρτημα.« 7. καὶ πάλιν ἐλθὼν ὁ ἄγγελος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγε· »διὰ σοῦ γέγονε τὸ πτώμα, διὰ σοῦ ἔσται καὶ ἡ διόρθωσις. ἄπελθε τοίνυν καὶ ἔλεγξον αὐτὸν τὴν ἀνομίαν.« καὶ λέγει Νάθαν πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον· »πῶς ἐγὼ πένης ὢν ἐλέγξω βασιλέα;« 8. ὁ δὲ ἄγγελός φησι πρὸς αὐτόν· »ἐγὼ ἔσομαι μετὰ σοῦ σὺ ἀνάγγειλον, ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν φόβον φέρω εἰς αὐτόν.« 9. καὶ ἀπελθὼν Νάθαν πρὸς τὸν Δαυεὶδ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπε· »δέσποτα βασιλεῦ, δίκην ἔχω μετὰ τινος, καὶ ἦλθον τοῦ εἰπεῖν πρὸς σὲ ταύτην.« ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πρὸς αὐτόν λέγει· »τίς ἐστίν ἡ δίκη αὕτη;« 10. ὁ δὲ Νάθαν παραβολικῶς ἔλεγε· »δεσπότην ἔχω τὸν δεσπύζοντά με, καὶ κέκτηται ἀμνάδας ἑκατόν· καὶ εὐφραίνεται μετ' αὐτῶν. * ἐγὼ δὲ κέκτημαι ἀμνάδα μίαν. καὶ ἔλαβεν αὐτὴν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ὁ τὰς ἑκατόν ἔχων καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτήν.« 11. τότε ἔγνω ὁ Δαυεὶδ τὸ σκευασθὲν αὐτῷ δράμα καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐκ τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ στενάξας πικρῶς μετὰ δακρύων ἔλεγεν· »ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος.« καὶ ἤρξατο κατανυκτικῶς λέγειν τὸν πεντηκοστὸν ψαλμόν, καὶ ὁ Νάθαν πρὸς αὐτόν. καὶ ἀφείλατο λοιπὸν κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸ ἁμάρτημα.

12. Ἔτεκε Δαυεὶδ τὸν Σολομῶντα ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Οὐρίου. καὶ ἔλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Δαυεὶδ καὶ ἦν ἐληλακῶς εἰς ἄκρον σοφίας καὶ φρονήσεως· καὶ ἡ σειρὰ τῆς γενεαλογίας αὐτοῦ κατήντησε μέχρι καὶ τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐπεὶ ἐστι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ φυλῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐξ ὁσφύος τοῦ θεοπάτορος Δαυεὶδ ἵνα καὶ ἡ προφητικὴ ῥῆσις πληρωθῇ ἡ λέγουσα· »οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰούδα οὐδὲ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μνηῶν αὐτοῦ ἕως οὗ ἔλθῃ ὁ ἀπόκειται.«

13. ἡ σοφία δὲ Σολομῶντος ὁμοία ἦν τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ πρώτου ἐκείνου ἀνθρώπου Ἀδάμ. ἐπαιδεύθη ταύτην τὴν σοφίαν τὴν μὲν παρὰ τοῦ θαυμασίου Σιράχ, τὴν δὲ παρὰ τῆς ἄνω προνοίας. τούτου δὲ τὴν σοφίαν ἐμφαίνων ὁ κύριος ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις ἔλεγεν, ὅτι οὐδὲ σοφίαν * Σολομῶντος ὑψηλοτέραν οἶμαι τῶν ἄλλων,« ταύτην κρίνας ὥσπερ δῆτα καὶ ἦν.

4 αὐτόν in αὐτῷ corr. prim. man. false § 10. l. 13 * f. 368^r
§ 12. l. 21 ἐληλακός ms. § 13. 31 σοφία ms. 32 * f. 368^v

§ 12. ll. 26f. Gen. XLIX 10 — § 13. ll. 32f. Mt. XII 42; Lk. XI 31

II. Ταύτη τῇ σοφίᾳ θαρρήσας ὁ θαυμασίος Σολομῶν ἐβου-
 λήθη ἀνεγείραι οἶκον κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ περικαλλῇ καὶ κρείττω
 πάντων τῶν ἀναθημάτων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ
 ἀνηγείρετο ὁ οἶκος κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ θελήσει καὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ δη-
 5 μιουργίᾳ θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ σοφοῦ Σολομῶντος καὶ τῆς τούτου προθυ-
 μίας. ἀνῆγειρε τοίνυν μετὰ μεγάλης εὐπρεπείας τὸν τοιοῦτον
 ναὸν αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ. 2. ἔσχε δὲ ἓνα ἀπὸ τῶν
 παίδων αὐτοῦ ποθεινότατον παρὰ πάντας, τὰ γὰρ σιτία καὶ τὰς
 τροφὰς καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια ἐπὶ τὸ διπλοῦν παρεῖχεν αὐτῷ. ἦν δὲ
 10 ὁ τοιοῦτος παῖς ἀηδὴς τῇ ὄψει καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἀκαλλώπιστος,
 καὶ ἔλυνετο βλέπων αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα ὁ Σολομῶν. 3. ἐν
 μιᾷ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν φησι πρὸς αὐτόν· »πῶς οὕτως ἀηδὴς ἔχεις
 τί σε τῶν παρόντων λυπεῖ; μὴ οὐ λαμβάνεις τὰ πάντα διπλά
 παρ' ἐμοῦ;« 4. καὶ ὁ παῖς φησι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα· »τὰ μὲν σιτία,
 15 δέσποτα βασιλεῦ, ἅπερ μοι παρέχεις πάντα καταναλίσκω. οὐκ
 εὐφραίνει δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων οὐδέν, καταλαμβάνει γὰρ ἐπ' ἐμὲ διὰ
 τῆς νυκτὸς δαιμόνιον πονηρὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον καὶ ὑποπιάζει καὶ
 ἐκθλίβει τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ δακτύλου μου. καὶ ἀπεργάζεται * τὴν
 ὄψιν μου τοιαύτην οἷαν ὄρας ἀηδὴ καὶ σκυθρωπὴν.«
 20 5. Ἀκούσας δὲ τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο ὁ Σολομῶν ἐποίησεν ὑπὲρ
 τούτου ἔντευξιν καὶ παράκλησιν πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεόν. 6. καὶ
 ἀπεστάλη πρὸς αὐτὸν Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος μετὰ σφραγίδος
 χαλκοῦ δακτυλίου, καὶ δέδωκε τὴν τοιαύτην σφραγίδα πρὸς τὸν
 Σολομῶντα. 7. καὶ φησι· »ἐπίδος τῷ παιδί τὴν τοιαύτην σφρα-
 25 γίδα καὶ κατεχέτω ταύτην ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅποτε ἐλθῇ
 πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ διάβολος, κρουσάτω τοῦτον μετὰ τῆς σφραγίδος
 ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος, καὶ δήσας ἀγαγέτω τοῦτον πρὸς σέ· μέλλεις γὰρ
 ὑποτάξαι πᾶν δαιμόνιον μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς σφραγίδος τοῦ θεοῦ,
 καὶ οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν δαι-
 30 μόνων σὺν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.« 8. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Σολομῶν τὴν
 σφραγίδα καὶ εὐχαριστήσας τῷ ἁγίῳ θεῷ, ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὁ
 ἄγγελος. 9. καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν παῖδα δέδωκε τὴν σφρα-
 γίδα, 10. ἀναγγείλας τὸ προσταχθὲν παρὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου. 11. λα-
 βὼν δὲ ὁ παῖς τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐσπέρας γενομένης ἀνε-

C. II. 1. 2 οἶκον ms. | κρείττονα Is 4 ἀνηγειρ. Kurz: ἀνεγ. ms.
 § 4. 1. 18 * f. 369^r 19 σκυθρωπὴν ms., σκηπτῶπην Is

κλίθη εἰς τὴν κοίτην αὐτοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐλθισμένον παραγέγωνε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ διάβολος. 12. καὶ ἄθρόον ὁ παῖς παῖει τὸν ἐχθρὸν κατὰ τῆς καρδίας μετὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σφραγίδος. * 13. ὁ δὲ σατανᾶς ἐλεεινῇ τῇ φωνῇ ἐβόησεν· »οἴμοι, οἴμοι, πῶς καταδουλοῦμαι βασιλεῖ Σολομῶντι;« καὶ δήσας τοῦτον εἰσήγαγε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Σολομῶντα.

III. Καὶ θεασάμενος αὐτόν φησι· »εἰπὲ ἡμῖν, πονηρὸν πνεῦμα καὶ ἀκάθαρτον, τίς ἐστίν ἡ κλησίς σου καὶ τίς σου ἡ ἐργασία.« καὶ ὁ διάβολος ἔφη τῷ βασιλεῖ· »Ὀρνίας καλοῦμαι. ἡ δὲ ἐργασία μου εἰς πάντα ἐπιτήδεια.« 2. καὶ λέγει ὁ βασιλεὺς· »τίς ὁ καταργῶν τὴν δύναμίν σου ἄγγελος;« καὶ ὁ διάβολος· »ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ καταργοῦμαι αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ ἐμὴ δύναμις.« 3. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς φησι· »δύνασαι ποιῆσαι τι εἰς τὸν ναὸν κυρίου καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν αὐτοῦ χρησιμόν;« καὶ ὁ διάβολος· »δύναμαι μετὰ τῆς σφραγίδος ταύτης ἐπισυνάξαι πᾶν δαιμόνιον ἔμπροσθέν σου καὶ ὑποτάξαι τῷ σὺ θελήματι καὶ οἰκοδομῆσαι, καὶ ἀνεγερεῖς μετὰ τῆς δουλείας καὶ ὑποταγῆς ἐκείνων τὸν ναὸν κυρίου παντοκράτορος.« 4. ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Σολομῶν εὐχαρίστησε κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ καὶ προέτρεψε τὸν Ὀρνίαν δαίμονα μετὰ τῆς σφραγίδος καὶ τοῦ παιδίου ἀπελθεῖν καὶ ἐπισυνάξαι πᾶν δαιμόνιον. 5. καὶ ἀπῆλθον καὶ ἐπισυνήγαγον πάντα καὶ εἰσήγον ταῦτα εἰς * τὸν βασιλέα Σολομῶντα. ἅμα δὲ τὸ πλησιᾶσαι ταῦτα εἰς τὸν βασιλέα προσεκύνουν αὐτῷ. 6. καὶ ἡρώτα ἕν ἕκαστον ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν δαιμόνων τό τε ὄνομα καὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν καὶ ὑπὸ ποίου τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων καταργεῖται. καὶ ὁμολόγουν τὴν τε ἐργασίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν κλησιν καὶ τὸν καταργοῦντα ἄγγελον. 7. ἐπέτρεπε δὲ αὐτὰ ἐργάζεσθαι εἰς τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ οἰκοδομὴν. καὶ ἐνήργει ἕν ἕκαστον τὴν δουλείαν εἰς ἣν δὴ καὶ ἐτάχθη παρὰ τοῦ σοφοῦ Σολομῶντος. 8. καὶ οὕτως ἦν ἰδεῖν θαῦμα ἐξαισίον ἄνδρας μετὰ πλήθους δαιμόνων θελήσει κυρίου ἀνοικοδομοῦντας καὶ ἐκκληροῦντας τὸν ναὸν κυρίου εἰρηنيκῶς μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας τε καὶ σπουδῆς, μὴ τολμώντων τῶν

§ 12. 1. 2 ἄθρόον ms.: ἄθρόων Is 3 * f. 369^v

C. III 1. 1. 10 ἐπιτήδεια Is: ἐπιτήδειος ms. § 2. 1. 12 ἡ — Is | ε in voce ἐμὴ primum omissum postea supra ἡ scr. ms. 13 § 3. δύνασε ms. § 5. 1. 22 * f. 370^r 23 πλησιᾶσαι Is: πλησιᾶσαι ms., 1. πλησιᾶσθαι?

δαιμόνων μηδὲ τὸ τυχὸν σκανδαλίσαι ἢ ἀδικῆσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

IV. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐχόντων ἀκριβῆ εἶδησιν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ οἰκοδομὴν ἦλθεν εἰς εἰς φιλονεικίαν καὶ ἔριν μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐμάχοντο ἀλλήλοις θυμοῦ πνέοντες ἀλλήλους διασπαράξαι βουλόμενοι. 2. ὅλος δὲ τοῦ θυμοῦ ὁ πατὴρ γεγωνὼς ἀπῆλθε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Σολομῶντα μετὰ δακρύων καὶ ὀδυσμῶν λέγων αὐτῷ· »δέσποτα βασιλεῦ· ἢ θανάτῳ τὸν ἐμὸν καταδίκασον * παῖδα ὡς ἐνυβρίσαντα παρανόμως εἰς ἐμὲ
10 τὸν πατέρα, ἢ σαφῶς ἴσθι ὡς οὐδέποτε κινήσω τὴν χεῖρά μου εἰς τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ οἰκοδομὴν.« 3. ἀκούων δὲ ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ βουλευόμενος, ἦλθε καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἐκείνου πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ταῦτά ἐγκαλῶν καὶ λέγων τῷ πατρί. 4. διαλογιζόμενος δὲ περὶ τούτου ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ διαπορῶν τί ἄρα ἀποκρίνοιτο, στραφεὶς
15 βλέπει τὸν Ὀρνίαν δαίμονα ἐργαζόμενον καὶ μειδιῶντα· καὶ λέγει πρὸς τοὺς κρινομένους· »ἀπόστητε μικρὸν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.« 5. καὶ ἀποστάντων τὸν Ὀρνίαν μετακαλεῖται καὶ φησι πρὸς αὐτόν· »τί γελᾷς, ὦ Ὀρνιά; τὴν βασιλείαν μου καταγελᾷς, ἢ τὴν κρίσιν μου, ἢ τὸν ναὸν κυρίου;« 6. καὶ ὁ Ὀρνίας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα λέγει·
20 »δέσποτα βασιλεῦ· σοφώτατε καὶ δικαιοτάτε Σολομῶν· οὔτε τὴν βασιλείαν σου κατεγέλασα, οὔτε τὴν κρίσιν σου, οὔτε τὸν ναὸν κυρίου, ἀλλὰ τούτους τοὺς ἀθλίους τοὺς κρινομένους, τὸν δύστηνον λέγω γέροντα καὶ τὸν τούτου υἱοῦ. οὐ μὴ γὰρ παρέλθωσι τρεῖς ἡμέραι καὶ τὸ τέλος διαδέξεται τὸν νέον.« 7. καὶ ὁ βασι-
25 λεὺς πρὸς τὸν Ὀρνίαν λέγει· »ἄπελθε καὶ ἐργάζου μετὰ σπονδῆς καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ ὑποταγῆς εἰς τὸν ναὸν κυρίου θεοῦ παντοκράτορος.« καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου ὁ Ὀρνίας καὶ * εἰργάζετο. 8. μετεκαλέσατο δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς δύο κρινομένους καὶ φησι πρὸς αὐτούς· »ἀπέλθατε καὶ ἐργάζεσθε τὸ ἔργον ὑμῶν
30 ἄχρι πέντε ἡμέρας, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ποιήσομαι ἀπόφασιν καὶ τέλος τῆς κρίσεως ὑμῶν.« προσέταξε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς διορίσασθαι τὴν ἡμέραν καθ' ἣν ἔλεγε ταῦτα.

C. IV 1. 1. 4 εἰς supplevi: τις conj. Is 6 § 2. ὅλος Is: ὅλως ms.
9 * f. 370^v § 6. 1. 22 δύστηνον: δύστηνον ms., δύστηνον Is errore
24 διαδέξεται conj. Is: διαδέχονται ms. § 7. 1. 25 πρὸς supplevi
27 * f. 371^r

9. Παρελθουσὼν οὖν τῶν πέντε ἡμερῶν, ἦλθεν ὁ γέρων
 πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα κατηφῆς καὶ σπυθρωπὸς καὶ δάκρυα πρὸ τῶν
 ὀμμάτων ἀφίεις φησι· »τέθνηκεν ὁ ἐμὸς υἱὸς, τέθνηκεν, καὶ οὐκ
 ἔτι ἴδης αὐτόν. ἐμὲ δὲ ἀπέλιπεν ἐν πένθει βαρυντάτῳ καὶ ὀδύνη
 5 καρδίας καὶ ἀφορήτῳ στεναγμῷ· οὐκ ἔτι γὰρ βλέψω αὐτόν· οὐκ
 ἔτι τὸ πρόσωπον ἐκείνου θεάσομαι. κατεκρύβη γὰρ ἐν τόπῳ
 ἀφεγγεῖ, ἐν τῇ σκοτεινῇ, ἐν τῇ ζοφερῇ.« 10. ἐκπλαγεὶς οὖν ταῦτα
 ὁ βασιλεὺς φησι· »ποῖαν ἡμέραν τέθνηκεν;« καὶ φησι ὁ γέρων·
 »μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν ἀπέθανεν ἀφ' ὅτου πρὸς τὸ σὸν κράτος
 10 ἦλθαμεν.« 11. καὶ λέγει ὁ βασιλεὺς· »ἄπελθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ὁ γέρων,
 κύριος δὲ ὁ θεὸς ὁ πάτερ τῆς παρακλήσεως καὶ παραμυθία τῶν
 θλιβομένων παρακαλέσαι σου τὴν καρδίαν εἰς τὸ μηκέτι λυ-
 πείσθαι. μνήσθητι γὰρ ὅτι ὁ σὸς υἱὸς ἄνθρωπος ἦν, πᾶς δὲ
 ἄνθρωπος θνητὸς ἦν. * μὴ τοίνυν λυποῦ, οὐ γὰρ ἀνύσεις οὐδὲν
 15 ὧν βούλεσαι.« ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ γέρων ἀπῆλθεν ἀναψυχθεὶς τὴν
 καρδίαν.

12. Καὶ μετακαλεσάμενος τὸν Ὀρνίαν φησὶν· »εἰπέ ἡμῖν πῶς
 ἐπιγνώσκεις τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον
 ὄν.« 13. Ὁ δὲ Ὀρνίας λέγει· »ἡμεῖς, δέσποτα, ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
 20 ἐρρίφημεν κάτω, καὶ ἄγγελοι θεοῦ ὄντες καὶ φῶς περικείμενοι.
 νῦν δαιμόνες καὶ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα καὶ σκότος, ὡς ὄρεᾶς,
 ἐγενόμεθα, καὶ λειτουργοὶ θεοῦ τυγχάνοντες. νῦν σοῦ θεράπον-
 τες καὶ ὑπουργοί, θεοῦ κελεύοντες, γεγενήμεθα. 14. κάτω τοίνυν
 ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεσόντες καὶ εἰς ἄδην ῥιπέντες δεινῶς, πάλιν ἀνερχό-
 25 μεθα εἰς τὸ κάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πέταλον, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀγγέλων
 ὁμιλίας ἀκούομεν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν μαρθάνομεν τὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
 θάνατον πρὸ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν. 15. καὶ ἀκούσαντες τούτων
 ἐπιμελούμεθα καὶ ἀγωνιζόμεθα ἵνα τὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου θάνατον
 ἢ διὰ πυρὸς ἢ δι' ὕδατος ἢ διὰ κρημνοῦ οἰκονομήσωμεν, ὅπως
 30 λάβωμέν τινα ἐξ αὐτοῦ μέριδα. 16. καὶ ἐν τῷ μὴ ἔχειν ἡμᾶς
 βάσιν ἀναπαύσεως ἐν τῷ πετάλῳ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πίπτομεν ὥσπερ
 φύλλα ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων, καὶ δοκοῦμεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὡς

§ 9. 1. 2 σπυθρωπὸς ms: σκυτρ. Is, corr. Kurz 4 ἔτι ms.: ἔστι Is,
 corr. Kurz | ἴδης conj. Is: ἰδοὺ ms. § 10. 1. 9 ἀφ' ὅτου Is: ἀφό-
 του ms. § 11. 1. 14 * f. 371^v § 15. 1. 28 τοῦ: supra lineam adscr.
 prim. man.

ἀστέρες χυνόμενοι, * ἵνα δοξαζώμεθα παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.
 17. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς· »καὶ οἱ χυνόμενοι ἀστέρες, καὶ δοκοῦντες
 ἀστέρες, οὐκ εἰσιν ὄντες ἀστέρες;« καὶ ὁ Ὀρνίας· »οὐχί, βασιλεῦ·
 οἱ γὰρ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀστέρες ἀθάνατοί εἰσι καὶ ἐστηριγμένοι καὶ
 5 οὐ κινοῦνται.« 18. καὶ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέλυσε τὸν
 Ὀρνίαν εἰς ἔργον αὐτοῦ ἐργάζεσθαι.

V. Ὡλοδομεῖτο δὲ ὁ ναὸς· καὶ πάντες οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς
 καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν τιμίων καὶ βασιλίσσα Νότου ἡ σοφὴ Σι-
 βύλλα καὶ αὐτὴ ἤλθε θεάσασθαι τὸν ναὸν κυρίου, καὶ εἰσέφερε
 10 καὶ αὐτὴ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ ναοῦ ξύλα πολυτελῆ καὶ
 ἀξιόλογα.

VI. Ἀπέστειλε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀράβων ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὸν
 βασιλέα Σολομῶντα καὶ διελάμβανεν οὕτως· »βασιλεῦ Σολομῶν,
 χαίροις. γινωσκέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου ὅτι εἰς τὴν ἡμῶν χώραν
 15 οἰκεῖ χαλεπὸν δαιμόνιον δυνατόν, καὶ κατὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀνεγείρει
 ἄνεμον ἰσχυρόν, καὶ ἐκρίζοι οἰκίας καὶ δένδρα καὶ βουνούς καὶ
 ἀνθρώπους ἀπόλλυσι, ῥίπτων τούτους εἰς κρημνούς καὶ εἰς ὕδωρ
 καὶ εἰς πῦρ. 2. εἰ οὖν βούλει τὸ σὸν κράτος, ἀπόστειλον καὶ
 ἐξάλειψον καὶ ἐξολόθρευσον τοῦτον * ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης χώρας.
 20 εἰ οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσῃ ἡ βασιλεία σου, εἰσενέγκωμεν εἰς τὴν τοῦ
 ναοῦ οἰκοδομὴν τάλαντα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυρίου καὶ χαλκοῦ ἑκα-
 τὸν εἴκοσι πέντε.«

3. Ἀναγνούς οὖν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνετείλατο τῷ
 παιδαρίῳ τῷ ἔχοντι τὴν σφραγίδα τάχιστα καταλαβεῖν πρὸς αὐ-
 25 τόν· καὶ ἐλθόντος φησὶν ὅτι· »τάχιστα ἄπελθε εἰς τὸν τῶν
 Ἀράβων βασιλέα, καὶ λάβε μετὰ σου τὴν σφραγίδα καὶ κάμηλον
 μίαν τὴν ταχίστην καὶ ἄσκον καινόν. 4. καὶ δεξιάτω σοι τὸν
 τόπον ἐνθά πνεῖ τὸ πονηρὸν πνεῦμα· καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν τόπον
 ἐκεῖνον ἐπίθες τὸν ἄσκον ἀνεωγμένον ἔχοντα τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ
 30 πρὸς τῇ ὁπῇ τοῦ φωλεοῦ, καὶ παρατήρει τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ ἐξέρχε-

§ 16. l. 1 * f. 374^r

C. V. l. 7 Ὡλοδομεῖτο ego: οἰκοδομήτω ms., -μεῖτο Is 8 σιβύλλα ms.,
 (Σι-) Is, l. Σίβυλλα?

C. VI l. 1. 16 ἐκρίζοι Is. ἐκρίζει ms.

18 § 2. βούλει: l. βούλεται?

19 * f. 374^v 20 εἰσενέγκωμεν Is: εἰσενέγκωμεν ms. § 3. l. 26 ἀρρά-
 βων ms. 27 § 4. σοι ego: σε ms. 28 ἔχοντα ego: ἔχον ms.

ται τὸ πονηρὸν πνεῦμα. 5. καὶ ὅταν ἴδῃς τὸν ἄσκον πλησθέντα δίκην ἀνέμου, ἀσφάλισαι μετὰ τοῦ δακτυλίου τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄσκοῦ, καὶ ἐπίθες αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν κάμηλον καὶ κατάλαβε ταχέως πρὸς ἡμᾶς.»

6. Καὶ ἀπῆλθε τὸ παιδάριον καὶ ἐποίησε πάντα κατὰ τὴν θέλῃσιν τοῦ βασιλέως Σολομῶντος. 7. ἐπαναστρέφοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ λέγει τὸ δαιμόνιον· »ἄνοιξόν μοι, ὦ παιδίον, καὶ ἐπιδείξω σοι τόπον ἐν ᾧ κέκρυπται πράσινος λίθος καὶ τὸ χρυσίον τὸ τίμον.» τὸ δὲ παιδίον λέγει· »ἀπέλθωμεν πρῶτον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ κελεύοντος ποιήσομεν.» 8. ὡς δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἤνυσαν καὶ τὸν τόπον κατέλαβον ἐν ᾧ ἦν, πεσὼν ἐκ τῆς καμήλου προσεκύνει ἄνω καὶ κάτω φερόμενος τὸν Σολομῶντα. 9. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς φησι· »τίς εἶ καὶ τίς σου τὸ ὄνομα;» ὁ δὲ φησι· »δαιμόνιόν εἰμι, Ἐφίππας καλούμενος.» 10. καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· »δύνασαι ποιῆσαι μοί τι χρήσιμον;» καὶ ὁ Ἐφίππας· »δύναμαι ἄραι τὸν λίθον τὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν ἄνθρωποι τε καὶ δαίμονες καὶ θεῖναι τοῦτον εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας.» 11. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς προέτρεψε τὸν Ἐφίππαν πονῆσαι ταῦτα. καὶ ἐποίησε τοῦτο ὁρῶντων πάντων τοῦ τε βασιλέως καὶ τῶν περιεστηκότων ἀνδρῶν. 12. ἔκθαμβος δὲ γενόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤρετο τὸν Ἐφίππαν εἰ γινώσκου καὶ ἕτερον πνεῦμα ὅμοιον αὐτῷ. καὶ λέγει ὁ Ἐφίππας· »ἔστι, βασιλεῦ, καὶ ἕτερον πνεῦμα * ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ καθήμενον καὶ ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν πορφυροῦν κίονα.» 13. καὶ λέγει ὁ βασιλεὺς· »ἀπελθε μετὰ τῆς σφραγίδος καὶ ἄγαγέ μοι αὐτὸν ὧδε.» ἀπελθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἐφίππας μετὰ τῆς σφραγίδος καὶ ἀνασπάσας αὐτὸν ἤγαγεν αὐτόν τε καὶ δαίμονας δύο βαστάζοντας τὸν κίονα καὶ φέροντας τοῦτον εἰς τὸν ἄερα. 14. ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἔκθαμβος γενόμενος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῖς βαστάζειν τὸν κίονα καὶ κρέμασθαι εἰς τὸν ἄερα μέχρι τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ μὴ ῥίπαι τοῦτον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ποτε, μήπως λύμην τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων προσξενήσωσι γένει.

§ 6. 1. 6 * f. 373^r § 7. 1. 7 ἐπιδείξω Is: ἐπεδείξω ms. § 8. 1. 12 προσ-
εκύνη ego: προσεκύνῃ ms., προσεκύνῃ σε Is § 9. 1. 14 Ἐφίππας Is: ἐφ'
ίππας ms. § 11. 1. 18 πονῆσαι: ποιῆσαι Is § 12. 1. 21 γινώσκου ego:
γινώσκεις ms. 22 * f. 373^v 23 ἔχον ms.

VII. Πάλιν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν Ὀρνίαν λέγει· «ἔστι καὶ ἕτερον δαιμόνιον;» καὶ ὁ Ὀρνίας λέγει· «εἰσὶ μὲν πολλά, ὦ βασιλεῦ. ὑπάρχει δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων ἐν μεγίστην κεκτημένον τὴν δύναμιν.» 2. «ποῖον δὲ τοῦτο,» φησὶν ὁ βασιλεὺς, «καὶ τίνα με-
 5 γίστην ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τί τούτῳ τὸ ὄνομα;» Ὁ Ὀρνίας λέγει· «Σαμαήλ τὸ ὄνομα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἄρχων δὲ τοῦ τῶν δαιμόνων ὑπάρχει συστήματος· καὶ συμφέρον σοι ὑπάρχει, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοῦ μὴ ἰδεῖν αὐτόν.» 3. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς· «μηδὲν σοι * περὶ τοῦτο μελέτω, πονηρὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα, ἀλλὰ λαβὼν
 10 τὴν σφραγίδα ἄγαγέ μοι αὐτὸν ὣδε κατὰ τάχος.» λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Ὀρνίας τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπῆλθε τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως πληρώσων θέλημα. 4. ὁ δὲ Σολομῶν ἐπὶ θρόνου καθήμενος ἦν τῷ τῆς βασιλείας κεκοσμημένος στέμματί τε καὶ διαδήματι καὶ τὸν Ὀρνίαν μετὰ τοῦ Σαμαήλ ἐκδεχόμενος, σκῆπτρόν τε τὸ βασι-
 15 κὸν ἀνὰ χεῖρα εἶχεν. 5. ἐλθόντων δὲ τοῦ τε Σαμαήλ καὶ τοῦ Ὀρνία πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, φησὶν ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν Σαμαήλ· «τίς εἶ, καὶ τί σου τὸ ὄνομα;» ὁ δὲ φησὶ· «Σαμαήλ κέκλημαι· ἄρχων δὲ τοῦ τῶν δαιμόνων ὑπάρχω συστήματος. 6. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς· «δύνασαι ποιῆσαί μέ τι;» ὁ δὲ φησὶ· «δύναμαι ἐμ-
 20 φυσῆσαί σοι καὶ ἀπαγαγεῖν σε εἰς τὸ ἔσχατον τῆς γῆς.» καὶ ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ ἐνεφύσησεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπῆγαγεν εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς γῆς.

VIII. Διεφηνίζετο δὲ ἡ φήμη τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς, καὶ προσκυνοῦντες ἦσαν αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ βασι-
 25 λεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες, καὶ χορηγοῦντες εἰς τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ οἰκοδομήν. 2. τῷ δὲ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ * ἐρρητόρευσε τὸ ἄσμα τῶν ἁσμάτων. καὶ ἔλεγεν οὕτως· «ἐκτησάμην βασιλείαν· ἐκτησάμην ἄδοντας καὶ ἁδούσας.» καὶ καταλέξας τὰ πάντα τέ-
 λος ἐπάγει· «τὰ πάντα δὲ ματαιότης ματαιοτήτων· τὰ πάντα

§ 3. 1. 8 * f. 372^r § 6. 1. 22 In hoc loco add. c. VIII 4 James forte c. VIII 1 post 2—7 ponendum

C. VIII. § 2. 1. 26 ἐκείνῳ in marg. inf. scr. man. prim. | * f. 372^v

§ 2. 27 cf. Ec. 2 : 7 ἐκτησάμην δούλους καὶ παιδίσκας, 2 : 8 ἐποίησά μοι ἄδοντας καὶ ἁδούσας 29 Ec. 1 : 2; 12 : 8f.

ματαιότης.^ε 3. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο· πάντων τῶν γραμμάτων
 ἄρχει τὸ χ. 4. εὐδοκία δὲ θεοῦ διεσώθη Σολομῶν εἰς τὰ αὐτοῦ
 βασιλεία. 5. καὶ ὠκοδομεῖτο ὁ πάνσεπτος ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. ὠκο-
 δομεῖτο δὲ πάντα κατὰ μίμησιν τῆς ἀνατάξεως. 6. ὑπῆρχον τὰ
 χερουβιμ καὶ τὰ σεραφίμ καὶ τὰ ἑξαπτέρουγα· ὅπισθεν δὲ τοῦ
 θρονασθηρίου τὰ πολυόμματα καὶ οἱ θρόνοι καὶ αἱ κυριότητες.
 7. ἄρρητον δὲ τὸ κάλλος τοῦ τοιούτου ναοῦ καὶ ἀνερμήνευτον,
 καὶ τοιοῦτον οἶον οὔτε ἐγένετο οὔτε γενήσεται.

5. ll. 3—4 οἰκοδομεῖτο ms. (bis) § 7. l. 7 κάλλος Is: κάλλους ms.

CONSPECTUS TITULORUM

Tituli Codicum Manu Scriptorum Recensionum A, B, et C
Titulus Codicum MSS PQ

Διαθήκη Σολομῶντος υἱοῦ Δαυείδ, ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἱερου-
5 σαλήμ καὶ ἐκράτησεν καὶ ὑπέταξεν πάντων ἀερίων, ἐπιγείων, καὶ
καταχθονίων πνευμάτων· δι' ὧν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ναοῦ τὰ
ὑπερβάλλοντα πεποίηκεν· καὶ τίνες αἱ ἐξουσίαι αὐτῶν κατὰ ἀν-
θρώπων, καὶ παρὰ ποίων ἀγγέλων οὗτοι οἱ δαίμονες καταρ-
γοῦνται. τοῦ σοφοῦ Σολομῶντος.

10

Titulus Codicis MS I

(Διαθήκη τ(οῦ)) Σολομῶντος υἱοῦ Δαυείδ, ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν
Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ περὶ τῶν δαιμόνων οὓς ἐκράτησε, καὶ τίνες εἰ-
σὶν αἱ ἐξουσίαι δοθεῖσαι αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων καὶ
παρὰ τίνων ἀγγέλων καταργοῦνται οἱ δαίμονες, καὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ
15 ναοῦ ἃ ὑπερβαλλόντως πεποίηκεν.

Titulus Codicis MS H

Διήγησις περὶ τῆς διαθήκης Σολομῶντος καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐλεύ-
σεως τῶν δαιμόνων καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ οἰκοδομῆς.

MSS PQ. Du C(angius in *Notae ad Zenorae Annalia*, p. 83), Fab(ricius,
Cod. Pseudepigr. Vet. Test. I 1036 sq.) 4 Διαθήκη P: ἡ διήγησις Q | ὃς:
ὡς Q 5—6 πάντων ... πνευμ. om. Q | ἐπιγείων om. DuC. 7 αἱ om. Q
| ἀνθρ. pr. τῶν Q 8 οὗτοι PQ: εἴτοι DuC, αὐτοὶ conj. Fab | καταρ-
γοῦνται P: καταρχνῶνται DuC, καταργάζονται Q 9 τοῦ σ. Σολ. P: om. Q
DuC Fab | Hic sequitur benedictio, cf. infra p. 99* l. 1 s.

MS I. l. 11 Διαθήκη τοῦ: in marg. sup. negligenter exaratis litteris scr.
man. alt. διαθήκη τ 14 οἱ: εἰ ms. | Sequitur benedictio

MS H. l. 17 Sequitur benedictio, cf. infra

Benedictio Codicum MSS HIPQ

Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, κύριε ὁ Θεός, ὁ δὸνς τῷ Σολομῶντι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην. σοὶ δόξα καὶ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.

Titulus Codicum MSS VW

Διαθήκη τοῦ σοφωτάτου Σολομῶντος μετὰ τῶν παραλλήλων αὐτῆς ὀνομάτων ἅτινα ὡς μυστήρια ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐζεκίου μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν Δαυεὶδ τὸν βασιλέαν ἐφυλάχθησαν.

Subscriptio Codicis MS V

Τέλος τῆς διαθήκης τοῦ σοφωτάτου Σολομῶν²τος υἱοῦ Δαβίδ, ὅπερ ἐγράφη μετὰ τὸ ³ἀποθανεῖν Δα(βι)δ τὸν βασιλέαν ὃς ⁴ἐφυλάχθη ὑπὸ Ἐζεκίου τοῦ βασιλέως. ⁵ἐγράφη παρ' ἐμοῦ Ἰω(άννου) ἱατροῦ τοῦ αρο(?)· ἐν ἔτει ςΞμθ' ⁶(ἰνδικτιόνος) δ' ἐν μηνὶ Δεκε(μ)βρίῳ ιδ'. ⁷καὶ ὁ θεός ἐστι μεθ' ἡμῶν καὶ οὐδεὶς καθ' ἡμῶν.

MSS HIPQ. 1. 2 εἶ om. H | κύριε om. HQ | ὁ Θεός om. IQ | τ. ἐξουσ. ταυτ.: τοιαύτην ἐξουσίαν PQ 3 σοὶ ... ἀμήν PQ: om. I

MSS VW. 1. 5 παραλλ.: add. πνεύ (l. πνευμάτων) V 6 ἅτινα ὡς W: εἶος (l. ἅ ὡς) V | μυστ.: add. ἐφυλάχθη V 7 ἀποθανόν W | τὸν om. V ἐφυλάχθησαν om. V | In πίνακι MS V scr. man. alt. titulum hunc: ἡ διαθήκη τοῦ σολομώντος περὶ τ(οῦς) δαίμονας πῶς ἐπίασ(εν) αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔκτισεν τὴν ἀγ(λ)αν σι(όν).

MS V. ll. 9—13 Numeri superiores ad lineas textus referunt. Τέλος... αρο in notis Tironianis scriptum est 9 Δαβίδ: δαβηθ ms. 10 ὅπερ l. ἥπερ | ὃς: l. ἡ 12 Δεκεμβ.: δεκενβρίω ms.

SIGILLA ANULI SALOMONIS

PQ Ἡ δὲ γλυφὴ τῆς σφραγίδος τοῦ δακτυλιδίου τῆς πεμφθε-
σεις ἐστὶν πεντάλφα αὕτη.

L Ἡ δὲ σφραγὶς ταῦτα ἔλεγεν· ἰδοὺ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ σφραγὶς·
5 π̄ ο̄ θ̄ ρ̄ σ̄ β̄ ῑ ω̄ ν̄ κ̄ ᾱ ω̄ ᾱ ω̄ ε̄ λ̄ ῑ γ̄ ω̄ ῑ σ̄ ξ̄ γ̄ ω̄ ᾱ ᾱ ε̄ σ̄ ρ̄ οῡ ρ̄ †

HL Ἦν δὲ ἡ γλυφὶς αὐτοῦ * λέγων οὕτως· κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν·
λέων· λέων· σαβαώθ· βιωνίκ· ἀωᾶ· ἐλωί· αἰαῶ· αἰώ· ἰωασέ· σου-
γεωά· αἰέ· ἀενίου· οὐ· οὐνίου· ἡρώ.

T Περὶ τοῦ δακτυλιδίου· Λαβὼν κηρὸν παρθένον, ποιήσον
10 δακτυλίδιον ὥσπερ ὄρᾱς φορεῖν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ σου δακτύλῳ τῆς
χειρός σου. περιενδύσας αὐτῷ χαρτίον παρθένον ἐπίγραφε πᾶν
μετὰ κονδυλίου τῆς τέχνης ταῦτα τὰ ἑβ' ὀνόματα· λέων· σαβαώθ·
βιωνιά· ἐλωί· ἀωά· ἰαώ· ἰασού· σουιεωά· ἀενιού· οὐ· οὐνιού·
λου· ἡρώ.

15 V^r. Τοῦ Σολομῶντος μεγάλου· λθλθ^ι | μ̄ κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θ(εὸς)
ἡμῶν· λεων· σαβαωθ· αἰαῶ· βιονη|κα· ωαελοῖ· ἰωα|σε· σουγεω·
α|αιε· αε· νιουφυ|ουνη· ιαησ|ω.

MSS PQ = Rec. B. ll. 2—3. 1. 3 in mss. pentalpha non est

MS L. ll. 4—5. 1. 4 ταῦτα· αὐτὰ ms. | αὕτη ἐστὶν· οὕτη εἰσὶν ms.

MSS HL. ll. 6—8. 1. 6 αὐτοῦ HIs: αὕτη I | * H f. 2^v | λέγων·
λέγοντος(?) Diels, 1. fortasse λέγουσα 7 λέων· om. H, λέγων Is | post
σαβαώθ scripta ἀωᾶ· ἐλωί· αἰαῶ· ἐλωί· transversis lineis delevit I | βιο-
νίκ H | ἀωᾶ I: ᾱ· ω̄· ἄ· H | αἰαῶ I: εἰαῶ H, add. ἐλωί· I | αἰώ om. H
8 αἰᾶ H, ἀγέ I | οὐ· om. I | οὐνιον· οὐρανιον Is | ἡρα H

MS T. ll. 9—14 vide *Introductionem* p. 19 s. 10 θρ(ας) ms. | χελ-
ρας ms.

MS V^r. ll. 15—17 vide *Introductionem* p. 24 s.

Rec. C. *Ἦν δὲ ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ τῆς σφραγίδος τοῦ δακτυλίου αὐτῆ· * καὶ ἔδωκεν τῷ Σολομῶντι· αὐταὶ εἰσιν αἱ ἑνδεκα σφραγίδαι ἃς ἔδωκεν ὁ ἄγγελος μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα λίθων· ἐξ ὧν ἡ μία σφραγὶς ἔχει τῶν χαρισμάτων τὸ μέγεθος.*



Sigilla Salomonis ex ms. L.

MSS VW. ll. 1—2 *Ἦν . . . Σολομῶντι* 2 *αὐτῆς αὐτῆς ἡ σφραγίς* (ἰδα) τοῦ δακτυλιδίου V | hic, sequuntur duodecim sigilla | * V f. 437^v, W f. 267^v | *Σολομῶντι τὸν νῦν δαδ* V

MSS VV^sW. ll. 2—4 *αὐταὶ . . . μέγεθος* 3 *μετὰ . . . λίθων*: τὸν σολομῶντα V^s, add. τὸν τὰ προτρία ἔχων τὸν ἰβ' λιθ <. Μετὰ (δὲ) τὸ λαβ(εῖν) τ(ὴν) ᾧ σφραγίδ(αν). ἐδόθισαν καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ ἑνδεκα V | ἐξ ὧν VW: ἐξ οὗ V^s 4 *σφραγ.* om. V^s | τῶν . . . μεγ.: τὸ χαρισμ < καὶ τὴν χάριδ < καὶ ἰβ' λειδ < με (l. μετ') αὐτ(ῶν) V^s

ΔΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΟΦΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝΤΟΣ

1. Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ σοφωτάτου βασιλέως Σολομῶντος πολὺ
ὠφέλιμος, ὅπου ἦτον υἱὸς τοῦ προφήτου Δαυεὶδ τοῦ βασιλέως.
5 καὶ ἀκούσατε πῶς τὸν ἐγέννησεν τὸν Σολομῶν(τα) ἀπὸ τοῦ
Οὐρία τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν ὁποῖαν τὴν εἶδεν ὁ προφήτης Δαυεὶδ.
2. ἀγναντεύοντες εἶδεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τὰ παραθύρια τοῦ παλατίου
του καὶ τὴν ἡγάπησεν καὶ ἔστειλεν καὶ τὴν ἐπῆρεν καὶ ἔπεσεν
μετ' αὐτῆς. καὶ ἐγγαστρῶθη καὶ ἐγέννησεν αὐτὸν τὸν σοφώτα-
10 τον Σολομῶν(τα). 3. καὶ ὅχι μόνον πῶς ἔκαμεν τὴν μοιχείαν
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ταλαίπορον τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς ἔστειλεν καὶ τὸν ἐφό-
νευσεν.

4. Καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ μεγαλοδύναμος θεὸς τὸ κακὸν ὅπου ἐποίησεν
ὁ Δαυεὶδ καὶ θέλοντας νὰ τὸν γυρίσῃ εἰς ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ εἰς με-
15 τάνοιαν ἵνα μὴν κολασθῇ αἰωνίως, ἔστειλεν τὸν ἀρχάγγελον αὐ-
τοῦ Μιχαὴλ βαστῶντας εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἕνα μαχαίρι δίστο-
μον. 5. καὶ ἐπῆγεν εἰς τὸν προφήτην Νάθαν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτόν·
ὑπάγε ἔλεγχον τὸν προφήτην Δαυεὶδ τὸν βασιλέαν εἰς * τὴν
μεγάλην ἁμαρτίαν ὅπου ἔκαμεν. καὶ ἐσὺ μὴν φοβᾶσαι τίποτες
20 ὅτι ἐγὼ θέλω στέκεσθαι εἰς τοὺς νόμους ὀπίσω μὲ τοῦτο τὸ
δίστομον σπαθὶ τὸ ξεγυμνωμένον. καὶ ἐσὺ Νάθαν θέλεις με
βλέπειν καὶ ὁ Δαυεὶδ δὲν θέλει με βλέπειν οὐδὲ ποσῶς.

6. Καὶ οὕτως ἐγεγρῆς ὁ Νάθαν κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ ἀρχ-
αγγέλου καὶ ἐπῆγεν εἰς τὸν προφήτην Δαυεὶδ καὶ ἔλεξεν αὐτόν
25 καὶ του ἔλεγεν παραβολικῶς· βασιλέα καὶ προφήτη Δαυεὶδ, ἄν-
θρωπος εἶχεν ἐννενήκοντα ἐννέα προβατίνες. καὶ εἶχεν καὶ ἕνα
δοῦλον, καὶ ὁ δοῦλός του ἐκεῖνος εἶχεν μόνον μίαν προβατίναν.

MS E = codex Monasterii Sancti Saba 290; inc. f. 177^v. Ad. c. I cf. D
I I—II. Tit.: add. λόγ(ος) β C. I § 1 l. 3 πολλὴ 18 ἔλεξον | * f. 178^v
20 στέκεστε 24 ἔλεξον 25 βασιλέαν 26 ἐνέαν

καὶ ἐξήλευσέν του καὶ του τὴν ἐπῆρεν καὶ εἰς τὸ τέλος ἔστειλεν
καὶ τὸν ἐφόνευσεν καὶ ἐπῆρεν καὶ τὴν προβατῖναν του. καὶ ὡς
δικαιοκρίτης ὅπου εἶσαι, ἀποφάσιςον τί μέλλει γενέσθαι ὁ ἄν-
θρωπος ἐκεῖνος; 7. Καὶ ἀπεκρίθη ὁ προφήτης Δαυεὶδ καὶ εἶπεν
; ὅτι· «ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἄνθρωπος πρέπει νὰ σκάψουν ἕνα λάκκον καὶ
τὸν ἐβάλουν μέσα ἕως τὴν μέσσην καὶ νὰ τὸν ἐχώσουν μὲ τὸ χῶμα
καὶ οὕτως νὰ τὸν λιθοβολήσουν». 8. καὶ λέγει ὁ προφήτης
Νάθαν· ὡς βασιλεῦ, ἐσὺ εἶσαι ἐκεῖνος ὅπου ἔκαμες τὸν φόνον
καὶ τὴν μοιχείαν. 9. καὶ τότες ὁ Δαυεὶδ ὡσὰν ἄκουσεν, ἔτзи
ἔμεινεν ὡσὰν νεκρὸς καὶ ἄλλαξεν ἡ ὄψις τοῦ προσώπου του.
καὶ ἐγνώρισεν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν του ὅπου ἔκαμεν τὸ πῶς ἦτον με-
γάλη. ὁμως * δὲν ὑπερηφανεύθηκεν ὡς βασιλέας ὅπου ἦτον ἵνα
ὀργισθῇ κατὰ τοῦ προφήτου Νάθαν ὅπου τὸν ἔλεγε μεγάλως,
ἀμμή παρευθὺς ἐσηκώθη ἀπὸ τὸν θρόνον του καὶ ἐπροσεκύνησεν
τὸν προφήτην Νάθαν μετὰ δακρύων καὶ ἀναστεναγμῶν ἐξ ὅλης
τῆς καρδίας καὶ εἶπεν· ἄληθῶς ἐγὼ εἶμαι ὅπου ἡμαρτον ἐνώ-
πιον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων. 10. καὶ εὐθὺς ἔβγαλεν τὰ βα-
σιλικά φορέματα ὅπου ἐβάσταζεν καὶ ἔβαλεν σάκκον τρίχινον καὶ
εἰσέβη εἰς ἕνα λάκκον καὶ ἔλεγεν καὶ ἐθρήνηι ὡς καθὼς ἔκαμεν
τὴν ἀπόφασιν μὲ τὴν κρίσιν του καὶ ἐκεῖ ἤρμωσεν τὸ ψαλτήριον
αὐτὸ ὅπου διαβάζομεν ἡμεῖς τὴν σήμερον ἡμέραν. καὶ μετ' ἐκεί-
νην τὴν μετάνοιαν ἐσυγχώρεσέν τον ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐκοιμήθη ἐν
Κυρίῳ ἅγιος καὶ προφήτης καὶ βασιλέας.

II. Τὸ λοιπὸν ἃς ἔλθωμεν καὶ εἰς τὸν νιόν του τὸν βασιλέαν
25 Σολομῶντα ὅπου ἦτον μέγας καὶ σοφὸς καὶ ἦτον υἱὸς τοῦ προ-
φήτου Δαυεὶδ καὶ ἐπαρέλαβεν τὸν θρόνον τοῦ πατρός του καὶ
ἡ σοφία του ὑπὲρ πάσαν τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ κόσμου. καὶ ἐζήτησεν
σοφίαν ἀπὸ τὸν θεὸν καὶ οὐχὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν.
ὁμως ὁ θεὸς ἔδωσέν του ὅλα τὰ καλά, τὴν σοφίαν, τὸν πλοῦτον
30 καὶ τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν. 2. καὶ ὁμως θαρρόντας εἰς τὴν
σοφίαν τὴν πολλὴν ὅπου του ἔδωσεν ὁ θεὸς ἐβουλήθη νὰ κτίσῃ
ἐκεῖνον τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὅπου ἠθέλησεν νὰ τὸν ἀρχίσῃ ὁ πα-

9 I 9 l. ἔτσι 10 ἄλλαξεν 11 * f. 178^v 13 ἔλεξεν 14 ἀμμή
= εἰ μὴ 17 § 10. εὐγαλεν 19 ἐσέβη 21 ἐκόννον 22 τόν: του

C. II. v. parallela in ms. D I 12—II 24 τοῦ νιού | τοῦ βασιλέως
Σολομῶντος 30 § 2. θαρώντας 31 πολλήν: τήνγλυν scripto supra τὴν
scr. no man. prim.

τέρας του ὁ Δαυεὶδ. καὶ ὁ Σολομῶν ἐβουλήθη νὰ τὸν ἀναστήσῃ ἀπὸ θεμελίων ἐκλεκτὸν καὶ περιφημον ἵνα μὴ εὐρίσκεται κάτωθεν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπάνω ὡσὰν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ναόν. 3. ὁμοῦς ἐσύναξεν τὴν κατασκευὴν ἅπασαν. λοιπὸν ἐσύναξεν τεχνίτας καὶ
5 μαῖστόρους ἐπιτηδελούς τὸν ἀριθμὸν χιλιάδες τέσσαρις δίχως τῶν ἐργατῶν. καὶ ἄρχισαν νὰ κτίζουν τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ὄνομα τῆς ἁγίας Σιών.

3. Λοιπὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν εἶχεν ἓνα παιδίον πολλὰ ὡραιότατον καὶ ποθεινότατον ἀπὸ ὅλα τὰ παιδιά τοῦ παλατίου
10 του καὶ ἦτον σῶφρον καὶ γνωστικὸν καὶ ἐπιτηδέιον εἰς πᾶσα τέχνην, καὶ ἐχαίρετον ὁ βασιλεὺς βλέποντάς το καὶ τὸ ἔκαμεν ἐπίτροπον καὶ ἐπιτηρητὴν εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν θέλησιν καὶ ἀγάπα το ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ εἶχεν το ὡσὰν ἴδιον υἱόν. λοιπὸν τὸ ἔβαλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ παιδίον ἐκεῖνο ἀπάνω εἰς τοὺς μαῖστόρους ὅπου
15 ἐδούλευαν τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπίτροπον καὶ ἐπιτηρητὴν καὶ ἐρμήνευεν τοὺς μαῖστόρους ὅπου ἐδούλευαν τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ ἔβλεπαν ὅλοι τὸ παιδίον καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐθαύμαζαν εἰς τὴν γνώσιν ὅπου εἶχεν. 4. ὁμοῦς βλέποντας ὁ διάβολος ὁ ἐχθρὸς τῆς ἀληθείας δὲν ἠμπόρειεν ὁ μαρὸς νὰ βλέπῃ τὸ ἔργον
20 ὅπου ἐκαταπιάσθηκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν ὅπου οἰκοδόμησε τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἠθέλεν νὰ κάμῃ καὶ τὸν βασιλέαν νὰ λυπηθῇ διὰ νὰ ἀμελήσῃ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκεῖνο διὰ νὰ μὴν φτειασθῇ τελείαν.

5. Ἀλλὰ θέλετε τὸ * ἀκούσῃ παρέμπροσθεν τί ἔπαθεν ὁ
25 μαρὸς καὶ ἐγελάσθη καὶ ἐπιάσθη καὶ αἰσχύνθη. λοιπὸν εἰς ἐκεῖνες τὰς ἡμέρας ἄρχισεν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὡραιότατον παιδίον καὶ ἔχανεν τὴν ὄψιν του καὶ τὸν νοῦν του καὶ ἔγινεν ὡσὰν ἐξεστηκόν. λοιπὸν ἤρχετον ἀοράτως ἀπὸ τὸν ἄερα ἓνα πονηρὸν πνεῦμα καὶ ἀκάθαρτον δαιμόνιον καὶ ἐπειράζε τὸ παιδίον ὅποτε ἠθέλεν
30 νὰ κοιμηθῇ εἰς τὴν κλίνην του καὶ τοῦ ἔδειχνεν ὁ μαρὸς δαίμων λογίων φαντασίαις. 6. καὶ βλέποντας ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ παιδίον ἐκεῖνο ἐθαύμαζεν καὶ ἐλυπᾶτον πολὺ καὶ ἐδιδέν του ὁ βασιλεὺς διπλὸν τὸ φαγητὸν καὶ τὰ φορέματά του παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων παι-

1 * f. 179^r | νὰ . . . θεμελίων per dittographiam bis scr. 5 τέσσαρης
9 παιδίαν 12 πᾶσα του θέλημα corr. Pr. Bessarion 15 ἐδούλευεν
§ 4. l. 20 οἰκοδόμαν § 5. l. 24 * f. 179^v 25 ἐπιάσθη | αἰσχύνθη
§ 6. l. 82 πολλὴ

δίων ὅπου εἶχεν εἰς τὸ παλάτιόν του ὅπως νὰ ἔλθῃ εἰς τὴν προτέραν του κατὰστασιν καὶ εἰς τὴν τάξιν ὅπου εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ ἡ ὄψις τοῦ προσώπου του δὲν ἄλλαξεν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ χειρότερον.

6. Καὶ μίαν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐρώτησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ παιδίον καὶ ἔλεγεν του· »εἰπέ μου, τέκνον μου, διὰ τί εἶσαι κίτρινος καὶ σκυθρωπὸς εἰς τὴν ὄψιν καὶ ὁ νοῦς σου δὲν εἶναι μετὰ σοῦ μόνον εἶσαι παρηλαγμένος«. 7. καὶ τὸ παιδίον δὲν ἠθέλεν νὰ εἰπῇ τοῦ βασιλέως τί ἐπάθνε. καὶ βλέποντας τοῦτο ὁ βασιλεὺς πῶς δὲν τοῦ ἀπηλογᾶτον ἐθαύμαζε καὶ ἐλυπᾶτον πολὺ τὸ τί νὰ κάμῃ καὶ ἄρχισεν ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ ὀργῆς καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ ἔλεγεν πρὸς τὸ παιδίον »νὰ μοῦ εἰπῇς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀπὸ τί ἐκαταστάθεις ἔτσι εἰς τέτοιαν * θεωρίαν καὶ πῶς ἐβγῆκες ἔξαφνα ἀπὸ τὸν νοῦν σου, ἀμμή νὰ ἡξεύρῃς ὅτι πολλὰ βάσανα μέλλεις νὰ πάθῃς καὶ νὰ χάσῃς καὶ τὴν ζωὴν σου. 8. ταῦτα ὡς ἤκουσεν τὸ παιδίον ἐκεῖνο ἔλεγεν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέαν μετὰ δακρύων καὶ φόβου καὶ τρόμου· »αὐθέντη μου πολυχρονημένε, ἐμένα ὅλα τὰ καλὰ μου τὰ ἔχει ἡ βασιλεία σου δομένα καὶ τίποτες δὲν μου λείπει. ἀπὸ τὰ καλὰ ὅλα αὐτὰ δὲν εὐφραίνεται ἡ καρδιά μου, ἀλλὰ ἄκουσόν μου, αὐθέντη, νὰ σοῦ διηγηθῶ τί παθαίνω. ἐκεῖ ὅπου κοιμοῦμαι εἰς τὴν κλίνην μου ἔρχεται ἓνας ἄνθρωπος μαῦρος κατὰ πολλὰ ὡσὰν Ἀράπης καὶ μὲ πλακῶνει εἰς τὴν καρδίαν καὶ πιάνει τὴν ἄκρην τοῦ δακτύλου μου τοῦ μικροῦ καὶ βυζάνει καὶ πίνει τὸ αἷμα μου καὶ πάλιν μοῦ φαίνεται τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ ἔρχεται ὡς 25 ἄγγελος καὶ μοῦ λέγει ὅτι νὰ μὴν τὸ εἰπῶ τῆς βασιλείας σου αὐτὰ ὅπου παθαίνω καὶ ἐκεῖνος θέλει με ἐγλυτώσει ἀπὸ τὸν μαῦρον καὶ μοῦ εἶπεν ὅτι ἂν σοῦ τὸ εἰπῶ γλυτωμὸν δὲν ἔχω«.

9. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐθαύμασεν καὶ εὐχαρίστησεν κύριον τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἐνόησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ὁμοῦ ἐπείρα- 30 ζεν τὸ παιδίον μὲ τοιαύτες φαντασίαις εἶναι πνεῦμα πονηρὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον δαιμόνιον. καὶ παρενθὺς ἔκαμεν ὁ βασιλεὺς δέησιν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν μετὰ δακρύων καὶ μετὰ συντετριμμένης καρδίας ἡμέραν καὶ νύκταν διὰ νὰ τοῦ ἀποκαλύψῃ ὁ θεὸς μὲ τί μόνον

§ 7. 1. 8 ἠθέλε 12 l. ἔτσι 13 * f. 180^r | εὐγῆκες | ἔξαφνα ego: ἔξα 14 ἀμμή § 8. 1. 25 λέγει: λέη mss. 27 ὅτι ἂν ex ὁ ἂν § 9. 1. 32 καρδίας

νὰ καταραθῇ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐκεῖνο ὅπου ἐπεῖραξε τὸ παιδίον.
 10. καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ θεὸς τὰ δάκρυα καὶ τοὺς κόπους του εἰσή-
 κουσεν ὁ θεὸς τῆς δεήσεως Σολομῶν(τος) καὶ παρενθὺς
 ἔστειλεν τὸν ἀρχάγγελον αὐτοῦ Μιχαὴλ μὲ μίαν βοῦλλαν ἥγουν
 5 σφραγίδα καὶ τὴν ἔδωκεν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ εἶπεν ὅτι ἐκεῖ-
 νος ὁ Ἀράπης ἦτον πονηρὸν δαιμόνιον καὶ ἔρχεται ἀοράτως καὶ
 πειράζει τὸ παιδίον καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς νὰ τὴν δώσῃ τοῦ παιδίου
 καὶ ὅταν ὑπάγῃ πάλιν τὸ δαιμόνιον εἰς τὴν κλίνην νὰ τὸν
 πειράξῃ, νὰ τὸν κρούσῃ εἰς τὸ στῆθος μὲ τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ
 10 θεοῦ καὶ νὰ τὸν δέσῃ καὶ νὰ τὸν φέρῃ ἔμπροσθέν σου καὶ ἐπὶ
 Σολομῶν ἐξέταξον αὐτὸν ἵνα σου δείξῃ ὅλες του τὲς ἐπιβουλὰς
 καὶ ἐπὶ μετ' αὐτῆς τῆς σφραγίδος θέλεις πατάξῃ πάντα διάβολον
 καὶ τὴν δύναμιν του καὶ νὰ τοὺς συνάξῃ ὅλους τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ
 τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν καταχθονίων καὶ νὰ οἰκοδομήσῃς
 15 τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ μετ' αὐτῶν τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων καὶ νὰ
 εἶνε ἐργάταις εἰς τοὺς τεχνίτας. 11. καὶ ἐπῆρεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν
 σφραγίδα ἀπὸ τὸν ἀρχάγγελον Μιχαὴλ καὶ εὐχαρίστησεν τὸν θεὸν
 καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς σφραγίδος ἐφτείασεν ὁ Σολομῶν ἕνα δακτυ-
 λίδιον παρόμοιον ἀπὸ λίθου τιμῆς πολλῆς. καὶ ἔκραξεν τὸ παι-
 20 δίου καὶ ἔδωκεν τοῦ τὴν βοῦλλαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ εἶπεν ὡς
 καθὼς τοῦ ἐπαρήγγειλεν ὁ ἄγγελος.

12. Ἐσπέρας δὲ γενομένης ἔπεσεν τὸ παιδίον νὰ κοιμηθῇ εἰς
 τὴν κλίνην του· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔφθασεν καὶ ὁ διάβολος κατὰ τὴν συν-
 ῆθειαν ὅπου εἶχεν διὰ νὰ περικυκλώσῃ τὸ παιδίον. καὶ εἶχεν
 25 * τὴν ἔννοιαν κατὰ τὴν παραγγελίαν ὅπου τοῦ εἶπεν ὁ αὐθέντης
 του ὁ Σολομῶν καὶ ἐβούλλωσεν τὸν διάβολο(ν) ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος
 μὲ τὴν βοῦλλαν τοῦ θεοῦ. 13. ὁ δὲ σατανᾶς ἐβόησε φωνῇ με-
 γάλῃ καὶ εἶπεν· οὐαὶ μοι τῷ ἀθλίῳ, πῶς ἐκαταδουλώθην καὶ
 ἔγινα ὑπόδουλος ὑπὸ τοῦ Σολομῶντος. καὶ παρενθὺς ἐσηκώθη
 30 τὸ παιδίον ἀπὸ τὴν κλίνην του καὶ ἔδεσεν τὸν διάβολον καὶ τὸν
 ὑπῆγεν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως.

III. Καὶ ὡς τὸν εἶδεν ὁ Σολομῶν ἐθαύμασεν καὶ εὐχαρίστησεν
 Κύριον τὸν θεόν, καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Σολομῶν πρὸς τὸν διάβολον· «εἰπέ

1 * f. 180^v § 10. l. 12 πάντα ex πᾶσα corr. Pr. Bessarion 13 δύνα-
 μιν ex δυν. corr. prim. man. § 12. l. 23 εὐθασεν 25 * f. 181^r

C. III. cf. parallele in Test. Sal. II et ms. D. III l. 32 εὐχαρίστησεν

μοι, πνεῦμα πονηρὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον, τί σοῦ ἐστὶν ὄνομα καὶ τί(ς) σου ἡ ἐργασία πρὶν μὴ σε τιμωρήσω εἰς τὸν τόπον τῆς γέννησης;» 2. καὶ ὁ δαίμων εἶπεν· »τὸ ὄνομά μου καλοῦμαι Ὀρνίας καὶ εἶμαι ὑπὸ ἀέρος τελώνιον καὶ ἡ ἐργασία μου εἶναι αὕτη· 5 σκανδαλίζω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰς καρδίας των καὶ ἁμαρτάνουν καὶ λησμονοῦν τὸν ἐπουράνιον θεόν. καὶ πότε ὡσὰν γυναικα ἔμορφη φαντάζομαι εἰς τὸν ὕπνον τοὺς καὶ ἁμαρτάνουν καὶ πότε ὡσὰν σκύλος γίνομαι καὶ πότε ὡσὰν γαῖδαρος καὶ πότε ὡσὰν αἰτὸς μετὰ πτέρη γίνομαι, καὶ πότε ὡσὰν λεοντάρῳ μὲ 10 ἄλλους δαίμονας γινόμεσθαι, καὶ πότε ἄλλων λογιστῶν φαντασίαις φανταζόμεσθαι εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. καὶ ὅποτε ἰδοῦμεν τὸν ἀρχάγγελον Μιχαὴλ καὶ τὸν Γαβριὴλ μᾶς ἐπιτιμοῦν μὲ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ, καταγιζόμεσθαι». 3. καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν ἐδόξασε τὸν θεόν καὶ * ἐπικαλέσθηκεν τοὺς 15 ἀρχαγγέλους τὸν Μιχαὴλ καὶ τὸν Γαβριήλ. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐφάνηκαν οἱ ἀρχάγγελοι ἀπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀλυσιδέσαντες τὸν Ὀρνίαν τὸν σατανᾶν μὲ τὸ τάγμα του ὅλον ὀρίσαν τοὺς οἱ ἀρχάγγελοι ὅτι νὰ ὑπάγουν ἀπὸ ἄκρον τῆς γῆς ἕως ἄκρον καὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης νὰ κουβαλήσουν μάρμαρα βαρύντατα. καὶ πάλιν ὡσὰν ἦλθαν 20 οἱ δαίμονες ἀπὸ ἐκείνην τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τοὺς ἔβαλεν πάλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἔκοπταν μάρμαρα καὶ σίδερον διὰ τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ.

IV. Καὶ πάλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔκραξεν ἐκείνο τὸ ἐκλεκτὸν παιδίον καὶ εἶπεν του· »ἔπαρε, τέκνον, τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ 25 τὸν Ὀρνίαν τὸν σατανᾶν καὶ ὑπάγετε κατὰ τοὺς ἐρήμους τόπους καὶ ὅπου ἂν εὑρετε δαίμονας μὲ τὸ τάγμα του νὰ τοὺς βουλλώσετε ὅλους καὶ νὰ τοὺς φέρετε ἐδῶ εἰς ἡμᾶς». 2. καὶ ἐπῆρεν τὸ παιδίον τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸν Ὀρνίαν τὸν Σατανᾶν καὶ ὑπῆγεν κατὰ τοὺς ἐρήμους τόπους καὶ ἐκεῖ ἤνυραν τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν δαιμόνων τὸν Βεελζεβούλ καὶ λέγει ὁ Ὀρνίας ὁ σατανᾶς πρὸς τὸν Βεελζεβούλ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν δαιμόνων καὶ τοῦ λέγει· »καλεῖ σε ὁ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν μὲ τὸν ὀρισμὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ σαβαώθ». 3. καὶ λέγει ὁ Βεελζεβούλ· »καὶ ποῖος εἶναι αὐτὸς ὁ Σολομῶν ὅπου λέγεις;» καὶ τὸ παιδίον παρενθὺς ἔριξεν τὴν

2 ἐργασίαν § 2. l. 6 ἀλησμονοῦν § 3. l. 14 * f. 181^v
C. IV. parallela l. c. in ms. D III. l. 25. 29 τοὺς: τὰς

σφραγίδα καὶ ἐκόλλησεν εἰς τὸν Βεελζεβούλ, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐσηκώθη
μετὰ βίας μὲ ἕξι χιλιάδες δαιμόνια καὶ ἐπῆγαν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ
βασιλέως * Σολομῶν(τος) καὶ τὸν ἐπροσκύνησαν ὅλοι οἱ δαίμονες
καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐχαρίστησεν τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς
5 ὁποῦ τὸν ἡξίωσεν τοιαύτης χάριτος καὶ τιμῆς καὶ τὸν ἐπροσκυ-
νούσαν οἱ δαίμονες. 4. καὶ ἐπαράστησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν
τὸν Βεελζεβούλ τὸν σατανᾶν μὲ τὸ τάγμα του ὅλον σιδεροδε-
μένους καὶ βουλλωμένους ὅλους μὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ὄνομα. εἶτα
λέγει πρὸς τὸν Βεελζεβούλ τὸν πρῶτον διάβολον· »τί σου ἐστι
10 τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ἡ ἐργασία σου ἡ μιὰρὰ ὁποῦ πράττεις;« 5. καὶ ὁ
δαίμων εἶπεν· »ἐγὼ εἶμαι ὁποῦ ὀνομάζομαι Βεελζεβούλ καὶ εἶμαι
ἄρχων ἕξι χιλιάδων δαιμόνων καὶ λέγομαι γαστήρ θηλυμανίας,
καὶ ἐγὼ ἡμουν ὁ πρῶτος ἄγγελος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὁ λεγόμενος Βεελ-
ζεβούλ. καὶ ἦτον μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἄλλος πρῶτος σατανᾶς ὁ λεγό-
15 μενος Ἐωσφόρος, πλὴν ἐπετίμησέν τον ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐκατακλείσθη
ἐν ταρτάρῳ δεσμῷ. 6. καὶ ἐγὼ εἶμαι ὁποῦ κάμνω τοὺς δαίμονας
καὶ εἶνε εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν μου. ἐγὼ εἶμαι ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ ἄερος εἰς
τὰ πονηρὰ καὶ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα. καὶ μετασχηματίζονται καὶ
γίνονται ὡς ἄνθρωποι καὶ φαίνονται εἰς ὄνειρα καὶ εἰς φαν-
20 τασίες κακὰς καὶ ἁμαρτάνουν. καὶ μικρὰ παιδία πνίγω σιμὰ εἰς
τὰς μάνας των κοντά. 7. καὶ ὅποιος ἄνθρωπος κἂν ἄνδρας κἂν
γυναῖκα καὶ εἶναι ἀπὸ ἐνεργείας ἐδικῆς μας καὶ νὰ καπνισθῇ μὲ
χολὴν ὀψαρίου γλιανοῦ ὁποῦ εἶναι εἰς τὰ γλυκὰ τὰ νερὰ καὶ νὰ
λέγῃ ἔτιζι· »πρόφθασον Ῥαφαήλ ὁ παρεδτηκὼς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ,
25 εὐθὺς ἀναιροῦμαι ἀπὸ ἐκεῖ. 8. ἐγὼ εἶμαι ὁποῦ ἀναγκάζω τοὺς
βασιλεῖς καὶ πολεμοῦν ἕνας μὲ τὸν ἄλλον καὶ κάμνουν αἰχμαλω-
σίς πολλὰς κἂν τε εἰς θάλασσαν κἂν τε εἰς ξηρὰν γῆν. καὶ ποτὲ
καλὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δὲν θέλω«.

9. Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· »ὑπὸ τίνος
30 ἀγγέλου καταργεῖται ἡ δύναμις σας; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Βεελζεβούλ·
»ἀπὸ τοῦ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ κυρίου σαβαὼθ καταργεῖται ἡ
δύναμις μας καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Ῥαφαήλ«. καὶ οἱ δαίμονες
ἔτρεμαν μήπως καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς ἐπιτιμήσῃ καὶ τοὺς ὀργισθῇ

§ 3. 1. 2 βίαν 3 * f. 182^r § 4. 1. 10 μιὰρὰ ex μικρὰ corr. man. alt.
§ 5. 1. 12 ἄρχων ex ἄρσον corr. man. alt. | χιλιάδων ex χιάδων corr. man. alt.
§ 6. 1. 20 παιδίαν 21 ἦτες μάνας τους § 7. 1. 24 * f. 182^v

μὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ὄνομα. 10. εἶτα τοὺς ὄρισεν ὁ βασιλεὺς νὰ πριονίζον μάρμαρα καὶ λίθους ὅλοι οἱ δαίμονες σιδεροδεμένοι. καὶ ὁ καθείς δαίμων ἐτάχθη νὰ δουλεύῃ εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὅπου ἔκτιζεν ὁ Σολομῶν. 11. καὶ ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἐργάζονταν οἱ δαίμονες 5 πρᾶγμα ἦτον ἀνεκδιήγητον καὶ εἰς θαῦμα πολὺ τότες. ποῖος νὰ ἔβλεπεν καὶ νὰ μὴν ἐθαύμαζεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς τεχνίτας μὲ τόσον πλῆθος δαιμόνων νὰ ἐργάζονται εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρηνεμένα μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας καὶ σπουδῆς. καὶ οὐδ' ὅλως ἐτολμοῦσαν οἱ δαίμονες νὰ πειράξουν ἵνα ἀδικήσουν κανέ- 10 ναν ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. 12. καὶ τόσον τοὺς εἶχεν ὁ Σολομῶν ὅλους τοὺς δαίμονας βουλλωμένους μὲ τὴν σφραγίδα ἐκείνην ὅπου τοῦ ἔστειλεν ὁ θεὸς μὲ τὸν ἀρχάγγελον αὐτοῦ Μιχαὴλ καὶ τόσον τοὺς ἐκατάστησεν ὅλους ὅτι ὥσαν σκλάβους. ἔτι ἐκοπταν μάρμαρα * καὶ λίθους καὶ ἀσβέστην, καὶ τὸ νερὸν τὸ ἐκουβαλοῦσαν 15 μὲ κάδους βαρυτάτους. ὅλοι των ἀλυσοδεμένοι ἐδούλευαν τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.

V. Λοιπὸν ἐκεῖ εἰς τὸ κτίσιμον ὅπου ἔκτιζαν οἱ μαῖστόροι καὶ οἱ δαίμονες ἐργάζονταν, ἕνας ἀπὸ τοὺς μαῖστόρους ἦλθεν εἰς φιλονεικίαν μὲ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ πατέρας τοῦ παιδίου 20 ἐπῆγεν εἰς τὸν βασιλέαν μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων καὶ ἐγκάλεσεν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸ πῶς τὸν ἀτίμησεν καὶ τὸν ὕβρισεν καὶ ἔλεγεν πρὸς τὸν Σολομῶν(τα)· »βασιλεῦ πολυχρονημένε, θανάτωσαι τὸν υἱόν μου ὅτι ἐμένα τὸν πατέρα του μὲ ἀσχήμεν καὶ μὲ ὕβρισεν καὶ μὲ ἀτίμησεν. καὶ ἐὰν δὲν τὸν θανατώσῃς ἐγὼ πλέον 25 δὲν βάνω τὸ χέριν μου νὰ δουλεύσω εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ». Καὶ ἰδοὺ μετὰ ὥραν ἱκανὴν ἐπῆγεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ μαῖστορος εἰς τὸν βασιλέαν Σολομῶν(τα) καὶ ἐγκάλειε τὸν πατέρα του. 2. καὶ διαλογιζόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀπορῶντας τί ἀπόκρισιν νὰ δώσῃ καὶ τοὺς δύο νὰ τοὺς εἰρηνεύσῃ ἐστράφη εἰς τὸν ναὸν καὶ ἔβλε- 30 πεν καὶ εἶδεν τὸν Ὁρνίαν τὸν διάβολον καὶ δὲν ἐργάζατον νὰ δουλεύῃ ὥσαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δαίμονας, μόνον ἔστεκεν καὶ ἐγέλαν. καὶ λέγει ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τοὺς δύο τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν

§ 10. 1. 3 καθεεῖς § 11. 1. 5 πολλύν 6 εὔλεπεν § 12. 1. 11 ἐκεῖ-
νον 12 τοῦ: τους 13 ἐκατάστησεν 14 * f. 183^v 15 κάδους |
των: τους

C V. Parallele in ms. D c. IV. 1. 18 ἦλθαν 22 Βασιλεὺς § 2. 1. 29 τοὺς:
τῶν | ἐστράφη

- νιδὸν ὅπου ἐκρένοννταν· »ἀναχωρήσατε ὀλίγον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ«. καὶ
 οὕτως ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ οἱ δύο καὶ τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔστειλεν
 ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἐκλεκτὸν παιδίον νὰ φέρῃ τὸν Ὁρνίαν τὸν σατανᾶν *
 μὲ τοὺς ἄλλους δαίμονας καὶ νὰ τοὺς φέρῃ ἔμπροσθέν του. καὶ
 5 ἐπῆγεν τὸ παιδίον καὶ τοὺς ἤφ(ερ)εν. 3. καὶ λέγει ὁ Σολομῶν
 πρὸς τὸν Ὁρνίαν· »ὦ πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον δαιμόνιον, διὰ τί γελᾷς
 τὴν βασιλείαν μου καὶ τὴν κρίσιν μου καὶ τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ
 ὅπου οἰκοδομῶς; 4. καὶ ὁ Ὁρνίας ὁ διάβολος ἔλεγεν πρὸς τὸν
 βασιλέαν· »οὐχί, δέσποτα βασιλεῦ, σοφώτατε καὶ δικαιοτάτε, οὔτε
 10 τὴν κρίσιν σου, ἐγέλασα ποτέ μου, οὔτε τὴν βασιλείαν σου, οὔτε
 τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὅπου οἰκοδομᾷς, ἀλλὰ αὐτουνοὺς τοὺς δύο
 ἀθλίους ὅπου ἦλθαν καὶ κρίνονται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν σου αὐτὸν
 τὸν γέροντα μὲ τὸν υἱὸν του ὅπου μαλώνουν καὶ φιλονεικοῦν
 καὶ ὑβρίζονται. ἀκόμη νὰ μὴν περάσουν τρεῖς ἡμέρες καὶ αὐ-
 15 τουνοῦ τοῦ γέροντος ὁ υἱὸς μέλλει νὰ ἀποθάνῃ«. 5. ταῦτα
 ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς παρὰ τοῦ Ὁρνίου τοῦ εἶπεν· »σύρε ἐργάζου
 εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ εὐρήνης«. καὶ ἀπῆλθεν
 ὁ Ὁρνίας καὶ ἐργάζετο μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου εἰς τὸν ναὸν
 τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ πάλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκάλεσεν τοὺς δύο κρινομένους
 20 τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὅπου ἐφιλονεικοῦσαν καὶ ἐμάλωνα καὶ
 τοὺς ἔδωκεν διορίαν νὰ ἀναμείνουν ἡμέρας πέντε καὶ οὕτως νὰ
 κάμῃ τὴν κρίσιν τους. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔκαμεν ὁ Σολομῶν διὰ τὸν
 λόγον ὅπου τοῦ εἶπεν ὁ Ὁρνίας ὅτι νὰ μὴν περάσουν τρεῖς ἡμέ-
 ρες καὶ νὰ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ γέροντος.
 25 6. Καὶ ὥσάν ἐπέρασαν αἱ πέντε ἡμέρες ἦλθεν ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ
 παιδίου ἐκείνου εἰς τὸν Σολομῶν(τα) καὶ μετὰ δακρύων καὶ
 ὀδυνώμενος ἔλεγεν· »βασιλεῦ πολυχρονημένε, ἀπόθανεν ὁ υἱός μου
 καὶ πλέον δὲν θέλω ἰδεῖν αὐτόν«. λέγει του ὁ βασιλεὺς· »καὶ
 πότε ἀπόθανεν ὁ υἱός σου, γέροντά μου; λέγει του ὁ μαῖστορας·
 30 »ἀφότης ἐδικαστήκαμεν καὶ ἐμαλώσαμεν δὲν ἐπέρασαν τρεῖς ἡμέ-
 ρες καὶ ἀπόθανεν«. λέγει τοῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς· »ἄπελθε, γέροντά μου,
 εἰς τὸν καλὸν καὶ δόξαζε τὸν θεόν, καὶ ὁ κύριος νὰ σοῦ δώσῃ
 ὑπομονὴν εἰς τὴν θλίψιν τῆς καρδίας σου«. καὶ ταῦτα παρη-

1 ἀπ' ἐμοῦ: ὀπουεμοῦ 3 * f. 183^v § 4. l. 12 ἀθλιγί | εἰς: ἡ
 13 γέροντα: γέρων in τῶν corr. man. alt. errore § 5. l. 16 ἐργάζου
 § 6. l. 25 αἱ: ἡ 27 * f. 184^r

γορήσας τὸν γέροντα ἐκείνον, ἀπῆλθεν. 7. καὶ πάλιν ἔστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ παιδίον νὰ φέρῃ τὸν Ὀρνίαν τὸν δαίμονα. καὶ εὐθὺς τὸν ἤφερεν καὶ τὸν ἐπαράστησεν ἔμπροσθέν του. εἶτα λέγει ὁ Σολομῶν πρὸς ἐκείνον· »εἰπέ μοι, πνεῦμα πονηρὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον, πόθεν ἐγνωρίζεις τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου;« 8. καὶ ὁ διάβολος εἶπεν μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου· »καὶ ἡμεῖς, δέσποτα βασιλεῦ, ἡμεσθεν πρῶτα ἄγγελοι καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν ὑπερηφάνειάν μας ὀργίστηκέν μας ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸν πρῶτον μας τὸν Ἐσσοφόρον τὸν σατανᾶν καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔπεσεν κάτω εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον. 9 καὶ ὅταν ἐφώ(ν)ησεν ὁ ἀρχάγγελος Μιχαὴλ καὶ εἶπεν το· »στῶμεν καλῶς«, καὶ καθὼς ὁ θεὸς ὅρισεν ἔτι ἐσταθήκαμεν, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἡμεσθεν ἐναέρια τελώνια τῶν ψυχῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ φῶς θεοῦ ὅπου ἡμεσθεν καὶ ἄγγελοι ἐγίνημεν σκότος καὶ μανρισμένοι ὡς καθὼς μᾶς ἐβλέπεις καὶ θεωρεῖς. 9. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνερχόμεθα εἰς τὸ κάτωθεν μέρος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑμνοῦμεν καὶ δοξάζομεν τὸν θεὸν τὸ ἡμερόνυνκτον, καὶ ἡμεῖς πετῶντας ἀκούομεν τῶν ἀγγέλων * τὲς ὁμιλίαι καὶ τὰ γράμματα τοῦ καθενὸς ἀνθρώπου, καὶ μανθάνομεν τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀπὸ σαράντα ἡμέρας καὶ πρωτότερα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάσχομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς νὰ τὸν κολάσωμεν 20 καὶ νὰ πέσῃ εἰς κακὰς καὶ ἄτυχας πράξεις ἕως ὅπου νὰ ἔλθῃ ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου εἰς ζῆμιαν θανάτου καὶ νὰ κολασθῇ νὰ τὸν κερδέσωμεν. 10. καὶ πετῶμενοι τὸ κάτωθεν μέρος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ὡς φύλλα ἀπὸ δένδρου ὅπου πέφτουν ὑπὸ ἀνέμου μεγάλου εἰς τὴν γῆν, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς πέφτομεν ὑπὸ θεοῦ ῥοπῆς 25 καὶ δὲν δυνάμεσθαι διὰ νὰ σταθοῦμεν. καὶ βλέποντάς μας οἱ ἄνθρωποι νομίζουν ὅτι εἶναι ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ χυνόμενοι καὶ μᾶς δοξάζουν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ λέγουν ὅτι αἰχμάλотος ἐλευθερώθη, καὶ ὁ θεὸς νὰ τὸν γλυτώσῃ«. 11. ὁ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν ἔλεγεν πρὸς τὸν Ὀρνίαν· »αἱ γὰρ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀστέρες χύνονται 30 ποτὲ κάτω;« καὶ ὁ δαίμων ἔλεγεν· »οὐχί, δέσποτα, αἱ γὰρ ἀστέρες ἀνατέλουν καὶ βασιλεύουν καὶ περιπατοῦν μαζὶ μὲ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ εἶνε ἀσάλευτοι καὶ στερομένοι ὡσὰν τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἕως τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα«.

§ 8. 1. 8 ὀργίσθηκεν
§ 10. 1. 23 ἀπὸ: ὑπὸ |
26 χυνόμενοι: χιόμενοι

14 εὐλέπεις § 9. ἀνέρχομαι 16 * f. 184^v
πέφτουν: πέμπτουν 24 πέφτομεν: πέμπτομεν
§ 11. 1. 29. 30 αἱ: ἡ, οἱ

12. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν εὐχαρίστησεν τὸν θεὸν καὶ πάλιν ὄρισεν τὸν Ὀρνίαν νὰ δουλεύῃ εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ μὲ τοὺς ἄλλους δαίμονας.

VI. Καὶ πάντες οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ ἡ σοφὴ Σιβύλλα
5 ἦλθαν καὶ αὐτὴ μετ' αὐτοὺς νὰ ἰδοῦν τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐπήγασι καὶ κανίσκια μεγάλα τοῦ * βασιλέως Σολομῶν(τος). καὶ ἤφεραν οἰκοδομὴν διὰ τὸν ναὸν τὴν ἀγίαν Σιών, καὶ πολυτελῆ· καὶ ἀξιόλογον ὕλην καὶ σκεύη πολλὰ καὶ πολύτιμα καὶ τὰ ἀφιέρωσαν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.

VII. Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων τῆς Ἀραβίας ἔστειλεν
ἐπιστολὴν εἰς τὸν βασιλέαν Σολομῶν(τα) καὶ ἔγραφεν οὕτως·
»εἰς τὸν βασιλέαν τὸν Σολομῶν(τα) τὸν σοφώτατον καὶ τιμιώ-
τατον παρὰ ὅλους τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς χαίροις ἐν κυρίῳ τῷ
θεῷ, ὅς σε κατέβαλεν βασιλεὺς Σόλυμα τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Παλαι-
15 στίνης. νὰ τὸ ἐγκαρτίξῃς καλὰ ἡ βασιλεία σου κατὰ Σόλυμα ὅτι
ἔδωκ' εἰς τὸν ἐδικόν μου τόπον καὶ τὴν χώραν κατοικεῖ ἓνα δαι-
μόνιον πονηρὸν καὶ δυνατὸν καὶ εἰς καθ' ἡμέρας σηκώνει
ἄνεμον δυνατὸν καὶ ῥίπτουνται σπίτια καὶ δένδρα καὶ βουνὰ καὶ
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ῥίχνει εἰς τὸ πῦρ καὶ εἰς τὸ νερὸν τοὺς
20 ἐγκρεμνίζει. καὶ ἤκουσα ὅτι μὲ τῆς σφραγίδος ὁποῦ σου ἔστειλεν
ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μὲ τὸν ἀρχάγγελόν σου καὶ ἐπάταξες
πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τῶν δαιμόνων. καὶ σὲ παρακαλῶ πολλὰ
στείλε καὶ εἰς ἐμὰς καὶ πέμψον νὰ τὸ ἐξολοθρεύσῃς τὸ πνεῦμα
τὸ πονηρὸν. καὶ ἔὰν τὸ κάμεις αὐτὸ ἡ βασιλεία σου, νὰ σοῦ
25 στείλω ἔξοδον εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ· τάλαντα
τριαντα χρυσίου καὶ ἀργυρίου· τὸ ἓνα τάλαντον κάμνει ἑκατὸν
πενήντα λίτρες·.

2. Λαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀναγνοὺς αὐτὴν
εἶπεν τοῦ παιδίου νὰ πάρῃ * τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ νὰ
30 παραίνη εἰς τὸν βασιλέαν τῆς Ἀραβίας τὸ γληγορότερον, καὶ
ἔδωκέν του καὶ γραφὴν ὁποῦ τὸν ἐχαρέτα, καὶ εἶπεν τοῦ παιδίου
ὅτι νὰ πάρῃ μαζί του καὶ ἓνα δερμάτι καινούριόν καὶ ἓνα γορ-
γοκάμηλον, καὶ ἔστειλεν τὸ παιδίον ὁ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν μὲ

C. VI. 1. 7 * f. 185^rC. VII. 1. 10 Ἀσσύριων: ἄσαρίον ms., 1. Ἀραβίων? 14 βασιλέαν
σολομὲ 15 σολομε 16 δαιμόνον 23 νὰ τὸ: νὰ τον § 2. 1. 29 * f. 185^v

συνοδίαν ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν. καὶ ἐπαρήγγειλέν του· ἰκύνταξε, ἔκνον μου, νὰ εὕρῃς τὸν τόπον ὅπου κατοικεῖ ὁ δαίμων καὶ ἴδῃς τὴν ὥραν καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ὅπου μέλλει διὰ νὰ πνεύσῃ τὸν ἀνεμον. καὶ οὕτως ἔχε ἐσὺ τὸ δερμάτιον ἀνοιχτὸν πρὸς τὴν πέτραν τῆς φωλεᾶς ὅπου κατοικεῖ ὁ δαίμων καὶ ὅταν ἴδῃς τὸν ἀσκὸν καὶ φουσκώσῃ ἄνεμον, ἐσὺ νὰ εἴσαι ἔτοιμος, ὀγλήγορα νὰ δέσῃς τὸ στόμα του τοῦ ἀσκοῦ καὶ νὰ τὸ βουλλώσῃς μὲ τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ θεοῦ καλούτσικα καὶ οὕτως βάλε τὸν ἀσκὸν ὅπου ἔχει τὸν δαίμονα ἀπάνω εἰς τὸν γοργοκάμηλον καὶ νὰ τὸν φέρῃς ἐδῶ εἰς ἡμᾶς.

3. Καὶ ἀπῆλθεν τὸ παιδίον εἰς τὸν βασιλέαν τῆς Ἀραβίας καὶ ἔκαμεν ὡς καθὼς τοῦ ἐπαρήγγειλεν ὁ Σολομῶν. καὶ ἔτιζεν ἔφερεν τὸ παιδίον βουλλωμένον τὸν ἀσκὸν εἰς τὸν βασιλέαν. καὶ εἰς τὴν στράταν ὅπου ἤρχετον τὸ παιδίον μετὰ τοῦ δαίμονος ἔλεγεν ὁ δαίμων· »δέομαι, ὦ παιδίον, μὴν με ὑπάγῃς εἰς τὸν βασιλέαν καὶ ἐγὼ νὰ σοῦ δείξω ποῦ εἶναι ὁ πράσινος ὁ λίθος καὶ τὸ χρυσίον τὸ τιμημένον καὶ κεκρυμμένον«. καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἔλεγεν πρὸς τὸν δαίμονα· »εἰς τὸν βασιλέαν τὸν Σολομῶν(τα) καὶ εἴ τι ὀρίσῃ ἐκεῖνος, ἅς ποιήσῃ«. 4. καὶ ὡς * ἦλθαν ἔμπροσθεν εἰς τὸν βασιλέαν εὐθύς ἔπεσεν ὁ ἀσκὸς κάτω ἀπὸ τὸ καμήλιον καὶ ἐκυλίετον ἄνω καὶ κάτω. καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐκεῖ ἐθαύμασαν. καὶ ἔλυσεν τὸ παιδίον τὸν ἀσκὸν καὶ εὐθύς ἐβγῆκεν ὁ δαίμων ἔξω. 5. καὶ ἐβούλλωσεν αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος καὶ τὸν τράχηλον καὶ ἔδεσεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔλεγεν ὁ βασιλεὺς· »πῶς ὀνομάζεσαι;« καὶ ὁ δαίμων εἶπεν· »Ἐφίππας τὸ ὄνομά μου καλοῦμαι«. 6. λέγει ὁ βασιλεὺς· »τί εἶναι ἡ ἐργασία σου ἢ μιαιφά;« καὶ ὁ δαίμων εἶπεν· »ἡ ἐργασία μου εἶναι εἰς μύρια κακὰ ποιήματα. καὶ παρακαλῶ σε, ὦ βασιλεῦ, νὰ μὴν με ἐπιτιμήσῃς μὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ὄνομα, καὶ ἐγὼ νὰ σοῦ φέρω τὸν λίθον τὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖον ὅπου φέγγει εἰς τὸ βάθος τῆς θαλάσσης ὑπὲρ τὸν ἥλιον τὸν ὅποιον ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ οἱ δαίμονες καὶ ἐγὼ νὰ σοῦ τὸν στήσω αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πρώτην κεφαλαίαν τοῦ ναοῦ».

3 1. διὰ νὰ πνεύσῃ Pr. Bessarion: διαναπνεύση 5 φωλεᾶς: φολεᾶν
8 καλούτσικα § 3. l. 14 ἤρχετον ex ἤχετον cor. prim. man. 17 τεμη-
μένον 18 πρὸς bis scr. § 4. l. 19 * f. 186^r § 5. l. 23 στῆθι

UNT. 9: McCown.

7. Καὶ εὐθὺς ὄρισεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖνον τὸν Ἐφίππαν τὸν δαίμονα μὲ ἄλλους ἑτέρους δαίμονας. καὶ ὑπῆγεν καὶ ἤφεραν τὸν λίθον ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖον καὶ ἔστησάν τον εἰς τὴν μέσσην τοῦ ναοῦ, καὶ οἱ πάντες ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐκεῖ ἐθαύμασαν ἰδόντες τὸ
 5 παράδοξον θαῦμα. 8. ἀλλὰ ἀφότης ἐκατέβη ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς καὶ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινὸν τὸ φῶς τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὁ ἥλιος ὁ ἀνέσπερος, ἐκεῖνος ὁ λίθος ἐσκοτίσθη ὅπου ἦτον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Σολομῶν(τος). καὶ ἀφότης ἐκτισεν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἡγουν τὴν ἁγίαν Σιών,
 10 ἕως ὅπου ἐγεννήθη ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ἐπέρασαν χρόνοι ψκζ, ἡγουν ἑπτακόσιοι εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ. ἀλλὰ ἄς ἐλθοῦμεν πάλιν ὅθεν ἀφήσαμεν τὸν λόγον μας.

VIII. Καὶ πάλιν εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν Ἐφίππαν τὸν δαίμονα·
 »ὦ Ἐφίππα, ἡξεύρης καὶ ἕτερον δαιμόνιον ὥσαν καὶ τοῦ λόγου
 15 σου; καὶ ὁ δαίμων εἶπεν· »ἡξεύρω, ὦ δέσποτα, καὶ ἕτερον δαιμόνιον ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ καὶ καθοῦνται καὶ φυλάγουν τὸν στύλον τὸν πορφυρόν«. 2. καὶ ὥσαν ἡκουσεν ἔτζι ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν τοῦ παιδίου· »τέκνον μου, ἔπαρε τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸν Ἐφίππαν τὸν δαίμονα καὶ νὰ ὑπᾶτε εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν
 20 θάλασσαν, καὶ ὅσους δαίμονας καὶ ἂν εὗρης ἐκεῖ ὅπου φυλάγουν τὸν στύλον τὸν πορφυρόν, σφράγισε τοὺς ὅλους ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ στήθος καὶ ἄς πάρουν ἐκεῖνον τὸν κίονα τὸν πορφυρόν ἀπάνω τους καὶ ἄς τὸν φέρουν ἐδῶ εἰς ἐμᾶς«. 3. καὶ οὕτως ὑπῆγεν ἐκεῖνο τὸ παιδίον μὲ τὸν Ἐφίππαν εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν
 25 καὶ ἐπλήρωσεν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ θέλημα, καὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ παιδίον ἐσφράγισεν ὅλους τοὺς δαίμονας μὲ τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἶπεν τους· »ἐπάρετε τὸν κίονα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλᾶτε νὰ ὑπᾶμεν εἰς τὸν βασιλέαν τὸν Σολομῶν(τα)«. καὶ εὐθὺς οἱ δαίμονες ἐκεῖνοι ἐπῆραν τὸν κίονα τὸν πορφυρόν ἀπάνω τους καὶ τὸν ἐβαστοῦσαν
 30 καὶ φέρνοντάς τον ἀπάνω εἰς τὸν ἄερα. 4. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἰδὼν τοὺς δαίμονας τὸ πῶς φέρουν ἐκεῖνον τὸν κίονα * ἐθαύμασεν καὶ ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐκεῖ ἔφριξαν ἰδόντες τὸ παράδοξον τοῦ θαύματος. εἰτα ὄρισεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖνους τοὺς δαίμονας νὰ βαστοῦν ἐκεῖνον

§ 8. 1. 5 ἐκατεύη 7 τῆς: τῆς 9 * f. 186^v

C. VIII. cf. parallela in *Test. Sal.* c. XXIV. § 2. 1. 20 ἀνεεύρης ms., 1. forte ἀνεύρεις § 4. 1. 31 * f. 187^r

τὸν κίονα ἀπάνω τοὺς εἰς τὸν ἄερα καὶ νὰ μὴν τὸν ἐρῖξουν ποτὲ κάτω ἕως τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα.

IX. Καὶ πάλιν ὁρίσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν, καὶ ἤφεραν τὸν Ὀρνίαν τὸν διάβολον ὁποῦ τὸν ἐπίασεν ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁποῦ
 5 ἐδούλευεν καὶ ἐπαρέστησαν αὐτὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως· καὶ λέγει τοῦ Ὀρνία· »εἶναι καὶ ἄλλα δαιμόνια καὶ πνεύματα πονηρὰ ὡσὰν καὶ αὐτά;« καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Ὀρνίας· »εἶνε, δέσποτα βασιλεῦ, πλὴν εἶναι ἓνα δαιμόνιον καὶ ἔχει δύναμιν περισσὴν«. 2. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν· »καὶ ποῦ εἶναι αὐτὸ ὁποῦ κατοικεῖ;« καὶ ὁ Ὀρ-
 10 νίας εἶπεν· »εἶναι εἰς τοὺς τάφους τῶν ἀπεθαμμένων καὶ εἰς τό- πους κήμυνώδεις ἢ κατοικία, καὶ ἀφανίζει πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώ- πων, καὶ ὀνομάζεται Σαμαήλ, καὶ εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρχων εἰς ἓνα τάγμα τῶν δαιμόνων· καὶ δὲν εἶναι κανεὶς νὰ τοῦ ἀντισταθῇ ὅτε διασείει τὴν γῆν«. 3. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ὀρνίαν·
 15 »δὲν σε μέλει ἐσένα, πνεῦμα πονηρόν, διὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκείνου, μόνον σῦρε μὲ τὸ παιδίον καὶ μὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν πρόσταξιν ὅπου καὶ ἂν εἶναι νὰ τὸν εὐρῆτε νὰ τὸν φέρετε ἐδῶ εἰς ἐμᾶς«. 4. εἶτα ἔκραξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ εὐμορφον παιδίον καὶ λέγει αὐτό· »ἐπαρε, τέκνον μου, τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸν Ὀρνίαν καὶ σῦρτε
 20 νὰ εὐρῆτε τὸν σατανᾶν τὸν Σαμαήλ * καὶ νὰ τὸν βουλλώσῃς καὶ νὰ τὸν δέσῃς καὶ νὰ τὸν φέρετε ἐδῶ«. 5. λαβὼν τε τὸ παιδίον τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸν Ὀρνίαν καὶ ὑπῆγαν καὶ ἦσαν τὸν Σαμαήλ τὸν δαίμονα μὲ τὸ τάγμα του. εἶτα εἶπεν τὸ παι- δίον· »ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου νὰ σταθῇτε, ὅλα
 25 τὰ πονηρὰ καὶ ἀκάθαρ(τα) πνεύματα, ἵκαὶ νὰ μὴν συσταθῇτε, ὅλα τὰ πονηρὰ καὶ ἀκάθαρα πνεύματα,¹ καὶ νὰ μὴν συστῇτε ἀπὸ τὸν τόπον σας, καὶ πλεον δὲν ἐσπάραξαν ἀπὸ τὸν τόπον τοὺς. καὶ ὑπῆγεν τὸ παιδίον μὲ τὴν βουλλαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐβούλ- λωσεν ὅλους καὶ ἔδεσέν τοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὑπῆγεν εἰς τὸν βασιλεῖαν.
 30 6. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐκάθετον ἐπὶ θρόνου ὑψιλοῦ καὶ ἐνδυμένος μὲ βασιλικὸν στέμμα, καὶ εἶχεν εἰς τὸ χεῖριν του σκῆπτρον καὶ βίτζαν καὶ ἐβίγλιζαν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ πῶς ἐδούλευαν οἱ μαῖστοροι καὶ οἱ δαίμονες ἐδούλευαν ὡσὰν ἐργάται καὶ ἐπριό-

C. IV. cf. parallele in ms. D VII 1. 5 ἐπαρέστησεν § 2. 1. 11 κατ-
 οικίαν § 4. 1. 20 * f. 187^v § 5. 1. 25 ἵ certe dittoqr. 29 ὑπῆγεν
 ex ὑπῆγαν cor. prim. man.

νιζαν λίθους καὶ μάμαρα. καὶ ἀπαντεῖχενεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ παι-
 δίον νὰ φέρῃ καὶ τοὺς δαίμονας. 7. καὶ ἰδὼν μετὰ ὥραν ἱκανὴν
 ἔφθασεν καὶ τὸ παιδίον σύρνοντα καὶ τοὺς δαίμονας, καὶ τοὺς
 ἤφερεν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἰδὼν τοὺς δαι-
 5 μονας ἐθαύμασεν καὶ εὐχαρί(στη)σεν τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ
 τῆς γῆς ὅπου τὸν ἤξιωσεν τοιαύτης χάριτος καὶ ἐκατίσχυενεν ὅλους
 τοὺς δαίμονας. καὶ ἦτον τὰ δαιμόνια ἐκεῖνα τὰ πρόσωπά τους
 μαῦρα. καὶ ἐρώτησεν τὸν * πρῶτον τους καὶ εἶπεν· »εἰπέ μοι,
 πνεῦμα πονηρὸν καὶ μιαιφόν, τί τὸ σὸν ὄνομα καὶ τί εἶναι ἡ μιαιφά-
 10 σου ἐργασία;« 8. καὶ ὁ δαίμων εἶπεν· »τὸ ὄνομά μου λέγεται
 Χάθρου Σαμαήλ. ἡ τε ἐργασία μου εἶναι αὕτη· καθεζόμεσθαι
 εἰς τόπους τῶν διαβατῶν καὶ <ἐ>γκρεμνίζομεν αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς
 πνίγομεν, καὶ ἔμπροσθεν εἰς τὰ κουφάρια τῶν ἀποθαμμένων καὶ
 εἰς τὰ μνήματα τῶν ἀποθαμμένων σεβαίνομεν καὶ σχηματιζό-
 15 μεσθαι εἰς ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὴν μορφὴν· καὶ κατατρόγομεν
 τὰς σάρκας τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἕως ὅπου καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς θάνατον.
 καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμεσθαι ἐν τῷ ἄερι καὶ κάμνομεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
 καὶ σεληνιαζοῦνται καὶ κατατρόγουν τὰς σάρκα(ς) των, καὶ ἀφρί-
 ζουν καὶ τρίζουν τοὺς ὀδόντας τους. καὶ ἄλλους πάλιν πνίγομεν
 20 εἰς γωνίες καὶ εἰς <τὲς> φάραγγες καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐγκρεμνοὺς τοὺς
 ἐγκρεμνίζομεν καὶ θανατώνονται αἰφνίδιον θάνατον καὶ κολά-
 ζομεν αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς κερδαίνομεν«. 9. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς
 πρὸς τὸν δαίμονα· »ἀμμή δὲν φοβᾶσαι τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
 καὶ τῆς γῆς; ἀμμή ὑπὸ τίνος ἀγγέλου καταργεῖται ἡ δύναμίς σας;«
 25 καὶ εἶπον οἱ δαίμονες· »ὅποτε μέλλει νὰ ἔλθῃ ὁ σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου
 ὁ υἱὸς καὶ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ θέλει κάμνειν ἕνα
 στοιχεῖον εἰς ὅσους ἀνθρώπους θέλουν τὸν πιστεύσῃ εἰς ἐκεῖνον
 τὸν βασιλέα(ν) καὶ θέλουν ποιῇ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐκεῖνο τὸ στοιχεῖον
 εἰς * τὸ μέτωπον καὶ εἰς τὸ στήθος μὲ τὴν δεξιάν τους τὴν
 30 χεῖρα«. τουτέστιν ἐπροέλεγεν ψξ χρόνους προτύτερα ἀπὸ τοῦ
 Χριστοῦ, τουτέστιν τὸν τίμιον σταυρόν. καὶ ἔλεγον οἱ δαίμονες·
 »τότε ἡμεῖς, δέσποτα, καταργεῖται ἡ δύναμίς μας, καὶ ἀναχωρί-
 ζομεν γοργὰ ἀπὸ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκεῖνον«.

§ 7. 1. 3 ἔφθασεν: εὐθασεν 8 * f. 188^r 10 ἐργασίαν § 8. 1. 20 φρά-
 γες ἐγκρεμνοὺς ms., i. f. κορημνοὺς § 9. 1. 23 ἀμμή (bis) 29 * f. 188^v

10. Καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐχαρίστησεν τὸν κυρίον. εἶτα ἐπετίμησεν τὸν Σαμαὴλ καὶ τὸ τάγμα του ὅλον ὑπὸ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐκατηργήθησαν. καὶ ἐκατασιδέρωσεν τὸν Σαμαὴλ τὸν δαίμονα ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον καὶ ἐπριόνιζεν λίθους καὶ μάρ-
 5 μαρα καὶ ἐκουβαλοῦσαν καὶ ἀσβέστην εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.

Χ. Καὶ εὐφημίσθη ὁ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν καὶ πάντες οἱ βασι-
 λεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ μεγιστάνοι ὅλοι τοὺς τὸν ἐπροσκυ-
 νοῦσαν ὡς βασιλέαν καὶ τιμημένον ἀπὸ ὅλους τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς
 γῆς καὶ τὸν εἶχαν εἰς μεγάλην φήμην εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον καὶ
 10 ἐθαύμαζαν ὅλοι τοὺς καὶ εὐχαριστοῦσαν καὶ ἐδόξαζαν τὸν θεὸν
 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς ὅπου τὸν ἔδωσεν τοιαύτην ἐξουσίαν καὶ
 ὅρισεν ὅλους τοὺς δαίμονας τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ τῆς θα-
 λάσσης καὶ τῶν καταχθονίων. 2. καὶ μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τοῦ
 ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐμάζωξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν ὅλα τὰ δαιμόνια
 15 καὶ ἀκάρθата πνεύματα καὶ ἐπαράστησεν ἔμπροσθέν του ἀμέτρη-
 τον πλῆθος δαιμόνων καὶ ὅρισεν νὰ ἔλθουν ἄνθρωποι τεχνίτες
 καὶ καλοὶ ὅπου ἐδούλευαν τὰ * χαλκώματα καὶ ὅρισεν ὁ βασιλεὺς
 νὰ φτειάσουν ἄγγεῖα χαλκωματένια. καὶ τότες ἐπίασεν καὶ τὰ
 20 ἐκαμεν παρόμοια ὡσὰν πιθάρια κάδους τρανοὺς καὶ με τοῦ θεοῦ
 τὸ ὄνομα ὅρισεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅλους τοὺς δαίμονας καὶ ἐσέβησαν
 μέσα εἰς ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἄγγεῖα τὰ χαλκωματένια. καὶ τότες ἐπίασεν
 ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀτός του καὶ τοὺς ἐσφάλισεν καὶ ἐβούλλωσεν τὰ ἄγ-
 γεῖα μετὰ τὴν βοῦλλαν τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ ἦταν αἱ βοῦλλες ἀργυρᾶς καὶ
 ἦταν οἱ δαίμονες μέσα. καὶ πλέον δὲν ἐτολμοῦσαν διὰ νὰ ἔβ-
 25 γουν ἔξω.

3. Καὶ ἐχαίρετον ὁ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν εἰς τὴν πλήρωσιν τῆς
 οἰκοδομῆς τῆς ἁγίας Σιών, καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐρητόρευσε τὸ
 ἄσμα τῶν ἁσμάτων. καὶ ἐκατοίκησεν ἡ χάρις τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύ-
 ματος εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἱερόν. καὶ ἦτον τὸ μῆκος του
 30 πῆχες ὀβ καὶ τὸ πλάτος κδ, καὶ ὁ πῆχυς ἐκεῖνος θέλουν νὰ εἰ-
 ποῦν το πῶς ἦτον δέκα ἐπτὰ ποδάρια. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ γύρου τοῦ
 ναοῦ ἔκαμεν πολλὰ κελλιά διὰ νὰ κατοικοῦν οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ διὰ νὰ
 βάνουν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ σκεύη ὅπου τὰ εἶχαν οἱ προπάτορες ἀρχιερεῖς

C. X. cf. parallele in *Test. Sal.* XVIII 42—44 (ms. P) —XIX. 1. 6 εὐ-
 φημίσθη 8 τιμημένοι § 2. 1. 17 τὰ bis scr. | * f. 189^r 18 ἄγγειαν
 19 κάδους 24 ἦταν: ταν bis scr. et postea primum eras. § 3. 1. 30 πῆχας
 32 κελλιᾶν (sic)

ὅπου ἐλειτουργοῦσαν ἐκεῖ εἰς τὰ ἁγία τῶν ἁγίων. 4. καὶ ἐκεῖ εἰς τὸ βῆμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἦταν ἡ πλάκες ὅπου εἶχαν τὸν θεόγραφον νόμον ὅπου ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τοῦ προφήτου Μωυσέως. ἦτον ἡ στάμνος ὅπου εἶχεν τὸ μάννα μέσα. ἦτον καὶ ἡ κιβοτός, ἦτον
 5 καὶ ἡ ῥάβδος τοῦ Ἀαρών, τὸ χρυσοῦν * θυμιατήριον, ἡ λυχνία, ἡ ἁγία τράπεζος, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἦσαν ἀφιερωμένα τῷ θεῷ τῷ ὑψίστῳ. καὶ ἐκεῖ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον βῆμα δὲν ἐσέβαινε κανεὶς μόνον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ἐκεῖνος μίαν φορὰν τὸν χρόνον μὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς του ὡς καθὼς τὸ εἶχαν συνήθειαν. 5. τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον καὶ
 10 ἦτον ὁ ναὸς ἐκεῖνος ὑψηλὸς ἕως ῥηδ πῆχες καὶ τὸν ἐσκέπασεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν ναὸν ἀπὸ πάντων ὅλων μὲ χρυσάφι καθαρὸν καὶ ἄγνόν μάλαγμα. καὶ ἦτον κτισμένος μὲ δέκα λογιῶν μάμαρα πελεκητά. καὶ ἔφεγγεν ὁ ναὸς ἐκεῖνος ὥσαν τὸν οὐρανὸν ὡς καθὼς φαίνεται εἰς τὴν ἑξαστερίαν μὲ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ μὲ τὴν
 15 σελήνην.

6. Καὶ ὁ Σολομῶν ὥσαν ἐτελείωσεν τὸν ναὸν ἐκείνον τὴν ὀνομαζομένην ἁγίαν Σιών ἐστάθη καὶ ἔκαμεν προσευχὴν εἰς τὸν θεὸν μὲ ὕμνους καὶ δοξολογίας καὶ νηστεύων καὶ ἀγρυπνιζόμενος καὶ παρακαλῶν διὰ τὰ ἁγιάση τὸν ναὸν ὅπου ἔκτισεν. καὶ ἤκου-
 20 σεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν δέησιν τοῦ Σολομῶντος καὶ ἐφάνη ὁ θεὸς καὶ εἶπεν του ὅτι· ἤκουσα τῆς φωνῆς τῆς δεήσεώς σου καὶ ἡγάσας τὸν ναὸν ἐτοῦτον καὶ ὑπάρχοντα χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ σεραφὶμ καὶ τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα καὶ οἱ θρόνοι καὶ αἱ κυριότητες ὀπισθεν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τοῦ ναοῦ ἔσωθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν. τό τε κάλλος τοῦ
 25 ναοῦ ἐκείνου οὔτε ἔγινεν εἰς τὴν γῆν οὔτε θέλει γένῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

XI. Καὶ ἐπέρασαν ἀπὸ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ Σολομῶντος τοῦ * υἱοῦ Δαυεὶδ ἕως τοῦ Σεδεκίου τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ χρό-
 νοι 425. καὶ εἰς ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν ἦτον καὶ ὁ προφήτης Ἱερε-
 30 μίας ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου μὲ τὸν Βαροῦχ καὶ τὸν Ἀβιμέλεχ, καὶ ἦσαν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκείνον ὅπου ἔκαμεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν καὶ ἔκαμναν προσευχὰς καὶ δεήσεις πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ὑμνοῦσαν καὶ ἐδοξολογοῦσαν τὸν θεὸν νύκταν καὶ ἡμέ-

5 * f. 189^v | λυχνίαν 8 τῶν χρόνων § 6. 1. 17 προσευχήθη
 23 οἱ: αἱ
 C. XI. 1. 27 * f. 190^r

ραν. 2. ὁμως βλέποντας ὁ θεὸς τὴν ὑπερηφάνειαν καὶ τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν τοῦ Σεδεκίου τοῦ βασιλέως εἶπεν τὸν Ἰερემίαν τὸν προφήτην ὅτι νὰ ὑπάγῃ εἰς τὸν ναὸν καὶ πάρῃ τὰ ἅγια σκευὴ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ νὰ παραδώσῃ τὴν γῆν. καὶ τότες ὁ προφήτης 5 Ἰερემίας ἐπῆγεν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐπῆρεν τὰ ἅγια σκευὴ τῆς ἁγίας Σιών καὶ ἐπαρέδωκεν αὐτὰ τὴν γῆν καθὼς τὸν ἐπαρῆγγειλεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐπῆρεν καὶ τὰ κλειδιά ἀπὸ τὸ ἅγιον θυσιαστήριον τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τὰ ἔριψεν κάτω εἰς τὴν γῆν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης· Ὑπαρε αὐτὰ καὶ φύλαξέ τα ἕως 10 ὅπου νὰ ἐξετάσῃ κύριος ὁ θεὸς δι' αὐτά, ὅτι ἡμεῖς δὲν εὐρεθῆκαμεν ἄξιοι διὰ νὰ τὰ φυλάξωμεν.

3. Καὶ τότες ἦλθεν καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Ναβουχοδονόσωρ ἀπὸ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα καὶ ἐπαρέλαβε τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἐκούρσευσεν αὐτὴν καὶ τότες ἐκάει τὸ σκέπασμα τοῦ ναοῦ ὅπου ἔκτισεν ὁ 5 βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν ὅπου τὸν εἶχεν σκεπασμένον τὸν ναὸν ὅλον μὲ ἀγνὸν μάλαμα, καὶ καίοντας ἔτρεχεν * τὸ μάλαμα ὡσὰν ποτάμι μέγαν. καὶ τὸν Σεδεκίαν τὸν βασιλέαν τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἔκοψεν τὴν γυναῖκα του καὶ τὰ παιδιά του ἔμπροσθεν εἰς τ' ἀμμάτιά του καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἐτύφλωσεν καὶ τὸν ἐπῆρεν αἰχμάλωτον μὲ 20 τὸν λαὸν ὅλον τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. 4. οἱ δὲ Χαλδαῖοι ὅπου ἐκούρσευσαν τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ κουρσεύοντας ἤρσαν ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἀγγεῖα τὰ χαλκωματένια ὅπου εἶχεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν τοὺς δαίμονας σφαλισμένους καὶ βουλλωμένους μὲ τὴν σφραγίδα ὅπου τοῦ ἔστειλεν ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τοὺς οὐρανούς μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχ- 25 ἀγγέλου Μιχαήλ. καὶ βλέποντας οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τὰς βοῦλλας τὰς χρυσὰς καὶ τὰ ἀγγεῖα ἐκεῖνα τὰ χαλκωματένια ὅπου ἦτον εἰς τὴν γῆν χωσμένα, καὶ φαίνονταν ὡσὰν πηγὰδια βουλλωμένα ἐθάρρεψαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ὅτι εἶναι θησαυρὸς κεκρυμμένος (καὶ) ἐπῆγαν καὶ ἐξεβούλλωσαν ἀπὸ ἐκεῖνα τὰς βοῦλλας τὰς χρυσὰς καὶ τὰς 30 ἐξεβούλλωσαν καὶ ἔφυγον οἱ δαίμονες ἀπὸ ἐκεῖ πάλιν καὶ ἐπῆγαν πάλιν εἰς τὰς πρῶτες ὀργισμένες κατοικίαις καὶ πάλιν πειράζουν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

XII. Λοιπὸν αὐτὰ τὰ κατορθώματα ὅπου ἔκαμεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν δὲν ἦτον ἀπὸ ἐδικὴν του δυνάμιν οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τὴν σοφίαν

§ 2. 1. 7 κλυδίαν § 3. 1. 16 ποταμὴν § 4. 1. 21 ε pro κουρσεύοντας
scr. postea eras. 22. 26 ἀγγίαν

του τὴν πολλὴν ἀλλὰ ἡ δύναμις ἦτον τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ τοῦ
 ὑψίστου τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅπου ἔμελλεν ἀπὸ τοῦ
 Σολομῶντος τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν φυλὴν νὰ σαρκῶθῃ καὶ ἕως τὸν
 καιρὸν ὅπου ἦλθεν καὶ ἐσαρκώθῃ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς
 5 χρόνοι 726 καὶ ἔκαμεν εἰς τὴν γῆν σωματικῶς χρόνους λγ, καὶ
 ἐσταυρώθῃ καὶ ἐτάφη καὶ ἀνέστη ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν. καὶ ἡμᾶς
 ἐχάρισεν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον καὶ μὲ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ τιμίου καὶ
 ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ ἐκατίσχυεν τὸν μέγαν διάβολον τὸν ἐχθρὸν
 τῆς ψυχῆς μας. 2. λοιπὸν καὶ ἐκείνη ἡ σφραγίδα εἶχεν τὸν τύ-
 10 πον τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ ἐπάταξεν ὅλους τοὺς
 δαίμονας καὶ ὄχι μόνον τοὺς ἔδесεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπάταξέν τους καὶ
 τὸ ἐν ὑστέροις πάλιν ὡσὰν ἐτελείωσεν τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ πάλιν
 τοὺς ἐσφάλισεν καὶ τοὺς ἐφυλάκωσεν ὅλους εἰς ἐκεῖνα τ(α) ἀγ-
 γεῖα τὰ χαλκοματένια. 3. λοιπὸν εἰς ἐτοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὅσοι
 15 πιστεύουν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς σταυ-
 ροθέντα καταδεξάμενον μὲ καλὴν πίστιν καὶ μὲ καλὰ ἔργα μὲ τὸ
 σημεῖον τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ τοὺς δένει καὶ τοὺς
 καταργεῖ διότι μεγάλη ἀλυσίδα εἶναι ὁ τίμιος καὶ ζωοποιὸς σταυ-
 ρὸς ὅπου μᾶς ἀφῆκεν νὰ κάμνομεν νὰ τὸν ὑμνοῦμεν καὶ νὰ τὸ
 20 δοξάζομεν διὰ νὰ μᾶς γλυτώνη ἀπὸ ἐχθροὺς ψυχικοὺς καὶ σω-
 ματικοὺς καὶ νὰ μᾶς ἀξιώσῃ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἧς
 γένοιτο πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ κράτος
 τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ
 καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

Emendationes in Textum.

- P. L.
- 11* 7 διαλογισάμενος ἃ μέλλει σοι φράσαι cum I et N.
- 12* 1 φλέγον cum HIN.
- 14* 6 ἐμφαίνω: add. ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν δαιμόνων κελευόμενος cum N.
- 16* 1 om. καὶ ἔρριψεν . . . μοῖραν cum A et N.
2 κἀκείνη οὗτος cum N.
- 25* 5 Pro λευκοῦ l. λύων cum NP.
- 26* 7 ὃν εἶπας γένος τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ τρεφόμενον cum LN.
8 ἐγὼ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνενέγκω πρὸς σε cum LN.
- 27* 6 τὸν Ἐλωί, τὸ μέγα; cf. N.
- 29* 2 ἡ αὖρα ἐκείνη cum LN et C.
- 32* 4 θεαὶ cum N, cf. P.
6 αὐτὰς cum NP.
7 ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης cum HN.
9 ἡ δευτέρα, 33*, 1 ἡ τρίτη. etc.
- 34* 3 δὲ καὶ cum NP, ἡ ἕκτη cum HNP.
8 ἐμοὶ δὲ κατέναντι ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς σοφίας N.
- 37* 10 κατασχών cum HN.
- 38* 14 ἄγαγέ μοι ὧδε τὸν δαίμονα N.
- 39* 5 ὥσει κερασίου (vel κερατίου) τὸ εἶδος ὁμοῖος cum A et N.
- 40* 4 Pro γάρ l. δέ cum N.
5 Pro ὄνομα l. ἅμα, pro ὃν λεγεῶνες l. λεγεῶσι.
6 Δεοντόφρων cum HLN.
- 41* 5 Δεοντόφρονα cum HLN.
11 Pro παιδία l. νήπια cum HN.
- 51* 6 οἱ δὲ cum LN.
- 56* 3 καλοῦμαι Ῥῶξ Μαρδέρω, cf. N et H.
- 57* 4 Pro ὕλη l. ἦλφ cum HN.
- 71* 10 Ἀβεξεβιθοῦ cum NQ.
- 74* 9 Pro secc. 7 et 8 lege cum HN: 7. ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ δύστηνος ὠκοδόμησα διὰ τὸ πᾶν ἀγαπᾶν αὐτήν, καὶ διεράγη ἡ βασιλεία μου καὶ ὠλόλυξα μεγάλως, καὶ ἐσκορπίσθη τὸ πνεῦμά μου καὶ ἐδόθη εἰς δουλείαν τῷ Ἱεροβοὰμ σκῆπτρα δέκα. τότε συνῆκα τὰ ῥηθέντα μοι ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων ὅτι ἐφησάν μοι· »ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖρας ἡμῶν μέλλεις τελεντῆσαι«.

8. Καὶ ἔγραψα τὴν διαθήκην μου ταύτην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις¹ καὶ κατέλιπον ταύτην αὐτοῖς εἰς μνημόσυνον πρὸ τελευτῆς μου. ἡ διαθήκη μου φυλαττέσθω παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς μυστήριον μέγα κατὰ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ὥστε γινῶναι ὑμᾶς τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων τὰς μηχανὰς καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων τὰς δυνάμεις· ὅτι ἐνισχύει μέγας κύριος Σαβαώθ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ὑπέταξεν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ πάντα τὰ δαιμόνια, ἐν ᾧ ἐδόθη μοι σφραγὶς διαθήκης αἰωνίου. 9. καὶ ἀπέθανον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου καὶ προσετέθη μετὰ τῶν πατέρων μου ἐν εἰρήνῃ, καὶ ἐπληρώθη ὁ ναὸς κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ, ᾧ πρέπει τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.

Corrigenda.

P. L.

- 48 5 *L.* a nail *pro* wood
 7* 5 ἐπεδίδοντο, *app.* ἐπεδίδον τὸ
 9* 2 *App.* ὁ δυνόμενος *in* ὀδυνώμενος *cor.* Windisch
 9* 7 *App.* φόβον
 22* 6 πρόσκαιρός
 26* *App.* § 4, *L.* 4 ἀπόλωνται
 27* *App.* § 7, *L.* 4 Ῥωμαίων
 28* 11 *App.* εἰγειρεν *H.* *L.* 13 *App.* εἶπεν *P*
 32* 7 *App.* ἐγὼ *W*
 36* 6 τότε
 39* 3 *App.* § 9, *L.* 2 ἀναφέρουσιν
 40* 3 ἑτέραν
 44* Head Ὁβυζούθ
 46* 2 *App.* καταταρασσ.
 64* 11 *L.* fortasse ὡς μέλισσαι
 67* 2 *App.* καὶ *pro* καὶ
 85* 14 *Ante* ὑπερι *pr.* 15
 86* 15 δρᾶμα (*MS* δράμα)
 92* 1 ἡ
 96* 27 ᾄσμα τῶν ᾠσμάτων
 100* 6 *Pro* HL *L.* HI
 103* Head Σολομῶντος
 118* 1 *Post* αὐτὸς *add.* ἀναγογεῖν

INDEXES

References in Indexes I to IV are to chapter and section of text, in Indexes V and VI to pages of Introduction. * Hapax legomena; † conjecturally restored; (?) Probable copyist's errors.

I. Index of Grammar and Syntax

A complete exhibit is not attempted

Adverbs and conjunctions

ἄλλὰ I 2 C, V 3 PC, VIII 5, 6, 8, IX 7, XI 5, XIII 2, 3, 5, XV 4 P, XVI 2 P, XVIII 3 (*bis*), XX 5, 7, 17, XXV 8 B, XXVI 3; C V 3, XIII 6; D VII 3; cf.

οὐ μόνον

ἄν c. ind. X 6; c. subj. I 9, XVIII 21, XXV 8 P

ἄρα I 2 L, XIV 4, XXII 12 B; D IV 4

ἄρ' IV 7, VIII 12 (*bis*), IX 2, X 2, 3†, XII 3, XVI 2 P, XX 2 H, C IV 6, V 3 (PC), VIII 12, XI 5, D I 2 (*bis*), 5, II 1, et pas.; cf. καὶ γάρ

γέ XIII 3 P

γούν IX 5 V, XV 5

δέ I 1 L, C, 2 AL, C (*bis*), 3, 4, 11, 12, II 4, 5, 6, C X 1, 2, 3, D I 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, et pas.

δέ καί II 3, IV 6, V 9, XIV 3, C I 3, 4, 11, IV 5, VII 2, VIII 5, X 3, 6, 11, 21, D II 1, VIII 3, et pas.; cf. ὁ δέ under Article, and μὲν . . . δέ

ὅγ' I 3 C, 4 Q; C Pro 3, XI 9, XIII 14; D I 3, III 7

δηλαδή C X 25

ἵνα D I 13

ὅτι I 1 L, XXII 5 P; διότι IV 9, V 10 P, 12, VII 6, XXVI 2 Q

ἔάν c. ind. VIII 11, XVIII 15 (?), 35; c. subj. I 12 W, 13, VI 8, 10 (*bis*), VII 5, XI 5, XVII 4 P, XXVI 4 (*bis*); c. ind. vel subj. XVIII 9, 10, 11, 12 et pas.

εἰ = whether IV 1, XXII 12; C XI 1; XII 3, XIII 13; D VI 12; = if, c. ind. praes. VI 10, XIII 2, XXIII 2; C X 8; c. ind. aor. XXVI 2; c. ind. fut. XVII 2, 4; C IX 8, X 12, XIII 1; D VI 2; c. subj. XVII 3

εἰ μὴ XIII 3 P, 4, XV 11 P

ἔτι XVIII 15 P, XX 19 H; L I 1 (*bis*), II 1, 5, III 4, IV 1, 12, V 12 (*pas.*), VII 8 (*bis*); C IX 10

ἐπεὶ XX 13 (*pas.*)

ἐνθα IV 4 PCC^o; C XI 3; D VI 4

ἐπεὶ XVI 3 A, XVIII 3 H; C XIII 14; D I 12

ἐπειδὴ XV 4 P, XVI 3 P, XVIII 3 LP, XXII 3 B, 20; C XIII 6

ἔπειτα V 8, XII 6 L
 ἔτι C XII 3; D IV 9
 ἔως *c. ind. fut.* II 5 L; *c. subj.* XV 10 P;
 D I 12; *c. opt.* C XIII 12

ἦ XI 5, XIII 2 P, XVI 5 P, XVIII 16 P,
 XX 8 H, 16 H, XXII 11 B; D III 8,
 IV 2, 5, 15

ἡγουν I 2 W

ἡδη I 9 L; VII 5, XX 20 B

ἡνίκα XXV 3 P, 7 P

ἦτοι C X 28

ἴνα *c. subj.* V 13 L, VI 4 P, XIII 7 (*ind. fut., mss.*), XX 2 H, XXV 6 P, XXVI 4 B, 8 B; C Pro 4, IX 8, XII 2, XIII 1, 2, 5; D I 12, IV 15, 16

Καθώς I 14, VI 11, XII 5

καί I 1, 2, 3, *et pas.*; = *etiam* I 1 L, IV 9, V 12, VII 7, VIII 7, 8, 11, *et pas.*, C IV 6, X 2, 4, 14, *et pas.*; D I 3, 7, 12 (*tris*), *et pas.*; = ἵνα C X 11; καὶ γάρ IV 6, V 4, 5, 10, VI 2, 6, XV 10 P; C Pro 3, XI 5, XII 3

Μέν VIII 12, XV 3, 5, XXIII 4 H; μὲν . . . δέ IV 4 H I, 5 H P, V 3 P C, IX 1 A, XIII 1, 3 P, XIV 2, XV (P) 1, 5, 8, XVIII 43 P; C V 3, X 38, XI 4, 9; D I 13, II 4, VII 1; μὲν . . . καὶ V 3; μὲν . . . μὲν C XII 4

μέντοι C XI 9

μέχρι *c. ind.* IX 8 A, XXV 7; *c. subj.* IX 8 P

μή *c. subj.* I 12, 13, V 10, 11, VI 6, XV 4 P, XVII 3, XVIII 18 (*bis*), 24 P, XXII 5, 11 B, XXVI 4, 8 P; C IX 8, XII 2, XIII 2 (*bis*), 3; *c. gen. abs.* II 7, V 5; *c. inf.* I 14, VIII 7, 8, X 2, XVI 5, XX 6 P; C X 43; D I 4; IV 16, VI 14, VII 2; *c. part.* I 9 I, XIV 4, XX 16; C X 38, D I 3, III 8; *c. adj.* C Pro 3; μὴ οὐ D II 3

μηδέ D III 8

μήπως D VI 14

Νῦν VI 3, XI 6, XII 3, XIII 3 P (*bis*), 6 P, XIV 2, 3, XVI 5, XXIII 4; C V 4; D IV 13 (*bis*)

ὅθεν XXV 3 Q

ὅπου *c. ind. fut.* C XIII 14; *c. subj.* II 3 B; D II 7

ὅπου XXII 20 P, XXIII 2

ὅπως *c. ind. fut.* C XIII 2, 7; L I 5; *c. subj.* I 5, XXII 11 Q, XXV 6 Q; C XIII 7; D I 3; IV 15; *c. inf.* I 9 L

ὅταν II 5 I, VII 7 C L, XIII 6 L, XXV 3 Q, 7 H; *c. subj.* C VII 7; D VI 4

ὅτε II 5 H, VII 7 H P, VIII 11, IX 5, XIII 6, XV 5 (*bis*) P, 14 P, XXV 7 Q

ὅτι = *because* IV 6, V 11, 12 L, XX 11, 16, 21, XXII 1, 11, 15, 18, XXIII 2, XXVI 3 H; C IX 8; D IV 11, VI 1; = *that* II 1 L, IV 6, V 5 P, 10 (*bis*), XVI 4 P, XVIII 18 P, 19 L, XX 2 H (?), 7, 11 H, XXIII 4 B, XXIV 2, XXV 1 B, XXVI 2 H, 7 H, 8 H; C Pro 4; in direct address XXVI 4; D I 13, VI 3

οὐ, οὐκ, οὐχ I 2 C, 4 L, VI 5, XX 17, *et pas.* οὐ μὴ *c. ind. fut.* I 13; *c. subj.* XXV 8 B; D IV 6; οὐ μόνον . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ I 2 W, XI 5, XXIII 2; C XIII 14; D I 2

οὗν II 5 L, VII 7, IX 7 P (*bis*), X 3, XII 6, XIV 5, XV 6 P, 7 P, XVI 1 H, 5 P, XVIII 4 P, XX 5 H, 14 H, XXII 3, XXV 3 P, 5 B (*bis*); C II 3, XII 6; D IV 9, 10, VI 2 (*bis*), 3, VII 1

οὔτε . . . οὔτε D IV 6, VIII 7

Πλὴν C XIII 1, 12

πόθεν II 1 L, IV 8, IX 4, 5, XIV 2, XX 11; C XI 6

πότε II 5 L

ποτέ XXV 3; D VI 14; ποτὲ μὲν . . .

ποτὲ δὲ II 3, IV 5, VIII 4; C XI 4

ποῦ II 1 L, IX 3, XVII 2, XX 20; C X 46, 47, 48, 49

πού I 4

πῶς I 3, V 3, VI 6, 10, IX 2, XI 5, XII 6, XX 14, XXV 5; D I 7, II 3, 13, IV 12

Tē D VII 4; *τὲ* . . . *καί* I 3 P, 7 A, XIX 2 H, XXII 1 B, 4; C Pro 3 (*bis*), X 29; D II 1, III 2, 6 (*bis*), 8, VI 10, 11, 13, VII 4, 5

τοίνυν C Pro 4, 5; D I 7, II 1, IV 11, 14

Ὡς = *like, as* I 10, II 3, III 4, V 5, VI 11 P, VII 1 LC, VIII 4, IX 2 A, 6, X 1, 8 LP, XI 1 H, XV (P) 1, 3, 5, XVI 2, XVIII 1, 3, 18 P, 19 P, XX 17 H, XXII 3 B, XXVI 1, 5 (*bis*); Tit C; D I 2, IV 2, 16; *c. inf.* C XI 5; = *about* C XI 8; = *when* III 5, XIV 6, XXIV 1 Q, XXV 7 B; D IV 13, VI 8; *c. subj. vel ind. fut.* XVIII 5, 6, 7, 8; = *ὥστε c. subj.* XIII 14; = *ὅτι* D IV 2

ὥστε c. gen. VII 1 HP, X 9; *c. nom.* XIV 4, XVIII 1 H, XXIII 3 P, XXVI 6 B

ὥσπερ V 12, X 8 H, XX 16, 17 B; C Pro 2; D IV 16; *c. ind.* C XII 5; D I 13; Sig T

ὥστε c. inf. I 1 H, 2 C (*τοσοῦτον*), I 10, IV 12, V 5, 8 P, XV 14, XVIII 8 H

Anacoluthia H II 4, 7, V 9, VII 3, VIII 7, *et pas.*; I II 4, 7, V 9; L I 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, V 9, VII 7, VIII 1—3, *et pas.*; P I 4, II 3, 4, 6, IV 8, V 13, VI 2, 8, 10, VII 2, 3, 6, VIII 11, XI 5, 6, XIII 3, *et pas.*; Q II 9; C Pro 1, I 4, II 7, IV 1, 7, IX 9, XI 1, 5, 6, XII 6, XIII 8, 12; see Cases-solecism

Article

Demonstrative — *ὁ δέ, ἡ δέ*, etc. IV 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, V 2, 3, 8, 10, etc., VIII 2, XIV 5, XVIII 2, XX 10, *et pas.*; *ὁ μὲν, ἡ μὲν*, VIII 12, XIV 4, XVIII 5 P

With infinitive, see Verbs — *inf.*

Omitted In prepositional phrases I 2, 3 C, 4, II 5, 6, 7, III 4, IV 9, *et pas.*; with infinitive XI 6; with *θεός* C XII 4; cf. IX 8 (*φίλος*)

Asyndeta I 4, 12, II 1 AQ, III 6, IV 5, V 4 A, VIII 6, IX 2 C, A, 3, 6; C X 3,

7, 8, 9, 10, *et pas.*, XI 7, 8, XII 1, 2, 4, XIII 10, 13; D I 2, 7, 8, 12, 13, IV 9, VII 2, VIII 2, 6

Attic forms *διαπράττω, ἐλλέω, ἐλαττώ, ἡττάω, κρείττω, περὶτός, τριπτός, ὑποτάττω, φρίττω, φυλάττω* (XXIV 2 H, XXVI 8 H); see Index III

Cases

Nom. pendens I 1 L, 2 L, 3 W, 4 B, XII 4, XVIII 1, XX 19 H; C XI 1; D IV 3

Gen. absolute I 1, 2 A, 4, II 3, 4 L, 6, 7, IV 1, 3, V 5, VI 3, VIII 8, IX 5, XX 3, XXII 13 B; C Pro 1 (*bis*), XI 1, 3; D II 11, III 8, IV 9, 13, VI 7 (*bis*), 11, VII 5; noun om. C Pro 5, II 7; D IV 5, VI 3

Gen. of time, age, etc. I 5 B, VI 5 (*errore*), IX 3, 5, XVI 5 P (*errore*), XXII 13 H; C VII 5, XI 8

Gen. with adj. III 5, V 13; D IV 2; with comparative XVIII 18 P; D I 13, II 1; see preps. *παρά, ὑπέρ*

Gen., possessive, in predicate VI 8, XXII 4, XXIII 4 H⁺; C X 12

Gen. with verbs I 2 L, 4, 9 C, II 6, IV 1, V 10, VI 2, 8, VII 6, XVIII 40, XX 2, 5, 7, 15, XXII 3, 5, 9, (cf. acc. XXII 6); C Pro 1, 2, 5, IX 8, X 15—19, 38, XII 2, 5, XIII 10; D IV 1

Dative, indirect object I 1, 3, 3 C, 5—10, 12—14, II 1, 2, 6, 9, III 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, IV 2, 3, V 3, *et pas.*; C Pro 1, IX 8, 9, X 42, 53, XII 1, 5, XIII 2, 3, 8—13; D I 4, II 7, 8, III 1, 4, IV 16, VI 3, 4, 7, VII 3

Dat. of advantage and disadvantage I 9 (?), II 7, VIII 4, IX 2, XV 8, XVIII 44 P; C X 53; D I 11, II 1

Dat., possessive in predicate I 1, IV 5, XI 3, XVI 4 P, XXVI 4; C XI 5; D VII 2

Dat., associative III 4, VIII 8, XXV 4, XXVI 4; D IV 1; *c. adj.* VIII 8, XV 10; D I 13, IV 3, VI 12

- Dat. of cause, specification, manner, means I 2 V, 3 L, 4 C, 14, III 4 P, V 3, 11, VI 3, VII 3, 7, VIII 2 CP, 11, IX 6, X 6, 7, XI 1, 4 P, 7, XIII 1 H, 7, XIV 1, XVI 6, 7, XVII 2, 4, XVIII 2, 15, 43 P, 44 P, XIX 3, XX 4, XXII 20, XXIV 2; C Pro 2, XIII 6, 11, 13, 14; D I 3, II 1, 2, 10, III 8, VII 4
- Dat. of time I 8, XXII 17; D VIII 2
- Dat. with compound verbs I 3 C, 4 CL, 9, II 6, 7, III 7, IV 6, V 4, VI 11, VII 1, VIII 8, IX 1 PC, 6, X 1, 3, 8, XI 2, 3, XIII 1, XIV 1, 2, 3, XV 1, 4, 8, XVI 2, 5, 6, 7, XVII 2, 4, XVIII 15, 42, XX 4, XXII 20, XXIV 2; C Pro 2, X 31, 53, XI 5 (cf. acc. infra), 7, XIII 6, 11, 13, 14; D II 4, 10, III 3
- Dat. for prepositional phrase I 14, II 6, 9, IV 9 PC, XX 3, 10, XXIV 1; C IX 8, 9, XI 7, 8; D VI 13, VII 3
- Dat., see below under Acc.
- Accusative of extent of time or space I 5, IV 12, VII 5, X 18, XVI 5, XXII 15, 17; C XII 3, 5
- Acc. for time when D IV 10
- Acc. of specification, manner, etc. I 3 C, 11 H, III 4 L, VI 9 P, VIII 1 PL, IX 1, X 1, 9, XI 4 H, XIII 1, XIV 1 L, XVI 1, XX 1; C Pro 2, VII 5, XII 3, 4; D IV 10, 11
- Acc. subj. of infinitive I 1 C, 4, 6, 7 (?), IV 6, V 13, VI 2, 6, 9, X 2, XX 6, XXII 5 B, 11, XXIV 5, XXVI 5 H; C Pro 1, XI 5, XIII 2; D I 4, IV 16
- Acc. double with *ὀρκίζω* XI 6
- Acc. or Dat. with *προσκυνέω* XXII 17, XXVI 3; D I 8, III 5, VIII 1 (Dat.); XXII 20, XXVI 2; C XI 5; D VI 8 (Acc.); *σφραγίζω* VII 3, VIII 12, X 6, 7, XVI 7, XXVI 9 (Dat.); XII 5, XXII 11 H, B (Acc.)
- Vocative I 3 C, 4, 7 C, 14, II 6, III 5, V 9, VI 10, VII 3, IX 2, X 1, 2 (*bis*), XI 1, XII 4 (*bis*), XIII 2, XV 12, XVI 1, XVIII 3, 5, XX 1 (*bis*), 2, 4 (*bis*), *pas.*, XXII 4, XXIII 2, XXV 2; C Pro 1, 2 (*pas.*), IX 8, XII 1, 4, 5, XIII 1 (*bis*), 4, 6, 10; D I 9, II 4, III 1, IV 2, 5, 6, 13, 17, VI 1, 7, 12, VII 1, 2, 3
- Solecisms
- Nom. for Dat. I 4 L, VI 1
- Nom. for Acc. I 1 L
- Dat. for Gen. C I 5, II 6, XIII 7 (*σοι*)
- Dat. for Acc. XXVI 5 H†, C I 5, III 3 W, 4, VII 6, XIII 2; D I 7
- Acc. for Gen. I 5 L, IV 6 H, X 6 L (*μετὰ τούτους*), XXII 2 Q
- Acc. for Dat. IV 6 A, VI 11 H, XX 20 H; C I 1, 3 V, 8 W, II 1, III 7, V 3, X 42, XI 3, XII 3, 4, XIII 5, 14; D VII 6 (*bis*)
- Comparison of adjective and adverbs
- Comparative I 1 A, 3 L, 4 L, 6 L, V 4, 6, VI 1 P, IX 6, XVIII 18 P; C XIII 2; D I 13, II 1
- Superlative I 1, 7, II 5 L, VIII 11, XI 6, XVIII 20 P; D II 2
- Compound words
- ἀνακαλύπτω* VI 3 P
- ἀνακνυλινδέω* XIV 1 P
- ἀναπτύσσω* XXII 6 P
- ἀπαράλακτος* I 3 C
- ἀπερινόητος* C Pro 2
- ἀρρενοβατία* VI 4 P
- βοοπρόσωπος* XVIII 1 P
- γυναικοειδής* XIII 1 P
- δαφνόφυλλον*† XVIII 15 P
- ἐξαποστέλλω* XXII 16 Q
- ἐπεξουσιάζω* I 5 L
- ἐπικαπνίζω* V 9 P
- ἐρυθροδανόω* XXI 3 B
- ἡμιπρόσωπον* VII 1 C
- καθυπόσχομαι* C XII 1
- κατακληρονομέω* IX 5 P
- κατανύσσομαι* XX 3 P
- καταπεριπολεύω* V 10 P
- κρημνοβατέω* XI 6 P
- λυχνασία* IX 7 P
- μαρμαροκοπεῖν*(?) X 10 P

μελανοκέρατος IX 9 C
 νευρογάλασις XVIII 17 P
 νυκτοφαγήση(?) XVIII 35 P
 ξυλοφορέω XI 7 P
 ὀνοπρόσωπος XVIII 1 P
 πλινθουργέω XII 6 P
 πορφυροδανόμενος XII 4 P
 προεπιστρέφω V 2 L
 πρωτομαῖστωρ I 2 B
 πτηνοπρόσωπος XVIII 1 P
 στραγγισμός XVIII 27 P
 ὑπογινώσκω V 13 L
 ὑποπροτάσσω X 6 L
 φοβερόχροος XII 1
 χαλινόδεσμα XIII 4 P

Crasis *κἀγὼ pas.*, *κἀκεῖ* VIII 5 P; *κἀ-
 κείνος* IX 7 P, *-ως* II 8; *τᾶλλα* XVII 5;
τᾶληθές C XII 5; *ταῦτά* D IV 3

Elision, cf. *ἀλλά*, *ἀντί*, *ἀπό*, *ἐπί*, *κατά*,
μετά, *παρά*; not observed VI 11 (*ταῦτα
 ἀκούσας*); IX 7 P (*ἐπὶ αὐτό*)

Gender—solecisms I 1 HI, 14 CQ, II 2;
 C IX 8, XII 2

Hebraismus *ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐγένετο*, etc.
 I 6, XXII 1 P, XXV 7 B; C Pro 1; D
 II 1; *εἰς χεῖρας* I 5; *ζῆ κύριος ὁ θεός*
 I 13, V 12, XXV 8 B; *πρὸ προσώπου*
 cf. *πρό* under Prepositions

Hiatus P VI 11, IX 7; C XIII 10, 12

Indirect Discourse—Questions IV 1,
 XXII 12; cf. Inf. with subj. Acc.

Latinisms *κάστρον* CX 13, 24, 27; *Λε-
 γών* XI 3, 5, 6, 7; *λίτρα* XXI 1 Q;
δ' ἐστίν P XI 6, XV 11; *πρὸ τεσσ.*
ήμερῶν D IV 14

Nouns—case endings

ἄνδρες = Acc. I 1 L

ν in Acc. Third Declension i 5 HL,

X 8 L; C I 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 14, II 9,
 IX 8, 10, X 51, XII 5

σφραγίδα, *-δαι* Sig C

φάραγγει C III 5

Prepositions

ἄμα *c. dat.* X 6, XIII 1; D VII 6; *c. acc.*
 D III 5, VII 4

ἀνά *c. gen.* C IX 10; *c. acc.* D VII 4

ἄνευ XXII 11 B; C XIII 8

ἀντί C XI 8

ἄνωθεν C XII 6

ἀπό *c. gen.* I 1 L (= *ὑπό*), C, 2 P, 4, 4 B,
 II 1, III 4, IV 8 *et pas.*; = *contrary*
to IV 5; C XI 5; *c. dat.* II 5 L; *c. acc.*
 XVIII 20 L, XXII 2 Q

ἄχρι *c. gen.* XX 18 B; *c. acc.* D IV 8

διὰ *c. gen.* agent, means, etc., I 6, 7,
 IV 7, V 3, 8, 11, VI 4; *et pas.*; C IV 5,
 IX 8, XI 4, XIII 13; D I 7, II 1, IV
 15; place, I 5, IX 6, X 3, XIV 4,
 XXIV 4; C XII 6; time, D II 4; *c.*
acc. cause, II 2, V 4, 13, VI 1, 2, 6, 9,
 VII 6, *et pas.*; C I 1, 3, XIII 2; D I 6,
 means C X 53; *δ. παντός* XXII 5 B

δίκεν D VI 5

ἔγγιστα C, *ἔγγιστεν* P, *ἔγγύθεν* A
 III 7

εἰς I 1, 3 C, 4, 9, II 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, III 3,
 5, *et pas.*; C Pro 4, IX 9, X 2, 6, 18,
 20, 21, 24, 25, *et pas.*; D I 1, 3, 4, 8,
 12, II 11, *et pas.*; *ἐνεργεῖν εἰς* C X 1,
 2, 3, 5, 6, 12, 13, 14 (*δύς*), 22, 23, 26,
 29, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 52; *εἰς τὸ
 ὄνομα* XXVI 4, 5; C IX 8; *εἰς ὄνομα*
 C Pro 5; *εἰς* = *ἐν* XV 6, XXII 14;
 XXIV 3 (?); D VI 1

ἐκ I 2 L, 4, 4 L, 5, 6 L, II 8, VI 5, X 9,
 XIV 4, XVI 3, XXVI 3, XXI 2, XXV
 1 H; C IV 11, XI 8, XII 1, XIII 12;
 D I 1, 11, 12 (5), IV 13, 14 (*δύς*), 15,
 VI 8; *ἐκ τρίτου* I 2 L, XVIII 21

ἐμπροσθεν *c. gen.* IV 2 C, VI 1, XIII 7,
 XX 19 Q, XXII 10; D III 3; C IV 2,
 XI 2

ἐν I 1, 3 (*τρίς*), II 1 (*δύς*), IV 4, 5, 8, 9
 (*τρίς*), 10, *et pas.*; C IX 10, X 8, 14,

38, 53 (*bis*), *et pas.*; D I 1, 13, II 7, *et pas.*; means, manner, V 9, VII 6, 7 (*bis*), X 5, XI 6 (*tris*), XII 2, 3, XV 3, 14, XX 13 (4); C XIII 5, 6, 12; XV 9, XXV 9; C IX 10, XII 1; D IV 11; *c. infin.* = *while, since*, I 4, 6, 7, VI 9, XX 6, 17, XXII 11, XXIV 5; D IV 16; *ἐν* = *εἰς* I 5C, X 5, XIII 2, 6, XVIII 28 (cf. 24, 27), 40; C I 5, XIII 9; D I 5

ἐναντίον XXII 2HP

ἐνώπιον V 9, IX 7, XIX 3, XX 1, 6; C Pro 1

ἔξω XVI 2P

ἐπάνω I 2L, 9L, II 5L, XXIII 3B; C XII 6T, XIII 5

ἐπὶ *c. gen.* I 2AB, 3P, 4I, 10L, II 8, III 1P, IV 4, 5C^o, V 9, *et pas.*; C II 1, VIII 9, XI 3; *c. dat.* I 1, II 6L, III 3W, XIII 3, 6P, XVIII 44P, XXII 14, XXVI 5B, 8H; D VI 14, VII 4; *c. acc.* I 1L, C, 2A, 10L, 11, 14L, II 2, 3, III 3V, V 5, *et pas.*; D II 2, 4, 7; ἐπὶ πολὺ VII 2; ἐπὶ πλεῖστον VII 5; ἐπὶ τὸ διπλάσιον I 1C, (διπλοῦν) D II 2; ἐφ' ἐκάστης ἡμέρας I 2Q, 3B, ἐφ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν I 2H, 3A

ἕως *c. gen.* V 8, VI 11P, XV 13P, XVI 2P, XX 4H, 18B, XXII 2B, 4B, XXIV 2Q, 5, XXV 8; C XII 1; *c. dat.* XX 18H; *c. acc.* XXII 2H, XXIII 2Q, XXIV 5Q; ἕως ἔξω XVIII 15P; ἕως ἐπὶ πολὺ VII 2; ἕως ἐπὶ φορέας C IX 9T; ἕως οὗ D I 12

καθώς I 10L

κατά *c. gen.* I 1, 2, 4, III 7, V 5, IX 3, XI 6, XIII 2, XV 11, XVIII 20, XXII 20B, XXVI 8H; C X 14; D II 10; Tit BI, Sub V; *c. acc.* I 1, 2, 10, VII 3, VIII 11, X 2, XV 3, XVIII 21, XIX 3P, XX 2P, 12B, 19B, XXII 3B, 12, XXVI 7H; C X 51T; D II 9, VI 6, VIII 5; καθ' ἓνα XVIII 4P; καθ' ἑνὸς ἐκάστου XVI 3A; καθ' ὑπεροχὴν, ὑπερβολὴν X 2, P; κατά B, περί C, I 2

κατενώπιον XXII 13

κάτω *c. gen.* D IV 14; *c. acc.* (?) XV 7
Μά C XII 3

μέσον I 1L, XX 12, 14B

μετά *c. gen.* I 6L, II 5L, III 4, V 2P, 3P, 9, 13, VI 3, IX 8, X 6 (*bis*), XI 5, 6, XV 9, XVI 1L, XVIII 4, 22P, XIX 1P, XX 9P, XXII 11, 16, 18, XXIV 1P, 2Q (*bis*), XXV 1, XXVI 8H, 9H; C IX 8, 9T, X 30 (*bis*), XI 7 (*bis*); D I 8, 9, 10, II 1, 6, 7 (*tris*), 12, III 3 (*bis*), 4, 8 (*bis*), IV 1, 2, 7, VI 3, 5, 13, VII 4; Tit C, Sub V, Sig T, C; *c. dat.* I 4H, XXVI 1B; *c. acc.* I 2L, 4, 4L, XI 6, XV 8, XX 7, 10, 11, 19, XXII 6, 9; C Pro 1, XIII 2; D IV 8, 10, VI 7; Tit C, Sub V

μέχρι V 4, XV 10P, XXIV 3; C X 4, XIII 3, 6; D I 12, VI 14

ὀπίσθεν D VIII 6

ὀπίσω XXV 6B

παρά *c. gen.* I 11, 2C, P, 6, 9IC, Q, 11, V 11, VI 6, XVI 1, XX 12Q, 21, XXII 1, XXV 7B, XXVI 6P, 8H; C I 14, X 31, 34, XI 1, XII 4, XIII 9; Sub V; D I 2, 3, 5, 13 (*bis*), II 3, 10, III 7, IV 16; *c. dat.* V 7P, VI 4, 6, 8, P; C XIII 9; *c. acc.* I 1A, 3B, 11H, II 5, XVIII 37P; C X 6; D II 2

περί *c. gen.* I 4H, VI 10, XV 5P, XXII 17, XXV 1P; D IV 4; Tit H, I, Sig T; *c. acc.* I 2C; D VII 3

πλήν C XIII 12

πρό I 14, IV 6; X 2; C XI 5; D I 4, IV 9; πρὸ προσώπου VII 1, X 1, XII 1, XIII 1, XV 1, XVI 1; πρὸ τεσσ. ἡμερῶν D IV 14

πρός *c. gen.* I 14H, XXVI 8H; C X 4; *c. dat.* D VI 4; *c. acc.* I 1A, 4H, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12 (*bis*), 13, 14, II 7, *et pas.*; C II 3, V 5, Pro 3, X 30; D I 5, 8, II 5, 6, *et pas.*; for indirect obj. I 4B, 13BW, VI 6P, XII 6L, XIII 2, 3P, XV 14P, XVI 1P, XXIII 1Q, XXVI 2 (*bis*); C I 9, 13; D I 7 (*bis*), 8, 9 (*bis*), 11, II 3, 4, 6, IV 4—8, VII 1, 5

Σύν V 4 P, XV 1 P, XXIII 2, XXV 9 H;
 D II 7
 Ὑπέρ *c. gen.* D II 5; *c. acc.* I 1 L, 3 A;
 C XII 6
 ὑπό *c. gen.* I 1 H, 2, 6 L, 9 P, II 4, IV
 11, VI 8 (*bis*), IX 6, 7 P, XI 6, XII 3,
 XIII 6 (*bis*), XIV 4, 5 (*bis*), XV 5, 6, 9,
 13, XIX 1, XXI 3, XXII 3 B, 20, XXIV
 4, XXV 3, XXVI 7 H, 9 H; C Pro 2,
 IX 8; D III 2, 6; *c. dat.* C XIII 6;
c. acc. XI 3, 5, XXII 8 Q, XXVI 5 H,
 7 H
 ὑποκάτω XI 7, XIX 1, XXIII 3 H, XXV 7
 ὑποκάτωθεν C XI 7
 Χάριν XX 2
 χωρίς XXI 4
 Ως VII 1 C
 ὡσεὶ VII 1

Pronouns

αὐτός Third Person, *passim*; = *idem*
 V 3; XVIII 35 H, XXII 8; C IX 9 T;
 D IV 3; = *ipse* VII 6, IX 7 P; C Pro
 1, 3, X 15—20, XII 5; D I 12, II 1,
 III 2, V 1 (*bis*)

ἐγώ *passim*

εἷς as indef. pron. I 1 A, 3, XX 1; C
 XII 5

ἐμᾶντοῦ, ἐαυτοῦ IV 6, VI 3 P, IX 2, 3 P,
 6, 7 P, XI 5, XVI 2, 4, XVIII 4 P; C
 XII 5; D VI 12, cf. VI 3

ἐμός V 4, VI 4 P, IX 5, X 3, XXIII 4 P;
 C XIII 12; D III 2, IV 2, 9

ἡμέτερος C Pro 3

ὅς I 4 Q, III 5, X 5; D IV 10, 11, VI 2
 σύ *passim*

τις, τίς *passim*

Verbs — Inflexion

Augment ἡνεσχύμην XIII 3 P; προεφή-
 τευσε XV 8

Future from Subjunctive (Aor.)

ἀγαγῶ II 6, VI 5, X 5

εἰπωσι XIV 5 P

ἐνέγκω VI 5 H; C XI 7 Y; D VI 2

εὐρωμεν V 5 C

ἔχωμεν V 5 A

ἰῶης D IV 9

μαθεῖς XIII 2 H

παρέλθωσι D IV 6

Periphrastic tenses I 1, 2, XVI 2 P, XX

17, XXI 4, XXII 7 B, XXV 9 H, XXIV

4 B, C Pro 1, 2; D I 12, VII 4, VIII 1

Reduplication σεσωματοπεποιημένον
 IV 4 P

Verbs — Syntax

Infinitive with Art. in oblique cases

Gen. I 14, II 5, 7 C, 8, V 6 L, VII 4;

C IX 10, X 43, 53, XIII 13, 14; D

I 4 (*bis*), 9; = Nom. XVI 2; D VII 2

Dat. I 4, 7, VI 9, XX 17, XXII 1 P, 11,

17 B, XXIV 5; D I 6, IV 16

Acc. I 1, 2 L, 4, V 13, VI 2, VII 2,

XVI 5, XX 6 P, XXVI 5, 7 H; C Pro 1,

X 1, 2, 3, *et pas.*, XIII 2; D III 5(?),

IV 11

As noun without Art. XI 6

Optative C XIII 12 θελήσαιεν; D IV 4

ἀποκρίνοιτο, VI 1 χαλροῖς, 12 γινώ-
 σκοι

Participle

Unnecessary XI 3 ὄν, XIII 2 ὄντα

Future of purpose D VII 3

Perfect for Aorist II 9 CL; D I 3, II 6,

8, 9, 11

Subjunctive

With ἄν, ἐάν, εἰ, ἕως, ἵνα, ὅπως, ὥς

cf. supra Adverbs

Hortatory D VI 7

In oath P XXV 8

Prohibitions I 12, 13, V 10, 11, VI 6,

XV 4 P, XVIII 18 (*bis*), XXII 5; C

XIII 3

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ἂ καὶ β' XVIII 38

Ἀβεζεθιβοῦ XXV 2 HP, -εβιθου Q

Ἀβελούθ XXV 2 Q, cf. Ἀμελούθ

Ἀβραάμ XVIII 22 P

Ἀβυζού(θ) XIII 2 L

ἄγγελος v. XVIII 15 and Index III

Ἄγλα C XIII 6

Ἀγχονίων XVIII 37 P, cf. Ἀχωνεώθ

Ἄδωναήλ P XVIII 14, 17, cf. Ἄδωναί

Ἄδωναί XVIII 14 H, ἄδωνάν L, XVIII 17 A, Ἄδωναήλ P, XVIII 36 H, ἄδοναήθ P

ἀνιου Sig A, T, V^r

ἀερίου XVIII 28 H, ἀρνίου P

Ἀζαήλ VII 7

αἰάω Sig A, T (ιαώ), V^r

Ἀλγώκερας XVIII 3 P

αἰέ Sig A, V^r

αἰώ Sig A

Ἀκέφαλος δαίμων IX 1, X 8

Ἀκουραταήλ XVIII 13 L

Ἀκτονμέ XVIII 28 H, κτονμέ L, ἄκτον μέν P

Ἀλάθ XVIII 25 HP, ὀλάθ L

ἄλακαρτανα I 9 C

Ἀλευρήθ XVIII 35 H, ἄλλεβορίθ P

Ἀλλαζοώλ XVIII 30 P, cf. Καλαζαήλ

Ἀλλεβορίθ XVIII 35 P, cf. Ἀλευρήθ

ἄμαξα V 4

Ἀμελούθ XXV 2, cf. Ἀβελοίθ

Ἀμεμών C X 16, ἄμαιμών V

Ἀμπατζούτ C X 20

ἀνάθ XVIII 40

Ἀνατρέθ XVIII 29

Ἄνec C X 45

Ἀνοστήρ XVIII 33 P, ἀστήρ H

Ἀντιναός C X 42 T, cf. Ἀτανιανούς

Ἀξησβύθ XVIII 31 H, φήθ, ἄξιωφθιθ P

Ἀπάξ XVIII 32 H, ἄρπαξ P

Ἀπάτη VIII 3, 5

Ἀπολήν C X 23

Ἀραήλ XVIII 11

ἀραρά ἀραρή XVIII 29 H, ἄραρα χά-
ραρα P

Ἄραψ XI 4, ῥάθ P

ἀρδάδ XVIII 40 H, ἀρδοῦ P

ἀρνίου XVIII 28 P, cf. ἀερίου

Ἄρπαξ XVIII 32 P, cf. Ἀπάξ

Ἀρτοσαήλ XVIII 7 A (bis), L, ἀρωτο-
σαήλ, ἀρατοσαήλ P, ἀρσαήλ L

Ἀσιέλ C X 38

Ἀσμοδαῖος V 1, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, Ἄσ-
μοδεῶ C X 7 UVW, ἄσμοδέος T

Ἀσταρώθ C X 21, 24 T, cf. Ἀστερώθ

Ἀστεραώθ VIII 10 PW, ἀστεραέθ V,
cf. περαωθ

Ἀστερώθ C X 24 V, ὁ ἕτερος Ἀσταρώθ
T, ἀστηρώθ W

Ἀτανιανούς C X 42 VW, cf. Ἀντιναός

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Ἀνθάδης XVIII 27 H, cf. Μανθαδῶ

Ἀντοθίθ P, ἀντώθ H, XVIII 38

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ἄωᾶ Sig A, L (αωαω), T

βαέ XVIII 16 P

Βαζαζάθ XIV 7

Βαλθιούλ VIII 9 P

Βαρουνχίλ VIII 6 C, -χιαήλ H, -χια-
χήλ P

Βαρσαφαήλ XVIII 6 (bis), -σαβαήλ L

Βεελζεβούλ III 1, 3, 4, 5 C, 6, IV 2,

VII 1, 2, 4 P, 9, 10, IX 8, XVI 3 A,

5 P; C IX 9 T, X 1; βελζεβονήλ H

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βεέ, -βεέλ

Βελβέλ XVIII 12

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6 W, βειρσαβεέ V, βηρσβεέ T

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νηα)

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βοθήλ

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 Βριαθός X 11H, βριαθασυήλ L, βριεώ
 P, Βριάριος Bn
 Βυζούθ. ή XIII 3H, cf. Όβυζούθ., Άβυ-
 ζούθ

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